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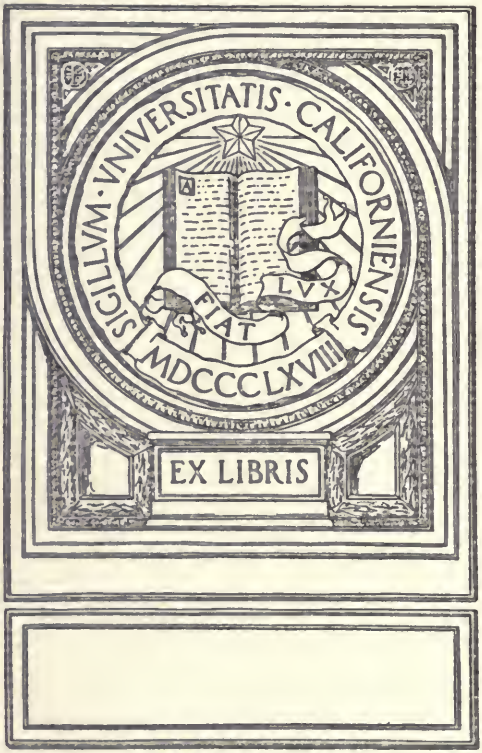

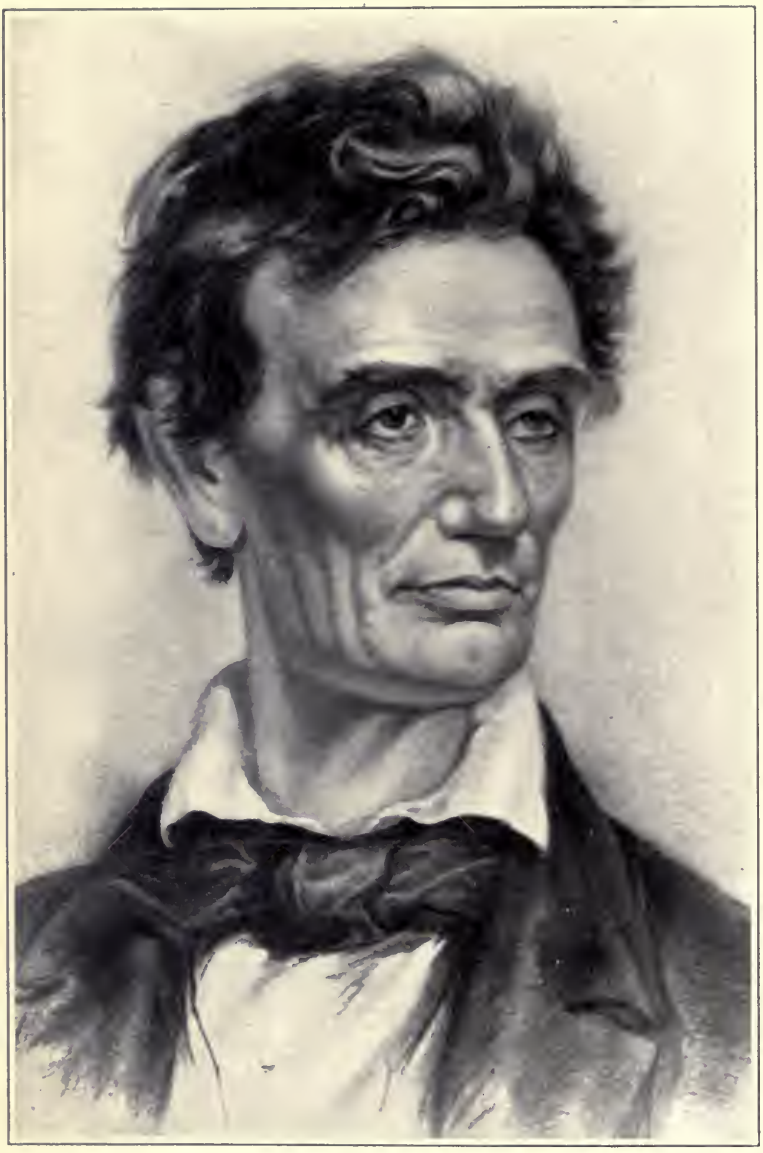

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

President United States of America.

THE UNION CAUSE

IN

ST. LOUIS IN 1861

AN HISTORICAL SKETCH

BY

ROBERT J. ROMBAUER

UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA
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ST. LOUIS MUNICIPAL CENTENNIAL YEAR
1909

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PREFACE.

The object of these lines is to give a comprehensive History of the St. Louis Union movement of 1861, and of the general conditions in the State of Missouri and the Union, which reacted upon local events. While the statements of details will be restricted to the spring and summer months of 1861, even their remote causes will be sought. This seems to be all the more necessary, because in a community of freemen, where every one does his own thinking, and acts upon his own feelings, the disposition of the masses makes History, whose way stations only are signalized by the names of the leaders.

When two antagonistic momentous issues arise in a nation, only the one which is conducive to the welfare of the entire country deserves success, notwithstanding that persons who stake their lives upon these issues, are honestly convinced of the righteousness of their cause. Besides this, it may be considered as an uncontrovertible axiom, that no party should ever rush into a hostile conflict, in which inherent conditions of power entail its inevitable defeat. Thus it is that through the study of History, we may be enabled judiciously to shape our actions, in order to meet present exigencies and forestall individual and national disasters. Our era may properly be designated as the epoch of the assertion of human rights, as divisions in History have generally been made by the leading and originating causes and resulting events. Thus the patriarchal sway of Abraham established the rule of experienced age; the monotheism and theocracy of Moses, the priest rule in Palestine; on the Dualism and utilitarian tendency of Zoroaster rose the Persian realm; the beautiful naturalism of Greece culminated in a Periclean age; the stern realism of Rome paved the way to a world's empire; the divine doctrine of love laid the foundation to modern civilization; Mohamed's consequential fatalism broke rotten empires; a second edition of priest rule under Gregor VII. bent the knee of the feudal knight and curbed the passions of Kings; the reformation of Luther and his coevals freed the conscience of men and the radical philosophy of the Eighteenth Century established rationalism while the war of Independence, the French revolution, the popular upheaval of 1848, vindicated national independence and natural rights and by the aid

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of the free press of the nineteenth century, liberated downtrodden humanity from privileged oppression, which the cohesive power of plunder, had legally saddled upon it. All these past epochs only confirm the lesson, that there is no lasting greatness without truth and no lasting happiness without morality. It is the object of this sketch, to inculcate a thorough appreciation of the heavenly twins of truth and morality, and great stress has been laid upon their value, pointing them out by calling attention to biographical relations upon important actions. Nevertheless great liberality is claimed from the reader, for even with the most sincere intentions, no one can free himself from the bias of his own individuality and no one can claim to stand on the balance beam of the historic scale.

Observing the sequel of dates, as far as possible, portions of the work present special phases collectively. Thus, Chapter I gives the Introduction to the leading ideas and political measures in the Union bearing upon the great questions at issue, to the year 1861. Chapter II treats upon the people of St. Louis and those features of their past History, which shaped their convictions and character and shows that the ancestors exhibited qualities of virtue, worthy the imitation of the most ambitious genius. Chapter III gives the events in the Union immediately preceding Lincoln's taking office; and Chapter IV those specially relating to St. Louis and Missouri, during the same period; Chapter V and VI deal with the first steps of War; Chapter VII with the organization of the Union and Secession host in St. Louis; Chapter VIII, IX and X with Lyon's Command and Camp Jackson; Chapter XI with Fremont's accession, Chapter XII the battle of Wilson's Creek. An outline of complete Emancipation in Missouri precedes the Conclusion.

In the course of the narration, it will be found, that the State troops organized by Governor Jackson are almost invariably called Secessionists, because all their higher and most of their lower officers and men eventually became Confederate troops and were either conditional or unconditional Secessionists from the start. After the Missouri State Convention had been elected by a very large majority, (80,000) the supreme authority of the State vested in it, and even from an extreme State Rights' standpoint, the Secessionists in State Guard garb were logically bound to submit to the authority of the United States, which, however, they failed to do. The word "Rebel" is not used in these lines, except in quotations from other writers. The Confederates held that they had a right to secede under their

State Constitutions, saying that as they had formed the pact of the Union, they had also the right to dissolve it. The name of Secessionist and Rebel had been used interchangeably during the war, often abbreviated to "Secesh" or "Rebs," for which the latter retaliated by the terms of "Feds" and "Yanks." The terms of "Volunteer," "Reserve Corps" and "Home Guard," were also used indiscriminately in the hostile camps of Missouri, which will be chiefly noted in reading quotations from them.

There is no disposition in this work to glorify military achievements, well aware of the fact that "Peace has her victories no less renowned than War." However, culture of thought and sentiment have only a value when they lead to correct action, and it would be a false policy to obliterate the memory of the Civil War, for it was the most serious, most important, and most far-reaching lesson which this nation ever received, and to hide its causes, disregard its consequences and shun its warnings, could have only disastrous results in the future. Just because war is a terrible calamity, should its lessons be heeded. If the arbitrament of arms is invoked, its consequences cannot be avoided. Fatigue, sickness, poverty, death and destruction follow in the wake of the furies of war; even though the object be the victory of a just cause and not revenge or cruelty. Incidentally it may be said, that today he is considered the greatest general who will attain victory with the least amount of suffering.

In compiling this work, many contemporaneous writers have been read. Billons' excellent chronicle of Missouri in its Territorial days; Henry Boernstein's autobiography of 75 years; Wherry's Wilson's Creek; F. Schnake's Geschichte; Schlosser's Welt Geschichte; John Minor Botts, The Great Rebellion; J. C. Abbot's History; the United States Records of the War of the Rebellion; J. C. Moore's, Galusha Anderson's, J. Thomas Scharff's History of St. Louis, and Books, Charts, Maps and Lists have been consulted by the aid of Libraries and the very valuable collection of the St. Louis Historical Society. Particular mention deserves in this connection John M. Schofield's "49 Years in the Army;" Colonel Peckham's "Life of Lyon;" Thomas L. Snead's "A Fight for Missouri," and the last three are specially recommended to every student of History, because their writers took an active and prominent part in the events of 1861, and as Schofield and Peckham were Union men and Snead a Secessionist, a better and more reliable representation can be secured by comparing views of opposing parties.

Credit was given in this sketch, wherever the opinion of others was quoted or their words used. In gathering the details of Company or Regimental organizations and actions, a great many comrades cheerfully aided with advice and information of details, and this valuable assistance and that of the sons of the writer, made this publication possible. Upon the organization of Union troops in St. Louis, more details are and could be given from the First Volunteer and First Reserve Regiment, for their story came more within personal experience, and is also characteristic for the development of the others, while a repetition of a similar detail, would have only a very limited interest to the general reader.

Important documents, orders, reports, speeches, resolutions, proclamations, letters, have been given in the original, as the best evidence of their faithful interpretation, and the sketch was verified by the recollection of yet living men of that period.

Discrepancies in dates, names,[1] and numbers are almost unavoidable; they are caused by the failing memory upon events that passed forty-eight years ago; but it is hoped that the main object was attained, and that was to do justice and give a true picture and reliable characterization upon one of the most memorable popular upheavals in modern History.

[1] Page 104, second line, read "Preetorius" instead of "Pretorius".
Page 104, third line, read "Enno Sander" instead of "Eno Sanders."

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ILLUSTRATIONS.

The illustrations in this book are characteristic representations of its contents. They comprise leaders, officers and privates of the several Regiments of different ranks, ages and callings. Hundreds of others could have been added who were prominent men at the time, or who rendered excellent service during the war, and attained a high usefulness after their return. A like praise could be given to many champions of the other camp in their later life, but that would lead beyond the aim and limits of the present sketch.

The ranks stated under the photos are those of 1861.

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ABRAHAM LINCOLN — President United States of America; born in Kentucky, fifty-two years old in 1861; died in 1865..... Title

FRANCIS PRESTON BLAIR, JR.—Colonel First Infantry Missouri Volunteers; lawyer; born in Kentucky; forty years old in 1861; Private in Mexican War; Free Soiler in the Missouri Legislature; Member of Congress from 1856 to 1862; Major General; United States Senator; in 1868 candidate of the Democratic party for Vice-President of the United States; (see p. 104); died in 1875..... 176

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FRIEDERICH HECKER—Born in Germany; fifty years old in 1861; lawyer and farmer; Member of Parliament and leader in the Republican uprising of 1848 in Germany; entered United States military service in 1861 as private; elected Colonel; after the war an effective lecturer, vindicating the gospel of rationalism through his speeches and writings; died March 24, 1881..... 96

NATHANIEL LYON—Captain United States Army; Brigadier-General of Volunteers; Westpointer; born in Connecticut; forty-two years old in 1861; fell at Wilson's Creek, August 10, 1861; had bequeathed $30,000 by will for the maintenance of the Union; (see page 208)..... 152

PETER J. OSTERHAUS—Captain Second Infantry, Missouri Volunteers; army officer in Europe; born in Germany; thirty-eight years old in 1861; commander of Manheim during revolutionary war of 1848; Brigadier-General and Major-General in the Union army and successful leader in many campaigns and battles; later Consul in Europe..... 320

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RODERICK E. ROMBAUER—Private First Infantry, Missouri Volunteers; afterwards Captain First Regiment United States Reserve Corps, Missouri Volunteers; lawyer; born in Hungary; twenty-eight years old in 1861; active in the revolution of 1848; after the Civil War Judge of Law Commissioners, Circuit Court and Court of Appeals; legal advisor of School Board for years; one of the ablest jurists of Missouri. 200

JOHN M. SCHOFIELD—Lieutenant United States Army; later Major First Infantry, Missouri Volunteers; Westpointer: professor at Washington University; mustering officer; born in New York; thirty years old in 1861; Lyon's Adjutant; became successful commander and Lieutenant-General of all armies of the United States; died in 1906..... 208

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FRANCIS SIGEL—Colonel Third Infantry, Missouri Volunteers; teacher; born in Germany; thirty-seven years old in 1861; artillerist and commanding officer in Baden during the revolutionary war of 1848-9; principal German institute of education in St. Louis; organized Third Regiment and Battery, Brigadier-General and Major-General in the Union Army, holding important commands; after the war editor in Baltimore and civil officer in New York; (see page 262); died in 1902..... 280

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[1] Compiled from notes of United States Topographical Survey and various reports.

PART I.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

CONSIDERATIONS.

History is a unit by reason of the logic of events, which act all over the world in accordance with the eternal law of cause and effect. This applies to moral as well as physical conditions; all laws should be in keeping with the laws of nature, which are immutable. They leave us the only alternative—either to live in accordance with them or to suffer. The obedience to these laws is dictated by common sense, and the Egotist will submit to them as well as the Altruist. It is our action within them, which establishes true value, and correct conventional law is, or should be, only natural law, with proper safeguards against the abuses facilitated by social relations. When our affections take in the members of our family exclusively, we prove our human worth to that extent, and in filling that first duty it is so decreed by the eternal wisdom which rules the Universe that we also become useful to mankind. Enlarged views and nobler sentiments will also consider the community in which we live, and in proportion as our consideration embraces larger divisions of our kind, our value and worth as human beings also increases. Thus the Egotist rises to a good member of the family, a good citizen of the community, the state, the nation and the world. That is the progress of the development of man—in cocentric circles from the narrow limits of self to the all-comprehensive considerations of philanthropy. But this process will be beneficent only as long as we are correct in our reasoning.

We admire the attachment to family and kindred, the undaunted bravery of resolution, the perseverance of devotion, the fidelity to honest convictions, which guide the actions of man, but all these fine qualities can not make convictions right when they are cardinally wrong; all these high qualities which everybody admires, can not sanctify an aim which is destructive of the happiness of humanity,

at large. When we look back on the great tragedy of 1861 we find that a very large number of those who gravely erred in their judgment acted from pure motives and in keeping with their honest convictions; for the preceding events of a century had shaped opinions, and even sentiments, dividing the nation into two great camps, and leading with the certainty of fate to the irrepressible conflict. The eminent German historian Schlosser writes in his works: "No national, religious or class distinctions threatened the peace of the Union. Still the antagonistic relation of free and slave labor led to ominous contrasts which caused the greatest civil war known to History." There is no doubt now in the world, that Slavery was the cause of the civil war. This is generally conceded. The development, however, of Slavery from small beginnings until it became an aggressive power which shook a continent is full of the gravest lessons that may be most beneficently utilized by their timely application in future. In order to understand and to appreciate the actions and events of 1861, a brief review of the past is necessary.

SLAVERY.

Slavery existed before History knew civilized people. Probably it was restricted at first to captives of war and their families, and, as soon this proved profitable or convenient, it was made hereditary. Prowess on one side and weakness on the other have often produced a condition of dependence akin to Slavery. A relation which became common and general had to be regulated by law, and the person who already inherited slaves grew up accustomed to relations whose justice he had no incentive to question. The desire for happiness is, however, born with every human being, and this leads direct to a wish for liberty. As soon as this desire is noticed, repressive measures are applied. These have a very bad effect on the master, making him more domineering, stern, often of necessity cruel, and they make the slave more miserable and discontented, and estrange him from his master. The ancient despotisms and more or less aristocratic republics nearly all kept Slaves, and, as war and conquest was the natural and usual condition of those States, their citizens were always ready to suppress every uprising. The baneful reaction of Slavery on the master and the nonslaveholding citizen was little considered or understood by the ancients. That the immense wealth of one class engendered the relative great poverty of the other was

not thought of; that luxury and passions, unrestrained by any considerations or laws of equal human rights, destroyed morality and justice, was not taken into account by ambitious and greedy statesmen; that Slavery, in overloading the bondsmen, took from the citizen the chance of a healthy activity, qualifying him for idleness and military ambition, facilitating conquests and spoliation of other nations, was rather coveted than shunned; and yet militarism destroyed in the end the liberty loving spirit of the citizen, and corrupted his body and soul with the customs, vices and luxuries of inferior nations. The cruelty toward the slave dulled the sensibilities and kind feelings of the masters toward their other fellowmen, and led to fearful butcheries, proscriptions and wholesale spoliation, which caused the power of Rome, the best organized State of antiquity, to rot toward destruction. This lesson is the "Handwriting upon the wall" for other nations; it reads: Beware of Slavery, the inequalities of citizens, foreign conquests and militarism. The immortal doctrine of universal love, proclaimed by the great teacher of Nazareth, placed all human beings, a Roman Emperor as well as an African Slave, upon an equality before their Maker. A transition from a corrupt empire to a radical republic, however, was an impossibility; but the spiritual equality established by the Church mitigated the conditions of slave dependence to milder forms, in establishing the organization of the feudal system, and of a serfdom conditioned as well as based on low ignorance on one side, and well nerved but often greedy capacity on the other. In the Orient Slavery continued unbroken; the warlike, conquering disposition of the Mohamedan spread it across Northern Africa to Spain, and in the year 990 merchants from the Barbary Coast brought slaves from Central Africa to Europe. The Turks enslaved their captives in war, without discrimination of color or nationality, carried women and children away, and raised the latter for the military service of that formidable body of soldiers, the Janissaries. Even this very astute slave policy proved a fearful curse in the end. The Janissaries grew as dangerous to the Sultan as the Pretorian Guards to the Roman Emperors, until in June, 1826, Sultan Mahomed defeated their insurrection after a most sanguinary battle and had them exterminated.

In their attempts for the circumnavigation of Africa, the Portuguese came in touch with the tribes of that continent, and brought from there the first colored slaves to be used for labor. Spain was

not slow to follow suit, and when Columbus discovered America, he enslaved Indian prisoners and with the blessings of his discovery laid the foundation of an evil which 365 years later should have to be redeemed by the untold sufferings of a great nation. In speaking of this arrangement of Spanish settlers in San Domingo, Washington Irving in his "Life of Columbus," states:

"He assigned to them (the settlers) liberal portions of land, and numerous Indian Slaves taken in the wars. He made an arrangement also by which the Caciques in their vicinity, instead of paying tribute, should furnish parties of their subjects, free Indians, to assist the Colonists in the cultivation of their lands; a kind of feudal service which was the origin of the 'Repartimientos' or distributions of free Indians among the Colonists, afterwards generally adopted and shamefully abused throughout the Spanish Colonies; a source of intolerable hardship and oppressions to the unhappy natives, and which greatly contributed to exterminate them from the island of Hispaniola" (San Domingo).

This was a source of evil, which three hundred years later, most cruelly exterminated the White race from that "West Indian Paradise." While Queen Isabella discountenanced the enslavement of Indians by Columbus and even returned large numbers from Spain to their native island, they were still compelled to work in the mines and in other employments, which owing to the cruel greed of the Spaniards, finally ground them out of existence. It was at this time that Negro slaves born in Spain, were first imported into the West Indies. Of this event Washington Irving says: "It is a fact worthy of observation that Hispaniola, the place where this flagrant sin against nature and humanity was first introduced into the New World, has been the first to exhibit an awful retribution." This came in San Domingo in the year 1791; a few refugees from this awful catastrophe found afterwards a sheltering home in St. Louis.

Upon the share which Columbus had in introducing Slavery in San Domingo, Washington Irving says:

"It is not the intention of the author, however, to justify Columbus on a point where it is inexcusable to err. Let it remain a blot on his illustrious name, and let others derive a lesson from it."

Columbus enslaved a large number of Indians and sent them to European markets. Isabella of Spain ordered the liberation of the Indians in Europe, but left captive Moors and Negroes in bondage. Now Slavery ceased to be a war measure and became a factor in agricultural and mercantile economy. While the introduction of the

stronger, more docile and tractable Negro, relieved the Indian on the Continent from this immediate danger to his liberty, it laid the foundation of an evil which almost became fatal to the life of the North American Union. The Popes, at the time the highest representatives of the ethical principle in the world, condemned Slavery at its very cradle. Pope Leo X. declared early in the sixteenth century: "Not the Christian religion only, but nature itself cries out against the state of Slavery;" and not much later Pope Paul III. imprecated a curse on Europeans who would enslave Indians, or any other class of men. It is hardly correct to lay the responsibility for the introduction of African Slavery in America, at the door of the Dominican monk De las Casas, who is said to have advised the practice of Negro Slavery already introduced before him, in order to protect the native Indian. That human rights did not then enter into the consideration of the Slavery question, is shown by the example of Charles V., who sailed with a great fleet, to liberate Christian slaves at Tunis, and at the same time sanctioned the African slave trade, by giving one of his subjects the exclusive privilege of importing Negro slaves to the West Indies. No insincere motives can be attributed to Charles V., who abdicated the greatest power in order to become a monk. When in 1607 the first permanent English colony was established at Jamestown, Va., Negro Slavery was over a century old in Spanish and Portuguese America and had existed over fifty years in other British American possessions. The adventurous disposition of the first settlers, who were little inclined to work, and the rich crops upon the virgin soil of the new Continent, created the strongest tendency, to propagate and to perpetuate Negro Slavery. The first slaves were sold at Jamestown, Va., December 22, 1620, and Slavery was introduced in all the colonies by 1650, while the legality of Slavery was still a mooted question. About that time Lord Holt expressed an opinion that Slavery was a condition unknown to English law, and that every person setting foot in England, thereby became free; soon after this Yorke and Talbot, attorneys and solicitors general, gave an opinion in 1729, that Negro slaves might be held in England just as well as in the Colonies, and later on, in 1749, Yorke as Lord Hardwick and Chancellor, gave the opinion that the Colonies are subject to the laws of England, and that if Slavery be contrary to English law, no local enactments of the Colonies could give it any validity. Mighty rulers, as well as men of letters, supported Slavery. In 1713, according to Bancroft, a

company was created to engage in the African Slave trade; King Philip of Spain reserved to himself one-quarter of the stock, Queen Ann another quarter, and the last two quarters were to be divided among her subjects. For a long period there appeared no serious opposition to Slavery on any ground, and although liberty and self-government were vindicated by some nations more than two thousand years earlier, this seems to have been more an inborn human propensity than the acknowledgment of a principle applicable to all men. The chance warnings of Popes and some human philosophers were obliterated by the false, but general prejudice, that Pagans were not entitled to any considerations from Christians. In an age of "Autodafees" and of the most cruel butcheries of Christians of one sect by Christians of another sect, this need not surprise anyone. English courts held up Slavery by various decisions until 1772, when Lord Mansfield, Chief Justice of England, pronounced in the famous Sommerset case, that by the laws of England no man could be held in Slavery. What a pity that this doctrine was not immediately applied to the Colonies; it would have saved America the civil war of 1861.

LOCAL DIFFERENCES.

Notwithstanding this high-sounding doctrine, Great Britain offered armed assistance to the Creole Slaveholders of San Domingo, when the latter were brought between two fires: the French radicalism and the Negro insurrection.

The relations of Slavery in San Domingo differed materially from those in the United States. There were three times as many mulattoes and twenty times as many Negro slaves as the 20,000 Creole white descendants of the original European conquerors, freebooters and adventurers. Many mulattoes also owned real estate and slaves. There was no love lost between these three races, and the hatred and prejudice of caste precluded a mutual understanding, even when that became the only rational remedy to prevent disaster. The Creole whites, brave and reckless to a fault, often treated their slaves with brutal cruelty. Slave babies were marked with three cuts in the cheek, notwithstanding that the midwives for white and black were Negro women. Such conditions and the ideas of liberty, equality and fraternity, spread by the French Revolution, led to the uprising of the Negro slaves, who, degraded to the level of brutes, ex-

terminated their former tormentors in the most brutal manner. The cruelty of the masters was intensified by the tropical climate fostering violent passions; it was made unbearable by arrogant aristocratic notions, sprouting in the hotbed of voluptuous luxury, and became relentless by the fear of slave insurrections, threatened by the great disproportion between Whites and Blacks. In the United States the separating line was drawn between the pure White race and persons of all shades of color, and thus a more intelligent element, with better chances of enlightenment, was identified with the cause of the plantation slave, in addition to the ethical influence of the nonslaveholding White population. In a contest between human rights based on natural law, and special privileges based on conventional law, the former will prevail during the healthy development of a people, and where privileges prevail, there the State is sinking through ignorance to dependence.

The narrow exclusive religious convictions of the New England settlers had little consideration for people of other or of no religious creed. The enslaved Indian was held by them more as a conquered foe than a merchantable article, while holding Negro slaves was more the aristocratic distinction of wealth. The agricultural and industrial conditions did not favor slaveholding at the North and the spirit of the community did not connive at slavebreeding. Entirely different relations existed in the South, where slave labor was highly remunerative and where the climate, the health, the descent or previous residence, to some extent at least disqualified the White inhabitant from great exertions. Georgia was the only Southern State which prohibited Slavery, owing to the farsighted wisdom of its chivalrous founder and first Governor, James Oglethorpe, who aided by John Wesley, the founder of Methodism, kept Slavery out of Georgia from 1733 to 1752, or as long as their personal influence lasted. As soon as Georgia became a royal province, the desire of its inhabitants for pecuniary profit upset all the humanitarian aims of its great founder. The opposition to Slavery or the appreciation of its true nature, did not fade out in the South, with the departure of men like Oglethorpe. A Darien, Georgia, committee, in denouncing the arbitrary measures of the British Government, also condemned the institution of Slavery, as follows:

"To show the world that we are not influenced by any contracted or interested motive, but a general philanthropy for all mankind, of whatever climate, language or complexion, we hereby declare our disapprobation and

abhorrence of the unnatural practice of Slavery in America, a practice founded in injustice and cruelty, and highly dangerous to our liberties, debasing part of our fellow creatures below men and corrupting the virtue and morals of the rest. . . We therefore resolve at all times to use our utmost efforts for the manumission of our Slaves in this colony, upon the most safe and equitable footing for the masters and themselves."

Far more important than the above is the language of the Declaration of Independence, which was solemnly adopted and ratified by all the States of the Union. In this document the immortal Thomas Jefferson, who is deservedly but not most logically considered the Apostle of one of our great political parties, vindicates absolute and universal human right, in the most unqualified terms. If there could be any doubt about the general application of these terms to all men, African or any other, slaves included, it must be removed by the statement of Thomas Jefferson's autobiography, in which he refers to a sentence contained in the original draft of his Declaration of Independence, thus charging George III.:

"Determined to keep open a market where Men should be bought and sold, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or to restrain this execrable commerce. And that this assemblage of horrors might want no fact of distinguished dye, he is now exciting those very people to rise in arms among us, and purchase that liberty of which he has deprived them, by murdering the people on whom he also obtruded them; thus paying off former crimes committed against the Liberties of one people with crimes which he urges them to commit against the Lives of another."

Jefferson states that this clause was struck out in complaisance to South Carolina and Georgia, who wished to continue the importation of slaves, and further on he states verbally: "Our Northern brethren also, I believe, felt a little tender under those censures; for, though their people had very few slaves themselves, yet they had been pretty considerable carriers of them to others." This goes to show, that at the time of the Declaration of Independence, both North and South were responsible for the existence of Slavery. The evil effects pointed out by Jefferson in his original draft, were terribly felt during the war of Independence; thousands of Negroes escaped to British camps, and those that did not flee but heard of the exciting proclamations of the British, kept the people of the Southern States in a continuous dread of insurrection and hindered them from giving the American cause their full energetic support.

For it is only fair to believe, that in 1776 the men of the South were as patriotic as those of the North, as in the number and ability of eminent, genial statesmen who espoused the cause of Independence, the South even excelled the North. Yet the following table shows an astonishing disparity in the proportion of men from these sections, who had rendered military service during the war of Independence:

States.	Population End of War.[1]	Continental Soldiers.[2]	Militia Soldiers.	Slaves approximated by Census of 1790.
New Hampshire	102,000	12,496	2,093	158
Rhode Island	51,869	5,878	4,284	952
Connecticut	208,870	32,039	7,792	2,759
Massachusetts	330,000	68,007	15,155	
New York	215,283	18,331	3,304	21,324
New Jersey	138,934	10,726	6,055	11,423
Pennsylvania	330,000	25,608	7,357	3,737
Total of Northern States	1,376,956	173,085	46,040	40,353
Delaware	37,000	2,317	376	8,887
Maryland	250,000	13,912	4,127	103,036
Virginia	532,000	26,668	5,620	293,427
North Carolina	224,000	7,263		100,572
South Carolina	188,000	6,417		107,094
Georgia	80,000	2,679		29,264
Total of Southern States	1,311,000	59,256	10,123	642,280

Thus, to the Continental Army the Northern States sent nearly three men to one sent by the Southern States, and in the Militia the ratio was nine from the North to two from the South.

The above numbers by themselves alone would fully justify the opinion of the greatest statesmen of the South, who were in favor of discontinuing Slavery as soon as possible. The fact that one-third of the Southern population were slaves, had a very bad effect upon their defensive capacity, which was still more reduced by their having few large cities and a very extended coast, offering an excellent base of operations for the British army.

TERRITORIAL AND ECONOMIC RELATIONS.

At the time when the Territories, previously claimed by States, were partly ceded to the general Government, Jefferson gave another

[1] From Andrews History.

[2] Collection New Hampshire Historical Society.

TERRITORY CEDED BY STATES TO UNITED STATES.

strong proof of his desire to restrict Slavery to the narrowest limits. On March 1, 1784, he presented the deed of cession of the Territory, heretofore claimed by Virginia, and being appointed on the Committee, he reported an Ordinance for the government of the Territory ceded already, or to be ceded by individual "States to the United States," for all land included between the 31° and the 47° of Latitude, which actually also included the Territory of the present State of Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee and all land North of these States. This Ordinance also contained a subdivision of the ceded Territory, with the names for the new States to be subsequently admitted by a two-third vote of the old States. The fifth Section of that Ordinance read: "That after the year 1800 of the Christian era, there shall be neither Slavery nor involuntary servitude, in any of the said States, otherwise than in punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted to have been personally guilty." At the end of this Ordinance was a provision that its "Articles shall be formed into a charter of compact," which shall stand as fundamental condition, between the Thirteen States and those newly described, unalterable, except by the joint consent of the United States in Congress assembled and of the particular State, within which such alteration is proposed to be made. This proves that Jefferson wanted to add only Free States to the Union, and to make a change of that condition as difficult as possible.

When this Ordinance was taken up by Congress, members from North and South Carolina objected to Section Five. The vote had to be taken by States. Six States voted for the Section and three States sustained the objection. A majority of all the Thirteen States being required, Section Five, containing the restriction on Slavery was lost. This was caused by the absence of one member from New Jersey. A very unfortunate event, fraught with the most disastrous consequences, for if the restriction had been adopted, Slavery would have existed only in the States of Maryland, Virginia, Delaware, North and South Carolina and Georgia, it could have been bought off gradually, without loss to the slaveholder and at a very moderate cost to the nation. It is awful to contemplate what sacrifices were entailed by the absence of one man from his post of duty. Restricted forever to six States, the Slavery question could never have become the Keystone of a great political party, it never could have consumed the energies of a great nation by endless and hopeless altercations, it never could have alienated the South from the North, could not have

led to an almost successful Secession of half the Union, and never could have provoked the greatest and most expensive civil war.

On July 13, 1784, the Continental Congress adopted by an unanimous vote of the States then represented, an Ordinance regarding the Territories of the United States Northwest of the Ohio River, which among other things, enacted: "There shall be neither Slavery, nor involuntary Servitude in the said Territory, otherwise than in punishment of crimes, whereof the parties shall be duly convicted." This last Ordinance also contained a provision for the rendition of fugitive slaves, which appears to have been the prize for the exclusion of Slavery from that Territory Northwest of the Ohio. Congress was authorized by the Constitution, to forbid the foreign slave trade from the year 1808, which was fortunately done by an act passed March 2, 1807.

The power and obligation to return fugitive slaves, embodied in the Constitution of the United States, Art. IV., Sec. II., Paragraph 3, designates slaves as "persons held to service or labor in one State," and neither in this Section, nor in the one providing for the prohibition of the foreign slave trade, nor in the Section which establishes that three-fifths of the slaves shall be added to the White population in apportioning the quota of representation in Congress, nor anywhere in the Constitution, is the word "Slave" used. This proves that the framers of the Constitution, far from endorsing Slavery, even avoided to name it, and only suffered its existence in the hope that it will fade out soon. Coming events did not verify this expectation. A peaceful and final solution of the Slavery question was possible, by framing the privileges and obligations of the Constitution accordingly, but as this was not done, the two sections of the country started on diverging roads; two contrary systems of labor bred opposing interests, various customs, tastes, convictions, a hostile spirit, and the only other final solution left, was that awful arbitrament of arms, which ended at Appomattox.

Ever since the adoption of the Constitution, the influence and power of both free labor and slave labor grew steadily, and they grew sometimes by giant strides. Opinions crystalized North and South on a different basis and in different issues, and an earlier calamity of an open breach was only staved off by periodical compromise. The Constitution of the United States was adopted and signed, September 17, 1787, and already, in 1790, a stringent Fugitive Slave act was passed by Congress, the execution of which became

a source of continuous trouble and agitation. Shortly before, in December, 1789, North Carolina ceded the Territory of Tennessee to the Union, with the following condition: "Provided always that no regulation made or to be made by Congress shall tend to emancipate Slaves." On the 2d of April, 1802, Georgia ceded her Territory, which now forms most of the States of Alabama and Mississippi, under the same conditions which governed the North-West Territory, "the article only excepted which forbids Slavery." These very large Territories were situated far inland; nowhere bordering on the sea; adjoining Slave States; well adapted for the staple products of the South—and they were many hundred miles away from the Free States, it was therefore, only natural, that the new States to be formed from them would become Slave States. Thus retribution followed upon the heels of an evil compromise, and the chance frustration of Thomas Jefferson's far-sighted policy. The aggression of the slaveholders did not stop here. A convention of that part of the North-West Territory which was to become the State of Ohio, petitioned Congress in 1802 for a temporary suspension of that part of the Ordinance which prohibited Slavery. Had this been granted, it would have carried Slavery North of the Ohio River, and once established there, it would have been very difficult to eradicate it. John Randolph of Roanoke, Va., himself a slaveholder, as Chairman of a Committee, reported adversely to the petition, stating that they "deem it highly dangerous and inexpedient to impair a provision wisely calculated to promote the happiness and prosperity of the North Western Country." No action was taken by Congress upon this petition, not even after the same was endorsed later by both Houses of the Territorial Legislature and repeatedly presented by William Henry Harrison, then Governor of the Territory and later President of the United States. Thus the wisdom of Congress saved the North-West Territory from a blight, which a great many of its inhabitants were ready to fasten upon it.

LOUISIANA PURCHASE.

It now happened that an event, otherwise of incalculable benefit to the people of the Union, should incidentally also strengthen the cause of Slavery. On April 30, 1803, Napoleon sold the Louisiana Territory comprising the land west of the Mississippi, to the United States. The motive for this was evident. France could not defend this Territory, neither by sea nor by land, and in order to prevent

its conquest by England, Napoleon transferred it to the United States, which already then bid fair to become a most formidable rival to the English power on the American Continent. Slavery was an existing institution in the Louisiana Territory, already before the transfer, and as all property rights were guaranteed by the purchase, Slavery became an established fact in this part of the Union. Before portions of this new Territory could possibly become States, the number of slaveholders would increase, making it quite certain that the Southern part of the Louisiana Purchase would eventually be divided into several Slave States. The products of slave labor exhausted the soil and migration from old plantations, particularly from the hill lands, to the rich bottoms of the West, was the easiest remedy against the curse of impoverished lands. Besides the robber agriculture, the continual abrasion of large cleared tracks, the habitual exportation of bulky raw material, of necessity reduced the fertility of the old plantations. For this reason, the Eastern Slave States with impoverished soil, became slave breeders, and the South Western States slave consumers.

In 1793 an invention made by Eli Whitney, of Massachusetts, added infinitely to the growing power of Slavery. The greatest drawback in the production of cotton was the difficulty of its separation from the seeds. Even the first crude machines of Eli Whitney's cotton gin, increased the producing capacity of one man thirty fold, and improvements to the machine added much to its capacity. This made cotton raising exceedingly profitable and increased the production from 10,000 bales in 1793 to 1,000,000 bales in 1830, and to 5,000,000 bales in 1860. Eli Whitney reaped little benefit from his invention. The same greed which made chattels out of human beings, trespassed upon his patent, and robbed him of the just fruits of his labor.

The long cherished expectation that Slavery would decrease, after the importation of foreign slaves ceased, was not realized, chiefly on account of the great wealth of the unoccupied land. Never since mankind has a History did any nation fall heir to such an immense land possession, of a fertile virgin soil, located in a genial climate. There was elbow room here for many, many millions of people; slave raising was inexpensive in the South and the price of slaves high, labor was degraded, the workman called the mudsill of society and the White man considered it below his dignity to work in competition with the Negro slave.

In 1817 an attempt was made to colonize the Western Coast of Africa, and to 1847 about 15,000 colored people made the new State, Liberia, their home. But the result was out of all proportion to the object sought, and this notion of solving the color problem has been pretty nearly abandoned since. The very great pecuniary investments in slaves and their products obliterated by degrees in the population of the Slave States the virtuous principles of the heroes of the revolutionary war and of the framers of the Constitution. Practicing Slavery in all its horrible details, men became callous to all finer sentiments and boldly advanced the doctrine that Slavery was right; that it was a blessing for the slave; that it was in keeping with the laws of God, as stated by many ministers of the Gospel in the South. Habit, local pride and a false idea of self interest prompted the large majority in the Southern States to follow the political lead of John C. Calhoun and other talented men, who placed Slavery and its extension above Liberty and the Union, and the spirit of 1776 was shared in the South by a great many only so far as it maintained the "peculiar institution." Contrary opinions were at first frowned upon, afterward proscribed and very soon persecuted.

SEGREGATION OF PARTIES.

Not only interests built up parties, but also political convictions and sympathies. The Federalists, under the lead of Alexander Hamilton, being in power, during the first two administrations, favored a liberal construction of the Constitution; sought the friendship of England, advocated a national bank, urged the assumption by the Federal Government of the State debts which made a Tariff necessary; while their opponents condemned most of these measures, and as a minority, demanded a strict construction of the United States Constitution, favored democratic France and styled themselves "Republicans," strengthening thereby the inference, "that the Federalists were leaning towards the centralization of power common to monarchies. The Federalists were strongest in the North, the Republican Democrats in the South. The first issues between these parties, already lead to the first compromise, in consequence of which the national capital was located on Southern soil, while the Federalist policy, for the assumption of the State debts prevailed. The natural sequel to this was a Tariff policy, because the raising of

the needed funds by direct taxation was out of question, on account of the provisions of Art. 1, Sect. II., Par. 3, of the United States Constitution, which ordains: "Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons." Thus a direct tax would have been most oppressive on the poorer States and on the Slave States. The party division, already strongly sectional, was made critical by influences from beyond the sea. The French revolution of 1789 breathed the spirit of the Declaration of Independence of 1776 and of its author, Thomas Jefferson, the acknowledged leader of the Republican-Democrats. The political waves in France ran high enough to be felt on this side of the Atlantic, all the more, as the people here had just emerged from a long and victorious contest against England. No wonder that with the just criticism of the Federalist policy of the Government, needless abuse and vituperation was also heaped upon leaders, who favored England in the giant contest in Europe. Thus it happened, during the administration of John Adams (1797–1801), that the Federalists retaliated upon their adversaries and adopted the "Alien and Sedition" laws, which gave the President power to send any foreigner at his discretion out of the country, also to punish libels on the President or other high officials, without judicial proceedings. This violation of the liberty of the press and free speech was resented all over the country and caused the final and lasting defeat of the Federalist party.

STATE RIGHTS.

The policy of the Federalists was met by the Republican-Democrats with a declaration of State Rights in the Kentucky resolutions, restricting the Federal authority to the rights granted by the United States Constitution; claiming those rights not prohibited as reserved to the States, and declaring that all laws and measures of the General Government, not in keeping with such delegated powers, were void and of no force, and that according to the "compact (the Constitution) each State acceded as a State and as an integral party, its co-States forming as to itself the other party; that the Government created by this compact was not made the exclusive or final judge

of the extent of the powers delegated to itself, since that would have made its discretion and not the Constitution, the measure of its powers; but that as in all other cases of compact among powers having no common judge, each party has an equal right to judge for itself, as well of infractions, as of the mode and measure of redress." The resolution, credited to Thomas Jefferson, also attacked the Alien and Sedition acts in strong terms, calling upon other States to condemn and oppose all such usurpations of power by the General Government, and they assume also for the other States, that each will take measures of its own, in providing that neither "these acts nor any others of the General Government, not plainly and intentionally authorized by the Constitution, shall be exercised within their respective Territories." Virginia passed similar resolutions, which had James Madison for their author.

These resolutions already contained the seeds of Secession, for a difference of opinion upon a question of competency might arise at any time, and in such an event Nullification was not the proper remedy, but reference to a final tribunal; such was the Supreme Court of the United States, which by the terms of the Constitution had authority "in all controversies to which the United States shall be a party," also "in controversies between two or more States." It must be borne in mind that Jefferson's championship of State Rights was caused by the tendency of centralization in the Federalists' camp and by their evident abuse of power in passing the "Alien and Sedition" laws; for no statesman ever opposed Slavery extension more successfully than Thomas Jefferson.

The fear of centralization aided the State Rights doctrine, still the Constitution gave Congress the final sovereign power, and the method of election of United States Senators and Members of the House neutralized all dangers of centralization. The Supreme Court consisting of members from different sections of the Union and subject to confirmation by the Senate could hardly be considered a partisan body, representing only the specific interests of the Federal Government. This seems to have been the only chance for adjustment of a radical difference between the Federal and State authorities, and its only alternative was Secession and civil war. Upon this subject James Madison writes in a letter of December 23, 1832, to H. P. Trist, that Jefferson believed in the power of the old Congress to coerce a delinquent State and also states that neither the Virginia resolutions, which he wrote himself, nor the Kentucky resolutions,

attributed to Jefferson, bear out a different construction. In another letter to the same party, dated January 20, 1833, Madison states "The doctrine of Secession is losing ground, but it has as yet more adherents than its twin heresy Nullification, though it ought to be buried in the same grave with it," and farther on the father of the Constitution foreshadows the great tragedy in store for this nation: "In the event of an irreconcilable conflict, not of rights, but of opinions and claims of right, force becomes the arbiter."

During the debate of January 26, 1830, upon the Nullification of an act of Congress by a State, Daniel Webster clearly and forcibly stated the issue in these words:

> "I cannot conceive that there can be a middle course between submission to the laws, when regularly pronounced constitutional, on the one hand, and open resistance, which is revolution or rebellion, on the other. I say the right of a State to annul a law of Congress cannot be maintained but on the ground of the inalienable right of man to resist oppression—that is to say, upon the ground of revolution. I admit that there is an ultimate violent remedy above the Constitution and in defiance of the Constitution, which may be resorted to, when revolution is to be justified. But I do not admit that, under the Constitution and in conformity with it, there is any mode in which a State Government, as a member of the Union, can interfere and stop the progress of the general movement, by force of her own laws under any circumstance whatever."

This opinion, from one of the greatest legal minds and statesmen of the Union, although given thirty years later, is quite as applicable at the time, when the Kentucky resolutions appeared in the political arena, and it would be highly surprising should the same argument not have been also obvious to the sage of Monticello, whose sincerity and patriotism was never doubted. When the Louisiana Purchase was made, Jefferson stated: "It was an act beyond the Constitution," which had made no provision for holding foreign territory, and he stated: "The Legislature must ratify and pay for it and throw themselves on their country for doing for them unauthorized what we know they would have done themselves had they been in a situation to do it." The readiness to act for the benefit of the country, even without authority, the adherence to strict construction of the Constitution, the conscientiousness of seeking subsequently the authority for the action, are equally commendable, though these virtues do not seem to harmonize with the Nullification doctrine of the Kentucky resolutions, which showed the road to a most dangerous application, no doubt foreign to Jefferson's mind, who vindicated

State Rights to counteract centralization. As Jefferson prevented Slavery from going into the North-West Territory and exerted himself to restrict it, to the original States, it could not possibly have been his intention to advance a State Rights doctrine which could be used to spread Slavery over this Continent.

It is astonishing how in the course of years party names and party programmes changed. Thomas Jefferson, the Apostle of the Democratic party for nearly a century was the leader of the Republicans or opponents of the Federalists. In his message of December 14, 1806, President Jefferson recommends not only protection, but also the application of a probable surplus in the Treasury, to public education and internal improvements. As a strict constructionist he recommends at the same time that the enumeration of these powers should be added through amendments to the Constitution. His devotion to the Union is expressed in these words: "By these operations, new channels of communication will be opened between the States, the lines of separation will disappear; their interests will be identified, and their Union cemented by new and indissoluble ties." The Presidents elected by the followers of Jefferson, inclusive Jackson, advocated a protective Tariff. John C. Calhoun favored this policy, and a national policy generally, up to the year 1820, about which time his convictions changed and he became the leader of all violent State Rights men, and an uncompromising Free Trade advocate.

THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE.

At the session of Congress of 1818, a petition was presented for admission of Missouri as a State in the Union, which led to a very spirited contest between the Free and Slave State parties. After many debates, amendments and votes, no definite result was attained, nor did the Congress of 1819 settle the question. Arkansas, however, was admitted as a Slave State by a very close vote. The Missouri Statehood question, relative to Slavery, came up again in the fall of 1819. The Ordinance of 1787 had fixed the Ohio River as the Northern boundary for Slavery, and a majority of the House of Representatives desired to extend that boundary due Westward from the mouth of the Ohio, and to restrict Slavery North of that line to those born at the time of admission and until they were twenty-five years old. This proposition was rejected by the Senate. Memorials from State Legislatures and citizens, written by the ablest men of

the country, supported the restriction of Slavery in Missouri, while fully as able men espoused the Southern side. It is noteworthy that at this time, the Grand Juries of St. Louis, St. Charles and Jefferson Counties, volunteered to instruct Congress, that it was infringing upon the rights of the States, by forestalling the existence of Slavery in Missouri, nor is it less memorable that Edward Bates, "the favored son of Missouri," for the Republican nomination of 1860, was March, 1819, Deputy Circuit Attorney for Jefferson County, of above Grand Jury celebrity. The remonstrance from Massachusetts, written by Daniel Webster, contained these memorable words:

"We have a strong feeling of the injustice of any toleration of Slavery. Circumstances have entailed it on a portion of our community, which cannot be immediately relieved of it without consequences more injurious than the suffering of the evil. But to permit it in a new country, where as yet no habits are formed which render it indispensable, what is it but to encourage that rapacity, and fraud, and violence, against which we have so long pointed the denunciations of our penal code? What is it, but to tarnish the proud fame of the country? What is it, but to throw suspicion on the good faith, and to render questionable all its professions of regard for the rights of Humanity and the Liberties of Mankind?"

On the 19th of February, 1820, the United States Senate sent to the House an act to admit Maine as a Free State, with the condition attached, to authorize the people of Missouri to form a State Constitution. The bill now introduced for the admission of Missouri contained a provision to exclude free colored persons from residence in the State. This was deemed unconstitutional, and the House of Representatives opposed it. Upon the initiative of Henry Clay, a Conference Committee was selected, which recommended practically the admission of Maine as a Free State and of Missouri as a Slave State, provided no more Slave States shall be created from the Louisiana Purchase Territory, North of 36° 30' North Latitude. Upon motion of Mr. Thomas from Illinois, who had opposed restriction all the time, the so-called Missouri Compromise measure was adopted, which reads as follows:

"And be it further enacted, That in all that Territory, ceded by France to the United States, under the name of Louisiana, which lies north of 36 degrees 30 minutes north latitude, excepting only such part thereof as is included within the limits of the State contemplated by this act, Slavery and involuntary servitude, otherwise than in punishment of crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall be and is hereby forever prohibited: Provided always, That any person escaping into the same, from whom

labor or service is lawfully claimed in any State or Territory of the United States, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labor or service as aforesaid."

The Missouri Compromise measure passed the House by a majority of three, all Representatives from the Slave States and fourteen from the Free States voting for it, and eighty-seven Representatives of the Free States voting against it. Animosity run high during this debate and threats of separation were freely made; but it is more than doubtful that the exclusion of Slavery from Missouri would have led to a Secession attempt.

The passage of the Missouri Compromise quieted for a period the existing antagonism which had deeply agitated all minds. Ex-President Jefferson wrote about it: "The Missouri question is the most portentous which has ever threatened the Union. In the gloomiest hour of the Revolutionary war, I never had apprehensions equal to those which I feel from this source." Considering that these words fell from the lips of the sage of Monticello, who trembled for the fate of his country as he reflected upon the wrong of Slavery, and the Justice of God, the Missouri Compromise as a mere procrastination of the Slavery issue, had an ominous significance. However, other questions of moment, soon occupied the public mind. Spain ceded Florida in 1820, and the Union recognized the South American States, which recently set up independent governments.

TARIFF AND NULLIFICATION.

A very high Tariff was passed in 1828, and although shortly afterwards modified, it exasperated the State Rights partisans for political as well as for economic reasons. To remedy this grievance, a convention was called in South Carolina, which met at her capital, November 19, 1832, and which passed an Ordinance, declaring the existing Tariff "Null and Void and no law, nor binding on this State, its Officers or Citizens," and at the same time it was forbidden within the State of South Carolina to pay duties on imports, after February 1, 1833. No appeal to the Supreme Court against the validity of said act should be permitted, and any appeal to the judiciary of the United States, relative that Ordinance, should be dealt with as for a contempt of the Court. Officeholders and Jurors were obliged to swear to obey this Ordinance. In case the Federal Government should try to enforce the law nullified by the Ordinance, South

Carolina would no longer consider herself a member of the Federal Union, but forthwith proceed to organize a separate Government, and do "all other acts and things which sovereign and independent States may of right do." The Governor of South Carolina endorsed this Nullification Ordinance in the strongest terms; the Legislature passed acts to give it effect and authorized the Governor to accept the services of Volunteers; John C. Calhoun resigned the Vice Presidency of the United States and was elected Senator; proceeding in December to Washington, took his seat and the oath to maintain the Constitution of the United States, thereby proving his firm belief in the legality of the Nullification Ordinance and practice. But other Southern statesmen thought differently at that time (1832). The Richmond *Enquirer,* headed by Thomas Jefferson and the ablest Democrats, stated upon Secession: "The majority of the States which formed the Union must consent to the withdrawal of any one branch of it. Until that consent has been obtained, any attempt to dissolve the Union or obstruct the efficiency of its constitutional laws, is Treason—Treason to all intents and purposes." About this time, President Jackson summoned Francis P. Blair (the father of Montgomery and Frank P. Blair), an able political writer and planter from Kentucky, to edit the *Globe* at Washington, in order to combat the then revealed powerful combination of Nullifiers. President Jackson did not wait for the prompting of Congress, but anticipating the passage of the Nullification Ordinance, assembled Regiments within convenient distance of South Carolina, stating to its people what they had to expect. He is even reported to have sent word to Calhoun that if he did any treasonable act he would hang him. General Scott received instruction for "superintending the safety of the ports of the United States," and also that he would be aided with the available military force. Instructions were likewise sent to the Collector of the Port at Charleston, guiding his actions, in case the Nullifiers should attempt to prevent the collection of duties under the United States law and Tariff. In December, 1832, President Jackson issued his famous proclamation, that he will suppress Nullification as treason. In this document he declares:

"To say that any State may at pleasure secede from the Union, is to say that the United States are not a nation, because it would be a solecism to contend that any part of a nation might dissolve its connection with the other parts, to their injury or ruin, without committing an offense. Secession like any other revolutionary act, may be morally justified by the extremity

of oppression; but to call it a constitutional right, is confounding the meaning of terms, and can only be done through gross error, or to deceive those who are willing to assert a right, but would pause before they make a revolution, or incur the penalties consequent on a failure."

On his duties as President he says:

"The laws of the United State must be executed. I have no discretionary power on the subject. Those who told you that you might peaceably prevent their execution deceived you. They could not have been deceived themselves; they know that a forcible opposition could alone prevent the execution of the laws and they know that such opposition must be repelled. Their object is disunion. But be not deceived by names. Disunion by armed force is Treason."

Jackson died the idol of the Democratic party which only in later years, by a peculiar combination of circumstances, became the champion of Slavery extension.

The President in this document also appeals to the patriotism of the people of South Carolina, to their conscience as men imperilling the happiness of their fellow citizens, and closes his proclamation with these patriotic words:

"May the great Ruler of nations grant that the signal blessings with which he has favored ours, may not, by the madness of party, or personal ambition, be disregarded and lost; and may his wise providence bring those who have produced this crisis, to see the folly, before they see the misery, of civil strife; and inspire a returning veneration for that Union, which, if we may dare to penetrate His designs, He has chosen as the only means of attaining the high destinies to which we may reasonably aspire."

January 16, 1833, President Jackson issued a special message against Nullification, in which among other statesmanlike arguments he says:

"It is the attribute of free institutions, that under them the empire of reason and law is substituted for the power of the sword," and he declares, "It is the right of mankind generally to secure, by all means in their power, the blessings of liberty and happiness; but when for these purposes any body of men have voluntarily associated themselves, under any particular form of government, no portion of them can dissolve the association without acknowledging the correlative right in the remainder, to decide, whether that dissolution can be permitted consistently with the general happiness."

If these uncontrovertible truths would have been heeded later on by his fellow citizens, fellow partymen, fellow inhabitants of the

South, and fellow slaveholders, what immense sacrifices would have been saved to this nation!

President Jackson's policy and proclamation was greeted enthusiastically by all States except South Carolina. Nevertheless, a bill was introduced in Congress proposing sweeping reductions and equalization of duties. This gave the South Carolina Legislature an opportunity to put off with good grace the date set for the actual infringement of the revenue laws, from the first day of February, 1834, until the close of the session of Congress and its final decision upon the new Tariff. Congress yielded towards the end of the session and adopted the compromise Tariff proposed by Henry Clay, which reduced the rates one-tenth every year until the 31st day of June, 1842, when all duties should be reduced to a maximum of twenty per cent. This left Calhoun and his followers the satisfaction that their grievance was acknowledged as just, even if their means for securing redress were considered wrong. Webster and Benton placed themselves in this controversy on national ground, claiming that the minority must submit; though Benton at this time commenced to revise his views upon a protective Tariff, saying in one of his speeches: "The fine effects upon the prosperity of the West have been celebrated on this floor (Senate), with how much reason, let facts respond, and the people judge! I do not think we are indebted to the high Tariff for our fertile lands and our navigable rivers, and I am certain we are indebted to these blessings for the prosperity we enjoy."

President Jackson signed the new Tariff act, though he condemned the policy of yielding, stating in a letter to a friend: "The next will be the Slavery or Negro question." Daniel Webster protested that no concession should be made to South Carolina until they should have abandoned their treasonable attitude, and Senator Benton said: "A compromise made with a State in arms is a capitulation to that State."

This success of South Carolina would naturally encourage the State Rights element in the South to try the threat of Secession again in the future. A litigation between the Cherokee Indians and the State of Georgia also proved that the sphere of Federal and State Rights was not clearly established. The United States had by treaties, granted to the Cherokees the possession of their lands, from which they were ousted through legislative proceedings of the State of Georgia. When the case of Tassells, a Cherokee, was

tried, the United States Court issued a "Writ of Error," asking Georgia to show cause, "why Tassells should not be discharged and his case be transferred to the Cherokee authorities, in keeping with existing treaties, the Writ was defied by Georgia, and the Indian was hung. In another instance, two missionaries were imprisoned by Georgia. Chief Justice Marshall held, that the treaties between the United States and the Cherokees were valid and binding on all the States and paramount to all State law, according to Article VI., Section 2, of the United States Constitution.

When the attorney of the missionaries applied to President Jackson to have the judgment enforced, he declined to do it, saying: "Well, John Marshall made his decision, let him enforce it." This was not at all in keeping with President Jackson's former energetic proclamation against the South Carolina Nullifiers, and he laid himself open to the supposition that in the South Carolina Nullifiers' case, he either yielded to his gifted Secretary of State, Edward Livingston, or possibly acted from personal jealousy of J. C. Calhoun, the leader of the Nullifier movement, while in the Georgia case he followed a policy of expediency, which suggested itself very opportunely, to reward political services. Possibly also Jackson may have thought, if Congress yielded to the South Carolina Nullifiers' threat, by adopting the Henry Clay compromise Tariff Bill, why should he, Jackson, not yield to the widespread prejudice against the Indian and his vested rights. Be this as it may, both cases were most unfortunate, as they strengthened the State Rights doctrine and helped to build up that arrogant, haughty spirit of the South, which in 1861 precipitated the civil war.

The lack of presidential power in similar difficulties, as the South Carolina Nullification scheme, caused the introduction of an act in Congress, named the Force Bill, which was to strengthen the President's hands; it passed the House by a vote of 149 to 48, and the Senate by a vote of 32 to 1.

When this bill was before the Senate, Benton emphatically reiterated the sentiment voiced by President Jackson, that the Union must and shall be preserved, and that it must be perpetual. On another occasion Benton used these words: "It was to get rid of the evils of the old Confederacy that the present Union was formed; and having formed it, they who formed it, undoubtedly undertook to make it perpetual and for that purpose had recourse to all sanctions held sacred among men: Commands, prohibition, oaths."

Comparing these sentiments with Benton's early inactivity during the admission of Missouri as a Slave State, it is safe to assume that he did not appreciate at first the Union destructive tendency of Slavery, and that later on he was influenced by other statesmen, most of all by that sterling Union man, President Andrew Jackson.

The protection of Slavery was no doubt the strongest incentive for the advocacy of State Rights, yet the Tariff question was closely linked with it. The Southern States were agricultural States, so made by the fertility of the soil, by climate and by their system of labor and lesser chances of navigation. The South, of necessity, had less cities, which are naturally the centers of manufactures. Producing only staple articles and buying all their other goods, even provisions, the Tariff appeared an injustice to them, as it raised the price of every commodity they had to buy. The ships that left the Southern States laden with tobacco and cotton had to return with empty hulls. All this deserves consideration, as it belongs to the springs of action, for even in a State like South Carolina, whose population has a decidedly emotional character, it would be difficult to start any great political movement without the substratum of an apparently rational cause. It must be also conceded that in an immense country, with a great variety of climate, soil and productions, it is an exceedingly difficult task to construct a Tariff which will be just to all sections.

The home market which a Tariff policy created did not benefit the Cotton States and benefited the Border States only to a limited extent. The manufacture of articles for defense in case of war, called for their nursing as a home production, but the Southern States had no share in this manufacture, which built up during wars with foreign countries, still needed protection after peace was made.

These differences of interests would probably have been adjusted by the accession of many Western States, which had similar Tariff interests as the South; the latter, however, showed no disposition to regulate the slave question in a manner to secure its extinction at a future, even at a remote future date, and it is this chiefly which led at the North to the

ABOLITION MOVEMENT.

The wave of popular enthusiasm which spread by the Declaration of Independence, carried sentiments for freedom, equity and human rights all over the Union; still the ablest and most outspoken oppo-

nents to Slavery came from Southern States; among these were: Oglethorpe of Georgia, Henry Laurens of South Carolina, John Randolph, Thomas Jefferson, George Washington of Virginia. The brightest minds during the war for Independence, held, that the right to self government and to a representation of interests could only be safely based upon the broad principle that every man is born free and equal and entitled to enjoy the fruits of his labor. These sentiments grew strong in the character of the American people, by the exertions with which they conquered the difficulties of settlement; they flashed into consciousness through the doctrines of contemporaneous philosophers, who even before the Declaration of Independence, spread the political gospel of ideal democracy and human rights, shaking the structures of legalized usurpation and blind prejudices, to their very foundation. From the works of the Reformation, from the examples of Sidney and Hampden, from the writings of the Encyclopedists, sprung the seeds of independence, of convictions and measures, which had to destroy Slavery.

Among the Articles of Association, which the General Congress of Philadelphia adopted in 1774, was the agreement, "that we will neither import nor purchase any slave imported after the first day of December next," and in keeping with this agreement the slave trade was discontinued in nearly all States, while Slavery itself was gradually abolished in all Northern States. Societies were formed in most States, including Maryland and Virginia, which favored the emancipation of all slaves. Benjamin Franklin at the age of 84 years, was President of a similar Society and petitioned Congress for the "restoration to liberty of those unhappy men who alone in this land of freedom are degraded into perpetual bondage."

Congress politely declined many similar petitions, stating it had no power to abolish Slavery in the States. These petitions created no excitement at first, but the spirit of the population and of the representatives changed, when new machinery and new territory made Slavery more remunerative. Many people at the North shared in these advantages, by furnishing provisions and other goods to the South and favored conditions resulting to their benefit; thus Edward Everett from Massachusetts stated in the Congress of 1826, that Slavery was sanctioned by religion; which John Randolph rebuked with the words, "I envy neither the head nor the heart of that man from the North who rises here to defend Slavery upon principle."

The majority in Congress, however, resented the numerous petitions for the abolishment of Slavery in the District of Columbia, and by Rule 21, forbade their reading, which reduced their number from 6000 a year to 2; of this policy J. M. Botts, the distinguished Virginia statesman and slaveholder, stated that the denial of the right of petition in connection with Slavery "gave the first impetus toward a regular organization of a formidable Abolition party in all the Northern States."

Botts further shows how the position of extreme Southern statesmen in the Texas question reacted upon the North, by stating of Calhoun:

"He openly proclaimed that the great object of the annexation was for the expansion of Slave territory, and consequent increase and continuance of power of the Democracy of the South, and this it was, as I had it from his own lips, that first drove John Quincy Adams into the ranks of the Abolition party."

In his work, "The Great Rebellion" (page 95), Botts relates upon this subject the following colloquy with Adams:

"Upon the adjournment of the House, we walked down together, and I took occasion to refer to his remarks and said, I thought he did not mean to say all that his language could imply? Yes, he replied, I said it deliberately and purposely. But, said I, Mr. Adams, you are not an Abolitionist? Yes, I am, said he. I never have been one until now; but when I see the Constitution of my country struck down by the South for such purposes as are openly avowed, no alternative is left me; I must oppose them with all the means within my reach; I must fight the devil with his own fire; and to do this effectually, I am obliged to co-operate with the Abolition party, who have been hateful to me heretofore."

Mr. Botts adds that John Quincy Adams exercised more influence upon a large portion of the North than any other man.

The action of the Constitutional Convention of Virginia in the year 1820, proved the aggressive disposition of the slaveowners. The majority sought a representation in the State Legislature, based upon the number of white inhabitants; the minority claimed that three-fifths of the slaves held chiefly in the Eastern counties, should be added to their white population and form the basis of representation in the State Legislature. The minority carried the day, and the slaveholding or Eastern counties got the preponderance in political affairs. After this, the question of gradual emancipation was brought up only once more in the Virginia Legislature, but without

practical result. However, as the question of emancipation of slaves faded out in the South, it received new life and vigor in the North. Abolition Societies, Newspapers and Public meetings increased the agitation. Fearless men of strong convictions, great energy and perseverance devoted their capacity and life to the cause of emancipation. Benjamin Lundy, William Lloyd Garrison, Gerrit Smith, Elijah P. Lovejoy and others, exerted a most powerful influence upon the conscience of the nation. Though their number was small, their means insignificant, their education mostly commonplace, they reached the heart of the nation, both North and South; at the North rekindling the fires for universal freedom, reaching at first the leaders of intellect, from whom political insight permeated to the masses; while in the South, they excited the ire and hatred of the slaveowning aristocracy, who dreaded the danger to their possession in slaves and who were also deeply offended by the detestation of the peculiar institution, which they cherished, and enraged that petty scribblers and itinerant preachers dared to question the ethics of men before whose frown perhaps a thousand slaves trembled.

At the same time, poetry, novels and the stage graphically sketched the horrors of Slavery. "Uncle Tom's Cabin" by Harriet Beecher Stowe; poems of Longfellow and other able writers, roused the finer sensibilities of the nation.

Extreme views, always strongly in evidence, were voiced North and South, and in both sections inconsiderate zealots were ever ready to plunge the nation into the misery of civil war. It can not be denied, however, that even among moderate people, the sentiment opposing the further spread of Slavery was steadily growing at the North, while the disposition to spread Slavery at all hazards was steadily growing at the South, where liberty of speech, of the press and even of conscience, soon became a myth. The Abolitionists were mobbed not only in the South, but even by Proslavery people in the North; and this did not only happen to persons of extreme views, but also to those who remained loyal to political obligations. A striking example of this was the tragic fate of Elijah P. Lovejoy, which is all the more germain to this sketch as the scene of his activity was St. Louis and its neighborhood.

ELIJAH P. LOVEJOY

came to St. Louis in the year 1827, and earned his living as a teacher. He became editor of a political paper in 1828; four years later he became greatly interested in religious matters and entered a theological seminary in the East. Receiving a license, he preached in Rhode Island and New York in 1838. Returning to St. Louis, he established a religious newspaper under the name of "The St. Louis Observer," an orthodox Protestant paper although the people of St. Louis were mostly Catholics at the time. He took a firm stand against Slavery in 1835, but was opposed to immediate or unconditional emancipation. This does not seem to have been an exceptional position, for shortly before, the "St. Louis Republic," in discussing a proposed Constitutional Convention, stated:

> "We look to the convention as a happy means of relieving the State at some future day, of an evil, which is destroying all our wholesome energies, and leaving us, in morals, in enterprise and in wealth, behind the neighboring States. We mean of course the curse of Slavery. We are not about to make any attack upon the rights of those who at present hold this description of property. They ought to be respected to the letter. We only propose, that measures shall now be taken, for the Abolition of Slavery, at such distant period of time, as may be thought expedient, and eventually for ridding the country altogether of a colored population."

Lovejoy, in writing upon this article, expressed the wish that some Southern man, well acquainted with all the relations of Slavery, should take the lead in this matter. Nevertheless, a hostile movement was started against the "Observer," whose patrons knowing the dangers of the situation, addressed, on October 5, 1835, a letter to Reverend E. P. Lovejoy, its editor, of which the following are extracts: "The undersigned friends and supporters of the 'Observer' beg leave to suggest that the present temper of the times requires a change in the manner of conducting that print in relation to the subject of domestic Slavery. The public mind is greatly excited, and owing to the unjustifiable interference of our Northern brethren with our social relations, the community are, perhaps, not in a situation to endure sound doctrine in relation to this subject. Indeed, we have reason to believe that violence is even now meditated against the 'Observer' office"; advising him farther on 'to pass

over in silence everything connected with the subject of Slavery.'" This letter was signed by Archibald Gamble, Nathan Ranney, Wm. S. Potts, G. W. Call, H. R. Gamble, Hezekiah King, John Kerr, Beverly Allen, J. B. Bryant, some of the foremost men of all Missouri. The letter not only characterizes the situation, but also shows in what esteem E. P. Lovejoy was held. Not less characteristic is the endorsement of Lovejoy thereon: 'I did not yield to the wishes herein expressed and in consequence have been persecuted ever since. But I have kept a good conscience in the matter, and that more than repays me for all I have suffered or can suffer. I have sworn eternal opposition to Slavery, and by the blessing of God, I will never go back.' Amen. E. P. L., October 24, 1837."

The disposition on both sides, foreshadowed the issue, which was advanced by events, conditioned in the nature of things. Two men were illegally seized in Illinois, on a suspicion that they had decoyed slaves. They were brought to St. Louis, taken outside the city limits and whipped with 100 to 200 lashes, the citizens taking turns in the castigation. A meeting was held after the execution and resolutions passed, denying the right for the free discussion of Slavery and as leading to the disseverment of our prosperous Union.

The resolutions also invoked the example of the Patriarchs and Prophets, who possessed slaves and ended by stating: "We consider Slavery as it now exists in the United States, as sanctioned by the sacred Scriptures." Lovejoy criticised these resolutions, and quoted Article 13, Section 16, of the Constitution of Missouri, in force at that time, which orders: "That the free communication of thoughts and opinions is one of the invaluable rights of man, and that every person may freely speak, write and print on any subject, being responsible for the abuse of that liberty." After logically and eloquently defending his position, Lovejoy concluded his appeal to "My Fellow Citizens," with the following manful words:

"I do therefore, as an American citizen and Christian patriot, and in the name of Liberty and Law and Religion, solemnly protest against all these attempts, howsoever or by whomsoever made, to frown down the liberty of the press, and forbid the free expression of opinion. Under a deep sense of my obligations to my Country, the Church and my God, I declare it to be my fixed purpose, to submit to no such dictation. And I am prepared to abide the consequences. I have appealed to the Constitution and Laws of my country; if they fail to protect me, I appeal to God, and with him I cheerfully rest my cause."

Soon afterwards another incident aggravated the situation. In April, 1836, one McIntosh, a mulatto, while under arrest at St. Louis, killed an officer of the law. He was dragged by a mob to a stake near Sixth and Chestnut and burned alive; the charred corpse was afterwards made a target by degenerate boys. The case came before a Jury, which, in accordance with instructions, found no one guilty for the lawless and inhuman outrage. Lovejoy wrote about this in keeping with his conscience and convictions, whereupon the mob tore down his office. His press had been removed to Alton, Illinois, but was destroyed there by some antagonists. Citizens of Alton made good his loss and Lovejoy bought another press and again published the "Observer" until August, 1837, discussing Slavery in the same spirit as before. On the 17th of August the St. Louis Republic published an article, counselling the Alton people to eject from amongst them that minister of mischief, the "Observer," to put a stop to the efforts of fanatics or expel them from their community. If this is not done, the travel of emigrants through their State, and the trade of the Slaveholding States and particularly Missouri, must stop. Four days later, the press, type and furniture of the "Observer" were totally destroyed by a mob. An appeal to friends furnished Lovejoy again with means to purchase a new press and type. When this press arrived it was broken to pieces by a mob and thrown into the river, the city authorities of Alton apparently conniving at these outrages. Meetings held and resolutions passed repeatedly, to influence his course, met the same moderation, but also the same resolution, that he will remain true to his convictions and practice the rights of an American citizen. In one of his last speeches he said:

"I know, sir, that you can tar and feather me, hang me up, or put me into the Mississippi without the least difficulty. But what then? Where shall I go? I have been made to feel, that I am not safe at Alton; I shall not be safe anywhere." . . . "I have no more claim upon the protection of another community than I have upon this; and I have concluded, after consultation with my friends, and earnestly seeking counsel of God, to remain at Alton, and here to insist on protection in the exercise of my rights. If the Civil authorities refuse to protect me, I must look to God; and if I die, I have determined to make my grave in Alton."

Was it a premonition of his sad fate, or was it an intuitive divination, such as active exalted minds readily may gain from the logic

of past and coming events, which prompted these words? Sure it is: that what they implied, was soon to be fulfilled.

The last printing press was landed November 7, 1837, and under the protection of the city authorities, was safely placed in a warehouse, under the guard of a constable and a squad of a few men. These were attacked at night by a mob with brickbats and shots; the guard returned the fire, killing one man and wounding several others. Upon this the mob recoiled, but approached again more cautiously, scaled the roof with ladders and set the building on fire. A sortie of the guards succeeded in driving the mob back again. Lovejoy had stepped in front of the door, when a shot from ambush pierced his breast; he run back into the warehouse and fell dead with the words, "O God, I am shot." Here is an example of true greatness, such as Horace may have thought of when he wrote his immortal lines:

> "Justum ac tenacem propositi virum,
> Non civium ardor prava jubentium
> Mente quatit solida . . .
> Si fractus illabetur, orbis,
> Impavidum ferient ruinæ."[1]

Mobs do not reflect: they act upon the spur of the moment's passion. Had they reflected they would have paused, heeding the adage: "The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church."

INCENTIVES TO MOBS.

The lawless violence, which as a means of intimidation, destroyed the property and life of Lovejoy, was not restricted to the "Wild West"; nor was it a rare occurrence. Other presses were thrown into the river; other offices gutted; other editors and speakers threatened and mobbed. Prices were offered for the heads of prominent Anti-slavery men, while newspapers bribed by the profits of slave labor, preached a crusade against Anti-slavery agitators, and provoked mob violence against the modest cottage of the ignor-

[1]The just man, in his purpose strong,
No madding crowd can bend to wrong—
On him all fearless would be hurled
The ruins of a crumbling world."
(Gladstone's translation.)

ant and heedless Negro. President Jackson, in his annual message of December 2, 1835, called upon Congress to pass laws preventing the circulation of incendiary publications, prone to instigate slaves to insurrection. In this he had the support of J. C. Calhoun, saving the condition, that the latter desired the States to exercise the censorship. Governor Marcy, of New York, followed the lead, but Congress and Legislatures of Northern States were slow to infringe upon the liberty of the press, because the genius of the American people will stand considerable abuse before it will agree to curtail the free expression of thought. This, of course, did not quiet the sensibilities of slave owners or the inhabitants of Southern States, who actuated by economic and political motives, had also some apprehension of slave insurrections. True, there were fearful slave insurrections in ancient times, attempted with some show of success, even against powerful and warlike States. The uprising of the Helots against Sparta, about 470 B. C., tested the power of that State; but the Helots and their ancestors had been mostly warlike Greeks, and as knowledge in those days was chiefly spread by tradition and was not greatly cultivated by the Spartans, the intellectual superiority of the latter could have hardly outweighed the great numerical preponderance of the Helots, but for the rigid and perfect organization of the Spartans. Even a more formidable insurrection of slaves took place in the Roman State about 73 B. C., which not only left the local slave owners at the mercy of their former slaves, but also actually endangered the State. But the circumstances and conditions there were also widely different from those of the Slavery in the United States. The Roman's slave was often a captive of war, not seldom from a people of an old civilization; a considerable number of those slaves were trained for gladiators; their bodily strength, fighting skill and disdain of danger and death, were systematically cultivated, and in their great Slave insurrection they had the sympathy of the old but subdued owners of the soil. The military organization and maneuvers of Roman troops were convenient for observation and imitation; the weapons in use were within reach of the next blacksmith shop, no ammunition was needed, no large distances or rivers had to be overcome, and a few able men could organize an army in a comparatively short time. Notwithstanding these favorable circumstances, the revolt was ended in three years. The 6,000 slaves which were

crucified or hung, and the 60,000 slaves which were slain during this war, bear testimony to its dimensions. The cruelties perpetrated were those of ignorant masses in revolt, no matter what color they have. Another slave insurrection, the rising of the Negroes in Hayti, in 1791, was much more akin to the relations in the United States, with regard to time, place and other circumstances, being in the immediate neighborhood and effected by Negroes shortly before the time when the Slavery difficulties commenced in the Union. The Hayti slave insurrection deserves special notice and consideration, because it was originated by political strife and ended in the self-liberation of black slaves. In consequence of the proclamation of universal human rights by the National Assembly in France, a conflict took place in Hayti, between the French White slave owners and the free Negroes and Mulattoes, in which the numerous slaves soon took part, siding naturally with their own race. The French Legislative Assembly tried to end this difficulty, by granting equal rights to all. The Whites, being heretofore the privileged and possessive class, refused to obey the Assembly. This renewed the strife with horrible cruelties, which ended in the almost total extinction of the former slave owners. Compared with these mighty uprisings of slaves, what was Nat Turner's attempt with a band of 200 or John Brown's raid on Harper's Ferry with 22 men. And what could any slave insurrection at the South accomplish, as long as a fraternal fellow feeling at the North and the powerful arm of the Government was ready to suppress it? Still, with such examples before them, the slaveholders of the United States fought with the greatest susceptibility and irritation against every publication which touched upon Slavery.

This disposition made itself felt in Congress, mainly relative the District of Columbia, in which the laws of Virginia and Maryland had remained in force. Washington City soon became a lively domestic slave market, and even the United States Marshal entered into competition with the other slavedealers, by selling colored persons who stayed at the Capital contrary to law. This anomalous condition, considering the Declaration of Independence, was the cause of taunts from foreign nations, and was greatly resented at the North. Petitions for the discontinuance of the slave market and Slavery in the District were frequently presented, but differently received from the one sent in by Benjamin Franklin shortly before his death. Year after year the restrictive rules, bearing upon this

subject were made tighter; at first the petitions were to be read and then laid on the table; next, they were to be referred with instruction to report adversely; then they were to lay on the table without printing or reference; next there was added to the last condition, that no further action should be had upon them; next they should be received without being debated, printed, read or referred; and last the reception of such petitions should be considered objected to and laid on the table. It was proposed at one time, to the whole Southern delegation in Congress, to retire from the halls of Congress, on account of the bare presentation of Abolition petitions by members. Some of these rules are in violation of Article I of the amendments to the Constitution of the United States which enjoins "Congress shall make no law abridging the right of the people to petition the Government for a redress of grievances."

All these subtle schemes were vain; the spirit of the age effaced a cause which was lost from the very cradle.

FLORIDA AND TEXAS.

In 1820, or seventeen years after the Louisiana Purchase, Florida was ceded to the United States for Five (5) Million Dollars, and schemes were already then maturing which should bring Texas into the Union. The Western men sought new territory. American settlers moved into the province of Texas, before the Treaty of 1819 was ratified. They attempted an insurrection before Slavery was abolished in Mexico, but failed. Americans had taken their slaves with them into Texas, and when the Mexican Government decreed the liberation of all slaves, they refused to be bound by the decree, and thus Slavery became one of the causes of the rebellion of Texas against Mexico. Senator Benton was in favor of acknowledging Texas as an independent State; the North-East of the Union opposed it, for the intention was patent to secure more land for Slavery extension and to increase the representation of the Slave States in the Senate and House of Representatives.

In 1806, three years after the cession of Louisiana Territory, the Sabine River was agreed upon as the boundary of Texas. This was also acknowledged by the treaty ceding Florida in 1820 and was also admitted by two Secretaries of State, in offering a price for Texas which Mexico, however, declined to accept. For years combinations were planned and partly carried out, to wrest Texas from

the Spaniards, and after Mexico's Declaration of Independence, in 1822, also from the latter State.

Many adventurers and pioneers, mostly from the Southern States of the Union, settled in Texas, among whom M. Austin from St. Louis, and Sam Houston from Tennessee and Arkansas, were leading and representative men. These settlers called a constitutional convention in 1833, and passed a Declaration of Independence in 1836, which they actually made good, by the result of a successful war against Mexico. The origin of the settlers, the location and climate of Texas and Florida and their staple article cotton, had the tendency to make Slave States out of them, and for this reason their acquisition was firmly opposed at the North.

In a speech at Niblo's Garden, March 15, 1837, Daniel Webster said: "Texas is likely to be a slave holding country, and I frankly avow my unwillingness to do anything that shall extend the Slavery of the African race on this Continent or add other Slaveholding States to the Union. When I say that I regard Slavery in itself as a great moral, social and political evil, I only use language which has been adopted by distinguished men, themselves citizens of Slaveholding States."

In 1844 J. C. Calhoun as Secretary of State, presented a treaty for the annexation of Texas, which was rejected by Congress. The vote cast was in line with the Anti- and Proslavery element, and the latter openly avowed that they desired to establish an equipoise of influence in the Halls of Congress, which shall furnish them a guaranty of protection.

When Texas applied for Statehood and admission to the Union in 1838, the administration was not ready for war. The evident intention in the South was to perpetuate Slavery, by having at least as many Slave States as Free States. The argument was also used that as the United States laws protected the interests of the manufacturer at the North, they ought to extend their protection to Slavery at the South. Predictions were freely ventured that unless the above mentioned equality was maintained, the Union would vanish in the air. On the other hand the anti Slavery men stubbornly held that if Texas was annexed and Slavery perpetuated, the Union could not hold together. Ex-President Jackson advocated the annexation of Texas on military grounds, which argument was rather questionable, considering that England had not only the whole Atlantic Coast, but also the St. Lawrence River and the Lakes

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as a basis for military operations and that very long and difficult marches would have to be made, in order to reach from Texas any point of strategical importance. John C. Calhoun, as President Tyler's Secretary of State, sounded France on the annexation of Texas and advanced the argument that this measure would uphold Slavery through the whole Continent, which in his opinion was very desirable, as it would assist in the production of tropical and semi-tropical staples. Calhoun's political friends publicly declared, "Texas without the Union, rather than the Union without Texas."

Men who afterwards had a great influence in shaping the destinies of our nation were of a different opinion. In his Personal Memoirs, U. S. Grant says upon this question:

"United States Colonists to Texas introduced Slavery into the State almost from the start, though the Constitution of Mexico did not, nor does it now, sanction that institution."

"I was bitterly opposed to the measure (annexation of Texas), and to this day regard the war which resulted, as one of the most unjust ever waged by a stronger against a weaker nation."

"The occupation, separation and annexation were from the inception of the movement to its final consummation, a conspiracy to acquire territory, out of which Slave States might be formed for the American Union. . . . Nations, like individuals, are punished for their transgressions."

All controversy on Texas was brought to an end when J. K. Polk, an outspoken annexationist, was elected President, with a majority in Congress of a similar disposition. The act of annexation was approved March 2, 1845, even before the inauguration of President Polk.

In expectation of hostilities from Mexico, General Zach Taylor landed in August, 1845, with 1,500 men at Corpus Christi, and by the end of the year had his little army increased to 4,000 men, stationed near the Nueces River, which was claimed as the boundary by Mexico. In the Spring of 1846 he was ordered by the President to advance. He reached the Rio Grande at the end of March, and being asked by the Commander of the Mexican troops to return to the Nueces River, while the pending question relative to Texas is regulated by the Governments, he declined to accede to this request. The Mexicans, 6,000 strong, attacked his 2,300 men at Palo Alto and were defeated; suffering another reverse next day at Resaca, they recrossed the Rio Grande. Congress, informed of these facts, discussed an act for the prosecution of the war by calling out 50,000 Volunteers and appropriating ten million dollars. It was quite

evident now that more territory would be added to the United States, and as John C. Calhoun, the leading representative of the slave power, had already proclaimed what the Dred Scott decision soon afterward corroborated, that the Federal Constitution carries Slavery into every Territory as soon as it is acquired, even the most moderate Antislavery men at the North became justly alarmed, and after consultation agreed to add to the first Section of the war bill the following, which ever since has been known as the Wilmot Proviso:

"Provided, that as an express and fundamental condition to the acquisition of any territory from the Republic of Mexico by the United States, by virtue of any treaty that may be negotiated between them, and to the use by the Executive of the moneys herein appropriated, neither Slavery nor involuntary servitude shall ever exist in any part of said territory, except for crime whereof the party shall first be duly convicted."

This was offered by David Wilmot of Pennsylvania and adopted in Committee of the Whole. The House passed the Bill with the Wilmot Proviso, but as it came up on the last day of the session, the Senate failed to act upon it. Tyler, hoping for re-election, by favoring the annexation of Texas, did not wait for the Congressional measure to reach him, but sent commissioners to negotiate for the annexation of Texas.

The decided vote of the House of Representatives in favor of the Bill with the Wilmot Proviso, caused a change in the policy of the advocates of Slavery. They set up the claim that this question should be settled by the local Governments, starting in this manner the Squatter Sovereignty doctrine, soon afterwards made famous by the championship of Stephen A. Douglas. This was in keeping with J. C. Calhoun's claim that the Constitution carried Slavery into all Territories; the doctrine was convenient for the Northern Proslavery candidate, as it relieved him from the necessity of defending the spread of an institution, which was fast becoming unpopular at the North, and it referred ultimately all features bearing upon it, to the Supreme Court of the United States, which, as the Slave power controlled the Government, was made up of its partisans. This was very soon afterwards to be proved in a most signal manner by the decision of the Dred Scott case. It is not material whether this was the premeditated plan of crafty statesmen, or whether it was a natural development by measures in the direction of least resistance; the tendency was wrong, and that condemns it.

EFFECTS OF A LIBERAL MOVEMENT.

The spring of nascent liberty had come for Europe in 1848; feudal privileges, clerical restrictions, aristocratic prerogatives and royal usurpations, carefully nursed by the reactionary spirit of the past decades, were superseded everywhere by the institutions of a free press, equal representation, religious liberty and constitutional guarantees of human rights. The influence of that popular upheaval was also felt on this side of the Atlantic, in the spirit of public manifestations and the adoption of measures. The Democratic National Convention, which met towards the end of May, and nominated General Lewis Cass, congratulated Europe for prostrating thrones and erecting republics, by resolving that "the thirty States of the American Republic tender their fraternal congratulations to the national convention of the republic of France, now assembled as the free suffrage representatives of thirty-five million of republicans to establish government on those eternal principles of equal rights for which their Lafayette and our Washington fought side by side, in the struggle for our national independence."

It adds significance to this resolution that the members of that convention must have been informed of Washington's and Lafayette's Antislavery convictions and that in speaking of "the thirty States of the American Republic," they blandish State Rights with the conception of the Union. The Free Soil Party convention met at Buffalo, nominated Martin Van Buren for President and came out boldly for limiting, localizing and discouraging Slavery; denying that Congress had the power to establish it anywhere, and demanded that the Government should abolish Slavery, wherever it had the Constitutional power. The Whig Party Convention met at Philadelphia on June 7, nominated Zach Taylor for President; it did not accept any decided platform nor did it act on the Wilmot proviso, which had been proposed to the Convention.

General Taylor was elected President by the people; this was owing partly to his military renown and partly to the more liberal stand the Whig party took on the Slavery question, which was strengthened by the moral influence of the popular upheaval beyond the Atlantic Ocean. This election proves the growing Antislavery disposition of the North; for Martin Van Buren from New York, President of the United States from 1837 to 1841, elected as a Democrat, became the candidate of the Free Soil party in 1848,

after the delegation of the New York Free Soil Democrats, not willing to share equally in representation with a contesting Proslavery delegation, had seceded from the regular Democratic convention.

COMPROMISE OF 1850.

Repeated attempts were made in Congress to extend the line of 36° 30' North Latitude clear to the Pacific Ocean, as the limit between future Free and Slave States. This would have given the Indian Territory, Oklahoma, New Mexico, Arizona and Southern California to the Slave power. These attempts failed, showing that the Antislavery extension movement had gained considerable strength, since the adoption of the Missouri Compromise. A sign of the times also was a resolution to stop the slave trade in the District of Columbia; it was introduced in the House and endorsed by the same, but strangled in committee; still more important than this was the ordering of a territorial government for Oregon, with a prohibition of Slavery, and without the counterweight of a slave Territory to pair off this Northern acquisition.

The question upon the condition of the Territories acquired from Mexico was unsettled. The Military Governor of California, General B. Riley, issued on June 3, 1849, a proclamation, calling a Convention for the formation of a State Constitution, and the people of California framed such a document in which Slavery was forbidden. President Taylor had recommended in his message to await the action of the people of the Territories, to organize on such principles and forms as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. This recommendation also appears to be a precursor to Squatter Sovereignty. In Congress, views differed on various matters, but there was a pretty general desire to dispose of the Mexican Territory question. It again fell to the genius of Henry Clay to propose a compromise, which covered the issue and to which Webster and Calhoun agreed. After an animated debate, in which H. S. Foote and Jefferson Davis from Mississippi, and J. M. Mason from Virginia, stood up for extreme Southern theories, Daniel Webster occupied a middle ground and Henry Clay advocated for the people of the Territories more free choice relative Slavery, the compromise measure of 1850 was adopted, admitting California as a Free State, organizing the Territories of New Mexico and Utah without the Wilmot Proviso, establishing the boundary

of Texas and paying that Territory ten million of dollars for ceded lands, making the Fugitive Slave law more stringent, prohibiting the slave trade in the District of Columbia and leaving Slavery there undisturbed.

During the debate about this measure, Benton in plain words claimed to have been opposed to the extension of Slavery, since he was a law student in 1804. Referring to Tucker's edition of Blackstone's Commentaries, he said:

"And here I find the largest objection to the extension of Slavery; to planting it in new regions, where it does not now exist, bestowing it on those who have it not. The incurability of the evil, is the greatest objection to the extension of Slavery. It is wrong for the legislator to inflict an evil which can be cured; how much more to inflict one that is incurable, and against the will of the people, who are to endure it forever! . . . I deem it an evil and would neither adopt it, nor impose it upon others. Yet I am a slaveholder and among the few members of Congress who hold slaves in this District. . . .

"Every one sees now that it is a question of races, involving consequences which go to the destruction of one or the other. It was seen fifty years ago, and the wisdom of Virginia balked at it then. It seems to be above human wisdom. But there is a wisdom above human! and to that we must look. In the meantime, do not extend the evil."

These plain and forcible words, if spoken by Benton at the time when the admission of Missouri was considered, instead of his submitting to the Missouri compromise, would have had the most far-reaching consequences and would have made Missouri the greatest State, Benton the greatest man of the Union. There is no doubt that the tidal wave of Liberty, which swept away thrones in Europe in the spring of 1848, made a deep impression upon the mind of Benton, as it had its influence in taming John C. Calhoun and the Southern extremists to submit to the terms of the compromise of 1850.

The compromise of 1850 was not to go on record without the protest of ten Senators, who stated their disapprobation and predicted the dissolution of the Union, in consequence of similar legislation; these ten Senators asked that their protest be spread upon the records. Benton objected both to the spirit of the protest and also to its being spread upon the records. The protest was not received by the Senate, and of course could not go on record in the journal, but for all that, no power on earth could prevent it from

going on record in History, and according to Benton's own words did mark "one of those eras in the History of nations, from which calamitous events flow."

Benton was not previously as outspoken on the Slavery question, for Calhoun said he was surprised at his opposition to the protest, expecting probably Benton to support it, as he came from the Slave State admitted by the Missouri compromise, which also made him Senator. The Missourian resented these remarks, saying it was impossible for Calhoun to have expected anything of that sort, to which rather insulting remark Calhoun retorted:

"Then I shall know where to find the gentleman." To which Benton replied: "I shall be found in the right place on the side of my country and the Union."

The compromise of 1850 was hailed as a measure calculated to adjust differences between the North and the South. It gave great satisfaction to the business, manufacturing and trading people, whose prosperity was threatened by every political commotion, which endangered the peace of the Federal Union. This satisfaction at first appears to have been quite general. For, as the extremists in the South, set up State Rights tickets, always with a menace for the dissolution of the Union, as an alternative to the adoption of their policy, they were signally defeated in the States of Mississippi, Alabama, Louisiana and South Carolina, by the Union or Moderate Democracy of those States. An even stronger endorsement to the Compromise measures was given by the National Democratic Convention of 1852, which nominated Franklin Pierce for President, and declared itself against all interference by Congress in the domestic institutions of States, but also pledged the party to abide by the compromise, in the hope that this will stop the agitation of the Slavery question in Congress and out of Congress. The Whig National Convention nominated General Winfield Scott, endorsed the compromise and deprecated the agitation of the questions thus settled. The Free Soil Convention nominated John P. Hale and came out in a radical manner against Slavery extension and all measures calculated to aid Slavery. While the Democrats carried the Union by a large majority of the electoral vote, the proportions of the popular vote showed far less difference in relative strength, namely: 51 percent for Franklin Pierce, Democrat; 44 percent for Winfield Scott, Whig; 5 percent for John P. Hale, Free Soil.

As both the Democratic and the Whig party had endorsed the

compromise of 1850, this vote would appear very promising for a lasting arrangement. Unfortunately, however, the compromise contained a feature for continuous friction in the stringent obligations of the

FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW.

The Southerners professed that they derived no benefit from the compromise, as the Northern people did not carry out its provisions in good faith. This was certainly true with regard to a great many persons, who regarded the Fugitive Slave Law, and their own forced participation as a "Posse Commitatus" to carry out its behests, as a gross infringement of their liberty of conscience, not deeming that any State had a right to demand from them actions, which they considered sinful. Thus nearly all Northern States tried to obviate the objectionable provisions of the Fugitive Slave Act, by passing Personal Liberty Bills, with various conditions. Maine forbid its public officers to aid the capture or detention of persons claimed to be slaves; New Hampshire declared all Slaves free that were brought into the State with the consent of their master; Vermont recognized no warrant under the Fugitive Slave Law and forbid its officers or citizens to give aid in capturing slaves, exempting United States officials from this prohibition, but orders State Attorneys to assist the fugitives, securing to them the benefits of the Habeas Corpus act, trial by Jury and liberating the slaves under various conditions and providing punishment for captors; Massachusetts secured them Jury trial, legal advice, writ of Habeas Corpus and prohibits State officers to assist in the capture or detention of persons accused or convicted of resisting the Fugitive Slave law, punishes heavily all persons who aid a spurious claim, also punishes State officers and militiamen for assisting in the capture; Connecticut fines spurious claimants heavily; New York had a Habeas Corpus act protecting fugitives, which was deemed void under a United States Supreme Court decision; Pennsylvania prohibits her State officers to take cognizance of writs under the Fugitive Slave Law; Michigan gives legal aid, grants Habeas Corpus act, trial by Jury, and denies detention in State prisons of persons claimed; Wisconsin gives legal aid, Habeas Corpus act, trial by Jury, appeal to Circuit Court, demands evidence by two credible witnesses and voids the sales made pursuant to the Fugitive Slave act penalties.

Disobedience of these several enactments were punished by fine and imprisonment, as follows:

Maine, 5 years prison and $1,000 fine.
Vermont, 15 years prison and $2,000 fine.
Massachusetts, 5 years prison and $5,000 fine.
Pennsylvania, 3 months prison and $1,000 fine.
Indiana, 14 years prison and $5,000 fine.
Michigan, 10 years prison and $1,000 fine.
Iowa, 5 years prison and $1,000 fine.
Wisconsin, 2 years prison and $1,000 fine.

No less just complaint could be raised by the Northern States. As every law is liable to be abused if executed by partisan agents, so was this, and men who would volunteer to catch fugitive slaves certainly belonged to the roughest element of the population North or South. Cruelties were perpetrated which would have shocked the sensibilities of any civilized community. Men were murdered because they did not quietly submit to arrest, and trial by Jury was denied to fugitives; mothers arrested, murdered their children rather than to have them returned to a cruel master; people who had lived as free men and raised a family under free relations, were claimed as slaves with all their descendants. The fee for delivering a claimed person, being double in amount of the fee for his liberation, also strongly favored the claimant. The question of the constitutionality of the Fugitive Slave act, was raised by men of high authority in the community; this encouraged many to evade the obligations of the law wherever possible, while it nerved others to open and defiant resistance. The people of both the North and the South considered themselves aggrieved by the workings of the Fugitive Slave act, and this served to increase the animosity which was already previously engendered by party jealousy and rivalry.

The aggression of the slave power became steady and unrelenting; in 1835 South Carolina passed an act for the arrest of free colored sailors found on board of vessels entering a South Carolina port, the same to remain in prison until the vessel cleared the port and to pay the expenses for these proceedings. Under this act, sailors from Massachusetts were arrested contrary to the provisions of the United States Constitution which ordains that: "The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States." As free colored men were citizens and voters

not only in Northern States, but also in a Southern State, the Legislature of Massachusetts resolved to test the constitutionality of this special South Carolina law and commissioned Sam Hoar, a prominent citizen, to proceed to Charleston and institute legal measures, in order to secure in the Supreme Court of the United States, a final adjudication of the questions at issue. The Governor of South Carolina, being informed by Mr. Hoar of his mission, laid the matter before the Legislature of South Carolina which passed resolutions that persons of color are no citizens of the United States; that the emissary from Massachusetts is to be regarded a person interfering with the institutions of South Carolina and disturbing her peace, and that the Governor should expel such agent. A proposition for an agreed case was declined by the local officials and Mr. Hoar threatened with mob violence and lynching, had to return to Massachusetts, without being able to bring the case into Court.

It was evident that the North and the South became more and more estranged and the compromise of 1850 was not a solution, but only a procrastination of a very grave issue.

THE KANSAS CONTEST.

While prosperity spread over the fair realm of the Union, heavy clouds gathered for the coming storm. West of Missouri and Iowa and East of New Mexico and Utah lay the balance of the Territory acquired by the Louisiana Purchase, in which Slavery was prohibited by the Missouri compromise, in consideration of the admission of Missouri as a Slave State. The inhabitants of the Western States desired the opening of this vast agricultural empire, whose great advantages were made known through a lively and lucrative trade with Santa Fe, through the migration of the Mormons to Utah, and most of all, through the very great number of teams, which by various overland routes were moving to the gold fields of California. In 1851 and 1852 petitions were presented to Congress for opening this Territory; they were urged by Willard P. Hall and David Atchison of Missouri, A. C. Dodge of Iowa and Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois. The latter reported early in 1854 a bill for the organization of that Territory, which is memorable, because in his report, he questioned the constitutionality of that portion of the Missouri compromise of 1820, whereby "Slavery and involuntary servitude, otherwise than in punishment of crime, whereof the party

shall have been duly convicted, shall be and is hereby forever prohibited—in all that Territory ceded by France to the United States, under the name of Louisiana, which lies North of 36° 30' of North Latitude," excepting that part occupied by the State of Missouri.

This bill reported for the organization of the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska enjoined

"so far as the question of Slavery is concerned, to carry into practical operation the following propositions and principles, established by the compromise measures of 1850, to-wit:

1. That all questions pertaining to Slavery in the Territories, and in the new States to be formed therefrom, are to be left to the decision of the people residing therein, through their appropriate representatives.

"2. That all cases involving title to Slaves, and questions of personal freedom, are referred to the adjudication of the local tribunals with the right of appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States.

"3. That the provisions of the Constitution and Laws of the United States, in respect to fugitives from service, are to be carried into faithful execution in all the organized Territories the same as in the States." The same report added: "That the Constitution and all laws of the United States which are not locally inapplicable, shall have the same force and effect within the said Territory as elsewhere in the United States, except the Section of the act preparatory to the admission of Missouri into the Union, approved March 6, 1820, which, being inconsistent with the principles of Non-Intervention by Congress with Slavery in the States and Territories (?) as recognized by the legislation of 1850 (commonly called the compromise measures), is hereby declared inoperative and void; it being the true intent and meaning of this act, not to legislate Slavery into any Territory or State, nor to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States."

An attempt was made by S. P. Chase in the Senate and by Mr. English in the House of Representatives, to leave the Slavery question, with the Territorial Legislature, but both were voted down, as it was the intention of the Congressional majority that only when the Constitution was framed and proposed for the admission to Statehood, should the citizens of the new Territories have the chances to determine whether they want to admit Slavery or not.

The first energetic protest against this measure came from an indignation meeting at Chicago, called by George Schneider and George Hillgaertner, editors of the Illinois *Staats Zeitung*.

The repeal of portions of the Missouri Compromise, by the Kansas-Nebraska act, was a breach of good faith, perpetrated by the Pro-slavery element. Missouri had been admitted as a Slave State only

on the condition that Slavery should be excluded from the Western Territory, lying North of 36° 30' North Latitude; if the compromise of 1820 was wrong, all of it should have been repealed if practicable, and if not practicable, it should in all fairness have been left undisturbed. The Dred Scott decision, endorsing the extreme Southern views of John C. Calhoun, could not be used as authority for the Kansas–Nebraska act, which preceded it. Nor could the terms of the compromise of 1850 be made retrospective upon the compromise of 1820, as this would have been an evident anachronism, and as the two compromises treated upon different Territories, acquired under vastly different circumstances. Slavery was not excluded in so many words from the Territories of New Mexico and Utah in 1850, because according to Daniel Webster this would have uselessly reaffirmed an ordinance of nature, or re-enacted the will of God. Although the Congress of 1850, did not deem any condition necessary for excluding Slavery from New Mexico and Utah; this was no sound reason to repeal its prohibition from the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska, where a previous Congress had deemed the prohibition most necessary and had even allowed a valuable consideration for the same.

The great actors in the contest on the Slavery question, the originators and champions of the compromises, had now passed away: John C. Calhoun, President Taylor, Henry Clay and Daniel Webster, died in short succession. The sentiment for and against Slavery had steadily become more outspoken, and it is now quite certain that even these master minds could no more stem the swelling tide which pushed both sections of the country, to try conclusions by the force of arms. The events which resulted from the unjust repeal of part of the Missouri compromise did not meet the anticipations of its advocates, nor did they verify the fears of its opponents. If the supporters of this measure expected that it will quiet the agitation of the Slavery question, they made their calculations without due regard to human nature.

The opening of a new Territory always puts in motion a number of men who, from a desire to improve their condition, sometimes only from love of adventure, seek the dangers, difficulties and rewards of a new settlement. Shortly before the passage of the Kansas–Nebraska act, treaties were concluded with most of the Indians settled on the Eastern boundary of Kansas, which opened their lands to purchase and settlement. Citizens of the Western part of

Missouri had early notice of these advantages and organized societies for protecting their interests and for planting Slavery into the new Territory. Soon after the Kansas–Nebraska act was passed, many members of these societies crossed the Missouri River, staked out claims and passed resolutions hostile to settlers from the Free States. The resolutions at first only mildly hinted that no protection shall be afforded to Abolitionists settling in the Territory, next they declared that Slavery was already existing in the Territory, calling upon their fellow slaveholders to introduce their property as early as possible. This last suggestion seems to imply that slaveholders were rather slow, to risk the safety of their slave property, by taking it to Kansas. In the meantime associations were also formed in the Free States to assist emigrants to Kansas who would oppose Slavery. This brought out a threat from Missouri societies that they will "remove" from Kansas Territory any and all emigrants who are sent there by Northern emigrant aid societies. The word "remove" used in this connection had an ominous sound, as it left an uncomfortable latitude for the imagination. But the men from the North had just the same American spirit as the Missourians, and by the beginning of August, about one hundred men, directed by the New England Emigrant Aid Society, settled at Lawrence, Kansas. Soon afterwards a much stronger force of Proslavery men, mostly from Missouri, went into camp near by and sent a threatening note to the Free State people, stating that "the Abolitionists must leave the Territory;" finding, however, that the Free Statesmen were well armed and organized, the Proslavery men broke camp and left.

In the fall of 1854, Andrew H. Reeder, the appointed Governor of Kansas, arrived in the Territory, and an election for one Delegate to Congress was held in November. About sixty percent of the votes were illegally cast by men who resided in Missouri and who were urged by Senator David R. Atchison at a public meeting to go and vote in Kansas. John W. Whitfield, an Indian Agent, was by these fraudulent votes elected delegate to Congress. The temper of the Proslavery press may be judged by a quotation of the "Squatter Sovereign," in which that newspaper promises: "We will continue to lynch and hang, tar and feather, and drown every white-livered Abolitionist who dares to pollute our soil." As every Free State man was termed an "Abolitionist," and as the road to Kansas led through Missouri, chiefly by steamer up the Missouri River, this language really applied to the whole Free State emigration. It is

quite clear from the above, that whatever rights the Kansas-Nebraska act intended to convey by the much vaunted principle of Squatter Sovereignty, those rights could be only maintained by the rifle.

At an election for a Territorial Legislature and County Officers, ordered by Governor Reeder for March 30, 1855, large bands of Missouri Proslavery men overrun the Territory and carried everything by high-handed usurpation and fraudulent returns. In some districts, ten times as many votes were reported cast as there were actual voters in the district; Judges of Election who tried to administer the prescribed oath of residence were intimidated or driven away; men protesting against this wholesale fraud were tarred and feathered, by that greatest disgrace to democratic institutions—a lawless mob.

Governor Reeder set aside the election in a number of Districts, and ordered a new election, which resulted in the choice of Free State men in all but the Leavenworth District, which was carried again by fraud. Governor Reeder's fairness did not change matters; for the men elected were not admitted to seats by the Proslavery majority. The Legislature adjourned from Pawnee City in the interior to Shawnee Mission near the Missouri line, in order to be near the source of their inspiration and the State of their constituency and armed support. This Legislature adopted most of the laws of Missouri and also passed some original laws for the protection of Slavery, by which the death penalty was decreed for raising a rebellion or insurrection of Slaves, free Negroes or Mulattoes; likewise for aiding such rebellion or furnishing arms, or doing any other act in furtherance of such rebellion; likewise was the death penalty decreed for all who shall aid or assist in the bringing into Kansas, or publish, print, write or circulate, any book, paper, circular, or magazine, inciting insurrection and rebellion. Smaller offenses, of a similar nature, were to be punished by imprisonment lasting from ten down to two years. The act of bringing a stolen slave into the Territory was also made punishable by death. Governor Reeder vetoed these Drakonic laws, which were fit for the code of a Nero or Caligula. They were passed over his veto, and President Pierce superseded Reeder by appointing Wilson Shannon, a more obsequious tool of the Slave power, who openly declared that he was for Slavery in Kansas.

The Free State men forming the majority of actual settlers,

spurned the authority and acts of a fraudulent Legislature and officers, and in the true spirit of Squatter Sovereignty, assembled in mass convention at Big Spring on September 5, 1855, and repudiated the Shawnee Mission Proslavery Legislature and all its acts; they ordered an election for a Representative to Congress to be held on the second Tuesday in October, and called a Delegate Convention to meet at Topeka the 19th day of October, 1858. Governor Reeder was nominated and elected to Congress by the Free State men, while on a different day the Proslavery men elected John W. Whitfield. The Constitutional Convention elected by the Free State Settlers, assembled at Topeka October 23; framed a Free State Constitution, and applied to Congress for admission under the same.

The confusion created by the practical application of the Squatter Sovereignty doctrine was now complete. Two Legislatures; two sets of laws; two sets of officers and a bitter hostile disposition of the two contesting parties, trying to manage the Territorial affairs, offered numberless chances for conflicts, murders, robbery and arson, for which some show of legality or authority could be pleaded, either under one code or under the other.

As usual, the press discussed Kansas affairs from a partisan standpoint, and the irritation of parties North and South grew from day to day. Two Representatives to Congress had been chosen: John W. Whitfield, Proslavery, held the seat, which Andrew H. Reeder, elected by the Free State party, was contesting. In order to get at the true state of affairs, Congress appointed in March, 1856, William A. Howard of Michigan, John Sherman of Ohio, and Mordecai Oliver of Missouri, an Investigating Committee, which took testimony in Kansas and reported back to Congress: that organized bands from Missouri prevented the settlers from exercising their citizen rights; that the Legislature of Kansas was illegally constituted and could not pass valid laws; that it enacted measures for unlawful purposes; that John W. Whitfield, the Proslavery candidate, was not elected in pursuance of any valid law; that the election of Andrew H. Reeder was not held in pursuance of law; that Andrew H. Reeder, the Free State candidate, received a greater number of votes of resident citizens than John W. Whitfield, the Proslavery candidate; that a fair election could not be held in the Territory without a new census, a stringent election law, impartial judges and the presence of United States troops at every place of election; that the constitution framed by the Topeka convention embodies the

will of a majority of the people. This report was valuable, for it gave a reliable basis for action, as it emanated from men of a national reputation for candor and patriotism. But partisan spirit run too high, and, while the House of Representatives adopted the constitution by a close vote, the Proslavery Senate defeated all action upon the same.

In the meantime, acts of violence continued in Kansas and Missouri. Persons were murdered; farms and towns sacked and burned; presses destroyed; emigrants forcibly detained; ships stopped at the mouth of the cannon; men tarred and feathered. Most of this was done by Proslavery mobs; sometimes under the plea of law, by the order of a Governor, an act of the Legislature, or by the Posse of a Sheriff. In the spring of 1856, a Regiment hailing from South Carolina and Georgia, under Colonel Bufford made its appearance. This body with the Platt County Rifles under Senator Atchison from Missouri surrounded Lawrence on May 21, 1856, disarmed its citizens, plundered the town, and burned down the hotel and printing office. Palmyra, Ossawatomie, Leavenworth, fared no better than Lawrence. These outrages called forth an energetic resistance from the Free State men; raids were made that extended into the State of Missouri; little battles were fought, in which John Brown, the hero of the most popular song in the Union armies during the civil war, came prominently before the American people. Being endangered in their passage through Missouri, large numbers of Free State emigrants took their route through Iowa and Nebraska, and came into Kansas through its Northern boundary. Here they were disarmed, however, by United States troops.

This was in keeping with the dispersing of the Free State Legislature at Topeka, effected by Colonel E. V. Sumner, U. S. A., under orders from President Pierce.

It must be said in justice to the people of Missouri, that the high-handed outrages and acts of violence were confined to the Western border and large slaveholding counties, whose population coming from Slave States had a more violent disposition, which was not at all improved by their contact with the neighbor Indians. Outside these genuine "Wild West" people, the other citizens of Missouri were opposed to all lawless acts, and not a few of them decidedly opposed to Slavery. This last class lived mostly in St. Louis and the other cities in the State, and was largely composed of adopted citizens, their descendants and mountaineers. Nor did the out and out

Proslavery men start in this controversy with as ferocious a disposition as the one with which they ended. Their first manifestations were far more moderate than their later acts, and it was the greatest fault of the Squatter Sovereignty measure that its practical application worked up the passions of both parties to such a pitch as to greatly hasten the outbreak of the Civil War. With the duration of the strife, the rage and hatred intensified until it knew no measure and no story illustrates that more glaringly than that of John Brown, a diligent, successful and religious business man and father of twenty children. Four sons of John Brown went to Kansas as Free State settlers, to build up new homes. Believing in the peaceful development of the Territory, they brought no arms with them, and were driven away by armed Missourians from their first settlement. They now wrote for arms, and John Brown brought them out, took the lead of his neighbors, who retaliated a raid of the Missourians upon the hamlet of Ossawatomie, in which one of John Brown's sons was murdered. Another of his sons, elected to the Legislature of 1856, was seized by Proslavery men on some pretext or other, and while heavy chains cut into his ankles, marched under a hot sun from Ossawatomie to Lecompton, a distance of thirty miles; he arrived exhausted and died from brain fever. John Brown had been an enthusiast for liberty before; now he became a relentless foe to Slavery. In the raids upon Missouri farms, some slaves were liberated. As Brown was disowned by the more moderate Free State men, he left Kansas and went to Canada. Wrought up to fever heat, he planned and on October 17, 1859, with 22 men, carried out his reckless attack on the United States arsenal at Harper's Ferry. Inheriting the religious fanaticism of his Pilgrim forefathers, he was convinced of fighting the battles of the Almighty. Overpowered, wounded, almost the last man of his little squad, his soul remained unconquered, and on December 2, 1859, he walked to the scaffold "with a radiant countenance and the step of a conqueror." Of John Brown's deep religious fervor, his last letter to his wife and children bears testimony in the following words:

"I can not remember a night so dark as to have hindered the coming day, nor a storm so furious and dreadful as to prevent the return of warm sunshine and a cloudless sky."

While John Brown's raid on Harper's Ferry arsenal was lawless and under all circumstances doomed to failure, it greatly exasperated the Proslavery party at the South, and by its devoted heroism, it

called forth an inspiration at the North, which led to victorious battlefields while singing, "John Brown's body lays mouldering in the ground, but his soul is marching on."

The war in Kansas, though on a small scale, reverberated in thundering peals through the press and the rostrums of the nation. Congressional debates and the Presidential election campaigns gave the issues a publicity which brought them home to nearly every citizen. Feeling run high, and the decided expressions of platforms showed that parties crystalized more and more on the one sectional issue of Slavery.

The two antagonistic systems of free labor and slave labor had created a difference in convictions, disposition, morals, habits, education and wealth, which even the wise provisions of the United States Constitution, and the genial efforts of its most patriotic men could no longer harmonize. One incident in Congress brought this to light, in a manner which shocked the civilized world. Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts, having made a strong and uncompromising argument against Slavery extension into Kansas, was attacked May 22, 1856, while in his seat in the Senate chamber by P. Brooks, M. C. from South Carolina. Senator Sumner was brutally knocked down and beaten, while laying, unconscious on the floor, until his life was endangered. Keith from South Carolina and Edmundson from Virginia, fellow-members of Brooks, abetted this outrage by their presence. Brooks was censured by the House and resigned his seat, but was immediately re-elected in South Carolina, showing that his constituents endorsed his brutal act and proving thereby that they had already lost their fitness for a free representative Government.

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1856.

The Democratic National Convention met at Cincinnati, June, 1856, nominated James Buchanan for President and notwithstanding the evil experiences of the past, endorsed the doctrine of Squatter Sovereignty in the hope of securing all Southern and sufficient Northern votes to carry the election. The Republican party convention met at Philadelphia, June 17, 1856, nominated John C. Fremont for President and adopted a radical Free Soil platform, excluding Slavery from all Territories, and stating that it is both the right and the duty of Congress, to prohibit in the Territories those twin relics of barbarism, "Polygamy and Slavery." There

was a third party convention under the title of American National, based chiefly on nativism. One-third of the members withdrew from this convention after their failure to hold the middle ground between the extreme parties, by the limitation of Slavery to territory South of 36° 30' North Latitude. The remaining two-thirds endorsed the Squatter Sovereignty doctrine and nominated Millard Fillmore, who was afterwards also endorsed by a Whig convention at Baltimore.

Upon the issues of the presidential election of 1856, Preston Brooks of South Carolina, the same who committed the ruffianly attack on Senator Sumner, gave it as his deliberate opinion, that if Fremont was elected, the South should on the 4th of March, 1857, "march to Washington, seize the archives and the Treasury of the Government, and leave the consequences to God." About the same time Governor Henry A. Wise of Virginia called on all Governors of Southern States to meet him at Raleigh and consult upon common measures to organize the Militia of their respective States; in all probability to carry out the idea of Preston Brooks.

Wise was disappointed in the attendance, as only Governor Adams of South Carolina appeared.

James Buchanan, the Democratic candidate, was elected by a majority of 60 electoral votes, but failed to secure a majority of the popular vote, which stood:

James Buchanan, Democrat....	1,838,169	near 45%
John C. Fremont, Republican..	1,341,264	near 33%
Millard Fillmore, American...	874,534	near 22%
Total of votes cast.....	4,053,967	

This proves that one-third of the voters were radically opposed to Slavery extension into any Territory, and that fifty-five percent were opposed to the policy of the Democratic party, which was again endorsed by the vote of all Southern States, with the exception of Maryland. It was evident from the above vote that no more Slave States would be admitted to the Union. In Kansas itself the Free State voters, largely exceeded the Proslavery citizens, who were defeated in their various schemes to perpetuate Slavery in the Territory. In October, 1857, an election was held for a Territorial Legislature. Governor Robert J. Walker, a Mississippian by birth, secured a fair election, which defeated the Lecompton Constitution by a vote

of 162 in favor of it and 10,226 against it. Notwithstanding this fact, President Buchanan recommended the admission of Kansas under the Lecompton Constitution. The Proslavery Senate agreed to it, but the House rejected it. The Territorial Legislature having now a clear Free State majority, ordered a Constitutional Convention to assemble at Wyandot; this framed a Constitution, which was accepted by the House on April 11, 1860, but not acted upon by the Senate, probably to prevent the Kansas vote to affect the Presidential election. However, on the 21st day of January, 1861, Jefferson Davis and a number of other Southern Senators left the Senate, to pursue their ill-fated design of Secession, and on the same day Kansas was admitted by the Senate. The curtain fell on the Drama of Kansas, soon to rise on the great Tragedy of the Civil War.

THE DRED SCOTT DECISION.

The History of "Bleeding Kansas" illustrated the spirit and disposition which influenced the citizens of the Union at large, while the Decision of the Dred Scott case demonstrated the partisan subserviency of the Supreme Court of the United States. As this Decision was given after all the mischief of the Squatter Sovereignty practice had been accomplished, it came apparently only as the approving seal to a most nefarious public act, though in prospective iniquity, it went a good ways beyond it.

Dred Scott, a Negro slave, was taken in 1834 from the Slave State Missouri to Rock Island in the Free State of Illinois and later to Fort Snelling in Minnesota Territory, to which the Slavery Prohibition of the Missouri Compromise was applicable. Here Scott married a woman who was also held as a slave. His master took the family to Jefferson Barracks, afterwards to St. Louis, where he sold them. Dred Scott now brought suit for his freedom in the St. Louis Circuit Court, and got judgment in his favor, which, however, was reversed by the Supreme Court of the State. The case was appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States, whose members save one belonged to the Democratic party. This Court approved the decision of the Missouri Supreme Court and declared that this Negro Slave was no citizen and had no citizen rights, nor could any such rights be conferred upon him; that Negroes had no rights which the White man was bound to respect, but were an article of property, that the Declaration of Independence did not

mean to embrace them; that they can not be made citizens, because this would inconvenience others, nor can they sue because they are not citizens; that neither Congress, nor a Territorial Legislature can exclude Slavery from any Territory. The decision also stated that the United States Constitution takes effect upon any Territory which our Government may acquire, and this secures the right to the Slave owner to take his slave property into the same. Congress, therefore, was barred by the Constitution from the rights of prohibiting Slavery in any Territory.

The Kansas–Nebraska act anticipated most of these principles in practical execution. As the act and its sequels took place before the Dred Scott decision was made, and as the Supreme Court went outside the record to make it, the object seems to have been to give the Squatter Sovereignty bill a judiciary foundation, which it had lacked before. The denial of the right of Congress to legislate upon Slavery in the Territories was made in this decision, in the face of contrary opinions of such eminent jurists as Daniel Webster, Thomas H. Benton and a number of Southern and Northern Judges, who all pointed out the fact that Slavery exists in the States only by local law, which can not be transferred from a State to a Territory.

The Dred Scott decision spread Slavery over all Territories, and it is noteworthy that it embodies the ideas and conclusions which John C. Calhoun and W. L. Yancey, as leaders of the extreme Proslavery party, proposed to the National Democratic Convention of 1848, but which were rejected by a very decided vote of 216 to 36; probably because that Convention assembled under the elevating influence of the Revolution of 1848 for universal Liberty in Europe, and, therefore, could not possibly decree universal Slavery in America.

Since that Convention, however, the Slavery party came into desperate straits. The doctrine of Squatter Sovereignty came in its very first application very near to start hostilities between the North and the South. The Republican victory in the general election made it highly probable that Kansas and the other Territories would become Free States; for this reason some other means had to be devised to prop up the tottering Slave power. Thus the opportunity of the Dred Scott case was seized upon by the Proslavery Supreme Court to nationalize Slavery and proscribe Freedom. This decision, brought by the majority of barely one vote, had only the effect to

outrage all thoughtful men in the North and to mature the decision in a majority of citizens that, cost what may, they will put an end to the spreading of the demoralizing influences of the "Peculiar Institution." Bouten states that the Dred Scott decision had been made, but was kept from publicity under the plea of reargument, and was only reported after the inauguration of President Buchanan. Had the decision been known before the election, its effect would probably have made John C. Fremont President and cut off four years from the preparations for Secession.

THE MONROE DOCTRINE AND SLAVERY.

The activity of the Proslavery power was not restricted to the home Territories, to Congress, State Legislatures and the Supreme Court; but it made itself also felt in diplomatic circles, influencing the policy towards foreign countries. The Central and South American States had severed their allegiance to Spain and as independent Republics sought new channels for their trade, which largely fell to the share of Great Britain. The ambitious heir of the French Revolution was a captive to the powers of the "Holy Alliance," which reinstated the absolute governments all over Europe, and were eager to reach over the Atlantic, in order to reduce the new Spanish Republics, to their former state of dependence, from European monarchical authority. Canning, the English Prime Minister, called the attention of the Washington Government to this rising danger in commercial and political relations, and suggested a warning declaration, which should protect the Southern Republics and estop the powers from monarchical aggressions upon the American Continent. President Monroe shared the views of the English statesman, and in a Message of December 2, 1823, frankly stated that the United States should consider any attempt on the part of the allied monarchs to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety, and any interposition by them to oppress the young Republics, or control their destiny, as a manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States. The President also stated: "The American Continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European power."

The South American States called a Congress of American Re-

publics to Panama, in order to unite on questions of common interest and common defense. It was also surmised in this connection that this Congress may devise means to free Cuba and Porto Rico from Spanish dominion. When the South American Republics secured their independence they emancipated their slaves, and Cuba and Porto Rico, if liberated from Spain, would no doubt, do the same. This was dreaded by the Slavery champions, as the emancipation notions might spread to the Union, and our diplomatic agents were instructed to counteract this disposition for the liberation of Cuba and Porto Rico, and to induce Spain to acknowledge the South American Republics, in order to remove the danger of interference with her sovereignty in the two islands. Thus the curse of Slavery placed the United States Government in the anomalous position that, while it protested against any attempt of European powers to extend the monarchical system on the American Continent, it prevented at the same time the liberation of Cuba and Porto Rico from the misrule of Spain, although the latter was a monarchical power. President John Quincy Adams appointed representatives to that Panama Congress, but when the nominations reached the Senate, that body ruled that the President had no right to name men for a mission which was not previously authorized by Congress. In his work on Benton, Theodore Roosevelt states that the Panama delegates were confirmed with Benton's opposition. Benton opposed the Congress at Panama, on the ground that matters were to be discussed there which could not be discussed at Washington.

The United States had only commercial and no diplomatic relations with the Negro Republic Hayti, while the Latin Republics were ready to treat the dusky representatives on equal footing. Catholicism, the almost exclusive religion of Mexico, Central and South America, never recognizing the color line, probably greatly assisted to frame the above disposition. The United States delegates came to Panama, after the Congress had adjourned, and it was sixty years later that a Pan-American Congress met at Washington. The Slavery power did not wish Cuba free, but sought the possession of the island with Slavery in it. President Polk had offered One Hundred Million Dollars for the island, which offer was declined. On December 1, 1852, Secretary of State E. Everett disclaimed to the French and English Ambassadors all desire for the annexation of Cuba; but only two years later did President Pierce actually instruct his ambassadors to London, Paris and Madrid, to devise

means for getting possession of Cuba. These ambassadors met at Ostende, and on October 9, 1854, issued the famous Ostende Manifesto," in which they declared that it was time for Spain to sell Cuba and for the United States to buy it; no foreign power having a right to interfere, as it properly belongs to the United States, pursuant considerations of trade and security; that this transfer would benefit Spain; and the ambassadors also intimated, that the United States would have Cuba at all events. Later several filibuster expeditions were started towards Cuba, which generally ended with the execution of the leaders, of whom Lopez was the most noted.

Cuba was not the only country where the Slave power of the Union sought a new foothold. William Walker, originally a citizen of Tennessee, started a filibustering expedition and made a descent on Nicaragua; he captured Granada October 13, 1855, declared himself President of the little Republic and established Slavery. Mismanaging his affairs, he had to surrender May 1, 1857. Avoiding punishment for this international offense, Walker started a second expedition: on this he was intercepted by United States Commodore Spaulding and sent home a prisoner, but was set free by President Buchanan, while Spaulding was reprimanded for his interference. Walker, nothing daunted, set out with a third expedition to Central America, was captured and shot. General Walker's perseverance and courage deserve all praise, but, most unfortunately for his fame, these fine qualities were wasted in an evil and hopeless cause. He did not heed the warning of ages: Be right first and then go ahead.

According to the historian, Schlosser, the secret organization of the "Knights of the Golden Circle" was committed to a scheme of uniting the Gulf States, Mexico, Central and part of South America and adjacent islands into one great Confederation of Slave States. No great results are credited to this organization.

Before the great contest for the election of 1860 set in, Missouri's greatest statesman, Thomas Hart Benton, paid his last debt to nature. Over forty years he was a leading spirit in public affairs. During his thirty years in the Senate, he was independent on every question, neutral on none. Early in his life, he antagonized General Andrew Jackson in a murderous fracas and afterwards became his best friend. He suffered Missouri to become a Slave State, but stood valiantly by his obligations when Southern Statesmen went back upon their plighted faith, saying: "I have stood upon the Missouri Compromise for about thirty years, and mean to stand upon it to

the end of my life;" it is "a binding covenant upon both parties, and more so upon the South, as she imposed it." A champion of sound money, of the Homestead act, of the development of the West, of the Pacific road, he remained a Democrat, voted for Pierce and even for Buchanan, against his own son-in-law, Fremont, but always remained an uncompromising Union man. Benton run for Governor of Missouri at the age of 74, made forty speeches, traveled 1,200 miles and being beaten lectured in New England and remained a diligent worker to his death on April 10, 1858. Theodore Roosevelt's work on Thomas H. Benton gives a detailed representation of a life, whose strenuous activity was conducive of health, longevity and great usefulness.

SPIRIT OF NORTH AND SOUTH.

However much the Proslavery leaders may have erred in their estimate of relative strength and their appreciation of ethical obligation, they certainly pursued their object with a wonderful tenacity, courage and adherence to their program. In the face of the threatening Free Soil majority at the North, their demands became more aggressive and left the only explanation, that they were bent on ruling or on dissolving the Union. The New Mexico Territorial Legislature passed in 1859 acts for the protection of property in slaves, while a Democratic convention in Texas advocated the reopening of the slave trade. The hostile disposition in the South grew worse from day to day. A few examples will suffice. A planter and slave owner, who had come from Connecticut to Eufaula, Alabama, in order to avoid the suspicion of being a Northern sympathizer, joined the Minute Men and was compelled to assist in the hanging of five mechanics and one minister, all from the North, and still could only save his own life by sudden flight. There were many similar difficulties. In 1860, free Negroes had to leave from Southern States at their peril of being hung, or sold into Slavery. Among others, the New York *Times* brought the following item:

"Forty-three Negroes, who have been expelled from Arkansas, under the terms of the recent legislative enactment, which prescribes that in the event of their non-departure they should be sold into Slavery, arrived in Cincinnati, January 2, 1860, in a destitute condition." "The North bound boats on the Mississippi were crowded with these fugitives fleeing from their homes." Two hundred thousand free colored people were menaced with these laws.

THE LINCOLN-DOUGLAS DEBATE.

The contest in Kansas had agitated the minds of the whole nation. People who took little interest in politics were roused by the passionate appeals to their judgment and sympathy. Most far-reaching of all campaign debates was that between Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas, candidates for the United States Senate in the State of Illinois. When Lincoln was nominated at Springfield, June 16, 1858, and stated: "This Government can not endure permanently half slave and half free," the words were re-echoed by the nation, which had gone through a long and bitter lesson of experience, but whose very worst ordeal was yet to come. He endorsed the avowed policy of the Republican party by saying: "I am impliedly if not expressly pledged to a belief in the right and duty of Congress to prohibit Slavery in all the United States Territories." That no interference was intended with Slavery in the States where it existed is shown by Lincoln's words. "It is nothing but a miserable perversion of what I have said to assume that I have declared Missouri or any other Slave State shall emancipate her slaves." With regard to the District of Columbia, he recommended the abolishment of Slavery in a conservative way, that should have been acceptable to every one:

1. That the abolition should be gradual.
2. That it should be on a vote of the majority of the qualified voters in the District.
3. That compensation should be made to unwilling owners.

These propositions were decidedly moderate upon a subject which Henry Clay once apostrophized: "Sweep from our Capital that foul blot upon our nation."

In Congress the agitation of the Slavery question was unabated. The Kansas issue, the Harper's Ferry raid, the reflections of campaign speeches, gave rise to heated debates and were supplemented by matters from outside as the discussion on Helper's book, "The Impending Crisis," a most forcible collection of authorities and statistical dates, supporting free labor. Poetry and novel, pulpit and stage widened the breach between North and South. Jefferson Davis had introduced a series of resolutions limiting Squatter Sovereignty to the final adoption of the State Constitution, also some, reiterating the principles of the Dred Scott decision and others claiming that attacks on Slavery, were a breach of faith and a violation of solemn obliga-

tions. These were adopted by the Senate only. During his debates, Lincoln referred casually to St. Louis and Missouri politics on gradual emancipation and said: "You all know that Frank Blair and Gratz Brown down there in St. Louis undertook to introduce that system in Missouri. They fought as valiantly as they could for the system of emancipation. . . . After a hard fight they were beaten." Conservative and moderate as Lincoln was in treating the Southern problem in the States, he did not fail to point in his speeches to Jefferson's prophetic words relative to Slavery: "I tremble for the fate of my country when I think that God is just," and he said himself, "It is the same spirit that says, You work and toil and earn bread and I'll eat it," and also, "The real issue . . . is the eternal struggle between right and wrong." Lincoln held correctly that the premises in the Dred Scott decision, that slaves were recognized in the Constitution of the United States as being same property as cattle or money were false: for the Constitution does not speak of slaves at all, except by inference, as being among the "three-fifths of all other persons" counted in making up the ratio of representation; while no representation whatever is granted to property of any kind. Characteristic is Lincoln's statement: "Slavery and oppression must cease or American liberty must perish. True democracy makes no inquiry about the color of the skin, or place of nativity, or any other similar circumstance of condition. I regard therefore the exclusion of the colored people as a body, from the elective franchise, as incompatible with the true democratic principle." He also called attention to Thos. Jefferson's recommendation to the Congress of Confederation in 1784, of an ordinance, which provided the prohibition of Slavery after the year 1800, above the 31° of North Latitude (the Northern line of Florida), which failed to pass by the lack of one vote, to the keen disappointment of Jefferson.

To friends who objected to Lincoln's uncompromising utterances, with regard to Slavery, he said: "Friends, this thing has been retarded long enough. The time has come when this sentiment should be uttered, and if it is decreed that I should go down, because of this speech, then let me go down, linked to the truth, let me die in the advocacy of what is just and right:" as prophetic upon his own fate, as previously similar words of Elijah P. Lovejoy; or those spoken later by Nathaniel Lyon.

In his speech of August 27, 1858, at Freeport, Illinois, Lincoln put to Douglas this question: "Can the people of United States territory, in any lawful way, against the wish of any citizen of the United States, exclude Slavery from its limits, prior to the formation of a State Constitution?" Douglas answered in substance: The Territorial Legislature could exclude Slavery indirectly by unfriendly legislation. This "Indirection" saved Douglas sufficient votes of men who were in favor that Kansas should become a Free-State, to secure his senatorial election in Illinois, but it hopelessly lost him the support of the Southern Democracy, for the presidential election of 1860. The South never could forgive Douglas that he pointed out the way, by which the effects of the Dred Scott decision could be neutralized. One of the most remarkable speeches in the campaign of 1860, was held by Lincoln at the Cooper Institute on February 27, 1860; in this he pointed out that in the Congress of Confederation in 1784, Sherman of Connecticut, Miflin of Pennsylvania, Hugh Williamson of North Carolina, voted for excluding Slavery from the Northwest Territory; also that in 1787 Wm. Blount of North Carolina and Wm. Few of Georgia voted the same way; that in 1789 the Congress of the United States excluded Slavery from that Northwest Territory by a unanimous vote; that sixteen members of that Congress were among the original signers of the Constitution and that George Washington approved their decision and signed the act.

In the same speech Lincoln also mentions that Washington wrote to Lafayette: that we shall at some time have a confederacy of Free States. He also called attention to the fact that Congress had legislated upon Slavery in the Territory of Mississippi, and did the same in 1803 with regard to the Territory of Louisiana.

Having given the general trend of events relative to the Slavery question in the Union, the special motives influencing the loyal movement of 1861 at St. Louis and in Missouri, may now be duly considered.

B. GRATZ BROWN.
Colonel 4th Regiment Reserve Corps, Missouri Volunteers.

CHAPTER II.

THE PEOPLE OF ST. LOUIS.

ORIGIN; FIRST SETTLEMENT.

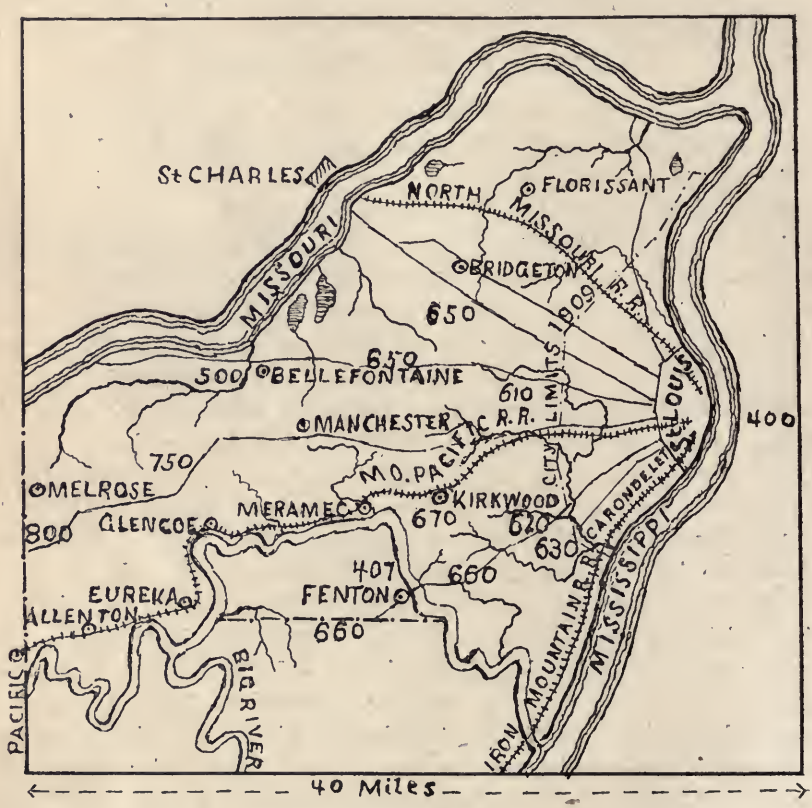
To realize the part which St. Louis bore in the events of 1861, a brief sketch of its origin, situation and the character and motives of its people, is necessary.

Situated on the right bank of the Mississippi, St. Louis occupies a series of gentle hills, whose highest elevation will reach near 200 feet above the river. St. Louis County, with which the city will eventually be co-extensive, borders on the East for 34 miles on the Mississippi; on the North for 46 miles on the Missouri; on the South 53 miles on the Meramec; takes in also twenty-five square miles south of that river and has westward a dry boundary of 11 miles. From an elevation of 390 feet above the sea level, at the Levee of the City of St. Louis, the ground is rising in undulating waves northward 260 feet; southward 280 feet; westward 410 feet, to the highest elevation on the western County line of 800 feet above the level of the sea. The declivities of the hills are generally most sudden towards the rivers, offering beautiful residence sites, with fine garden and truck land in the interior. The many small creeks emptying into large rivers, and the general conditions of elevation in the County, offer unsurpassed facilities for drainage and grading. With the two largest rivers on this Continent and a third river which readily can be made navigable; with good clay for common and fire brick, fine limestone, a large coal field within 10 miles east, ample wood and a salubrious climate, St. Louis offers conditions for an immense city, unequalled anywhere in the world.

This tract was originally part of that vast French empire, which extended from Labrador to the Floridas, and from the shores of the Atlantic to the most distant lakes of "Upper Canada." The prevalent French names and character of settlements in the Mississippi Valley are due to the first discoveries by Frenchmen com-

ing South from Canada on a search for the "great river." As early as 1673, Joliet and Father Marquette reached the Mississippi about the 40° and traveled South to the 33°.

Robert Cavalier de la Salle enlarged their discoveries in 1678, while D'Iberville entered the mouth of the Mississippi early in 1699, when the first Governor was appointed for the immense Ter-



ST. LOUIS COUNTY IN 1861.

ritory of Louisiana, which hardly numbered a few hundred White inhabitants. Ninety years had passed since Joliet floated down along the rocky shore and primeval forest, where now St. Louis stands. Other less eligible places were colonized before St. Louis, such as St. Genevieve and New Madrid, Missouri. Cahokia, on the opposite bank in Illinois, was long in existence, when on the fifteenth day of February, 1764, the boat of Pierre Laclede Liguest,

with young Auguste Chouteau, and a large party of Frenchmen, mostly mechanics from New Orleans, came near the site of St. Louis. The joy of the men may be imagined when after the fatigue of more than three months in bringing a heavy boat by mere muscular exertion up the river, they beheld the site of their destination, near a valley hemmed in by primeval forest and a short distance to the north of it and skirting the Mississippi, a rocky shore rising gradually from the bottom for a quarter of a mile to a perpendicular height of 40 feet and continuing northward at that elevation to a greater distance, while terraces of higher wooded hills reached to the horizon towards the setting sun.

The party landed at the foot of the present Walnut street; a camp was established on the rocky bluff which extended northward from the present Poplar to Vine streets and blocks were laid out according to lines of trees previously blazed by Laclede and young A. Chouteau. They established a warehouse and huts by driving posts perpendicularly into the ground and quarried out a road through the edge of the rock to the river. With the people that came over from Cahokia and Kaskaskia, the settlement had 120 persons, who were chiefly attracted by the privileges of the Northwestern fur trade, granted to Maxent, Laclede & Co.

Pierre Laclede, the enterprising head of the colony, was born in France, in 1724, came to New Orleans when 31 years old and joined the above mercantile house. At that time Madame Marie Therese Chouteau, nee Bourgois, had separated from her husband on account of ill treatment and with her son Auguste Chouteau returned to her own family. Laclede made her acquaintance there, a mutual affection sprung up, and by common consent she became the wife of Laclede: but as no divorce could be obtained under the French law from her first husband, she retained the name of Madame Chouteau, which also passed to the children of her second union.

In the new colony, Laclede assigned lots under his original grant; established commons for the cattle in the Southwest and apportioned common fields in the Northwest of the village; the limits of the place were then: on the East the Mississippi, on the South a line near Mill creek, on the West a line between Third and Fourth streets and on the North a line near the present Wash street. The highest point of this location was on Fourth and Walnut, from which the grade was sloping down in all directions. Upon this territory Auguste Chouteau laid out the first plat of town of about 50 blocks.

the North and South streets being 36 feet, the East and West streets 30 feet wide, made so narrow chiefly for defensive purposes; the quarter of a square block was considered at first a lot for each dwelling and garden. Later on, the streets received the names, which they nearly all bear to the present date.

The place was surrounded at first by an indented line of logs and earth thrown up as a parapet from the ditch. The commanding "Fort on the Hill" faced with a tower Walnut street on Fourth street and formed a square of 300 feet enclosed by loopholed stockades.

The town was named St. Louis, in honor of Louis IX., who lived in the Thirteenth Century and was surnamed "Saint" on account of his piety and a crusade he led into Egypt. One year before the first settlement of St. Louis, the treaty of Paris ended the "Seven Years' War" in Europe. Frederic the Great remained in possession of the bitterly contested Province of Silesia; England gained possession of all the territory East of the Mississippi save New Orleans and its neighborhood, and November 3, 1762, France ceded all Louisiana West of the Mississippi to Spain. It took some time till this news reached the Territory and several years till the Spaniards took actual possession, thus without knowing it, the French Colonists founded St. Louis on Spanish territory. Soon afterwards, the French garrison of Fort Chartres, Illinois, commanded by St. Ange de Bellerive, being relieved by English troops, came over to St. Louis; many other Frenchmen from Illinois followed this example, and in 1766 the new colony had already 180 houses. The greater security from Indians, Laclede's genius in dealing with the savages and the antipathy which the French had against their ancestral foe, the English, aided the growth of the colony as much as its natural advantages.

To bring order into public affairs, St. Ange was elected temporary Governor with Lefevre as associate and Joseph Labusciere Secretary. The latter kept the land grant book and the seal of the Governor had to be affixed to the land grants. The houses built with upright logs were of modest dimensions; a lot on southeast corner of Walnut and Second streets, being 60x150 feet, was sold for $20, the house upon it for $200. Negro slaves were then already bought and sold. Spanish troops passed St. Louis in 1768 and took possession of it in 1770 and Lieutenant Governor Don Pedro Piernas, with 80 soldiers, took command in 1771; Spanish became the official language, but socially St. Louis still remained French.

INDIANS AND FORTIFICATIONS.

Indians were frequent visitors at the new colony; sometimes they came in sufficiently large numbers to endanger the safety of the inhabitants. The apprehensions from them grew when Laclede died in 1778, the year in which Colonel Geo. R. Clark captured Kaskaskia from the British. These fears led in 1779 to the fortification of the place, commencing on the River on the Southern end of the village, and coming back to the river, at the Northern end; three gates led through the line for convenient communication. These precautions were taken none too soon, for already on the 26th day of May, 1780, a band of hostile Indians surprised a number of inhabitants working in the fields outside the fortifications and killed about 30 persons of all ages and sexes. This sad lesson was not passed unheeded; the incapable or treacherous Commander Leyba was superseded by Lieutenant Governor Cruzat, who built half a dozen stone forts, fifty feet in diameter, and connected them by loop-holed stockades.

Misfortunes were not spared the growing city; a great flood devastated the neighborhood in 1785, and besides the depredations of the Indians, organized bands of river pirates infested the trade of the colony, which otherwise prospered under the fair administration of Spanish Governors; still at that time no free Negro was admitted without a pass and no Protestant without a written permit from Spanish authority; but for all that, up to the year 1800, St. Louis had not taken the decided lead of the surrounding settlements, which at that time are credited with the following number of inhabitants: St. Genevieve, 989; St. Louis, 925; St. Charles, 875; New Madrid, 782. Nevertheless St. Louis had then its great promises and natural charms, not the least of which was Chouteau's pond, a beautiful sheet of water of over 100 acres, surrounded by verdant hills and groves, occupying the very area where to-day a hundred locomotives and a thousand cars subserve the demands of a metropolis of trade and industry.

The home relations in St. Louis at the time were quite primitive: water was hauled from the river on a drag; the people raised only what they needed; judgment sales were made at the church door after the mass ended on Sunday, and in the afternoon there was a dance. In April, 1775, 78 householders agreed to build a church 30'x60'x14'; as the Spanish succession terminated the exclusive privi-

lege or monopoly of Maxent Laclede & Co., of which house Auguste Chouteau had become an influential and leading partner, trade became free. Among the amenities of the business relations may be quoted that Charles Gratiot rode 1,500 miles from St. Louis to Richmond, to collect some due bills given him in payment by officers from Fort Chartres, and returned without success, though he had the honor of meeting Thomas Jefferson and Patrick Henry. Legal service in St. Louis was then by written process: application, answer, rejoinder and judgment were brief, to the point and mostly final. Manumission of slaves were frequent, and even Indian slaves are mentioned in a document. Regulations with regard to safety, health, fire, prices of provisions, morals, etc., were simple, partaking somewhat of a paternal character, the same as the verbal grants and verbal permissions: a sign of primitive relations, but also of great reliance in the general honesty of the inhabitants. Inventories of estates of deceased persons were taken by order of the authorities and the beneficiaries were named, forming a valuable genealogy, highly useful in after years in tracing titles, a work which to some extent was made difficult by the republican disposition of dropping prepositions or derivative second names, habitual with gents of the antiquated nobility.

War was threatening Spain in 1798, and its monarch asked for a voluntary contribution from those who had fortunes, promising in return rewards of dignity, office and honor. This genial suggestion is most likely the prototype to political campaign contributions, which came into practice with the increasing party spirit and mercenary disposition. Trouble being anticipated with the Indians near New Madrid about November, 1802, all arm-bearing citizens were enlisted at St. Louis, St. Genevieve, Platin and New Bourbon. The whole force marched down in the best order and with all military precautions, necessary in a heavily wooded country and with an unknown foe. A number of Indian tribes were assembled at New Madrid; five Indian murderers were tried, found guilty and, with the approval of the tribes, one Indian was shot and several others pardoned. The whole affair, inclusive the march back to St. Louis, was highly creditable to the military disposition and self-control of the young communities.

The moral relations of the young colony while under Spanish authority appear to have been very satisfactory. It has been asserted that during upward of 30 years not a single instance of civil delinquency or crime had been committed. While such negative evi-

dence is not conclusive, it is an indication of the spirit of those times. Certain it is that the refined manners of the French settlers, their capacity as traders, their friendly policy with the Indians, which enabled the Whites to go as hunters and trappers to the foot of the Rocky Mountains, added a great deal to the amenities of life as well as to the commercial development of St. Louis.

LOUISIANA TERRITORY IN THE UNION.

Pursuant the Treaty of Ildefonso of August 19, 1796, Spain retroceded the Louisiana Territory to France. On the 30th of April, 1803, the same Territory was purchased by the United States of America, in consequence of negotiations inaugurated by President Thomas Jefferson with the Republic of France, the purchase price being $15,000,000. Captain Amos Stoddard took possession of the new Territory on March 10, 1804, and was placed in command of the same. The cause for this transfer, by Napoleon Bonaparte, then the all-powerful Consul of France, could easily be divined. France could not possibly protect this Transatlantic possession against England and at the same time, the vast area of this Territory, would greatly add to the power of the United States, which on the Continent of North America, was already then more than a match for England in any issue that had to be settled by the last resort of nations.

The following is an abstract of the treaty of purchase by the United States of America from the Republic of France, April 30, 1803:

Plenipotentiaries on behalf of the United States, Robert R. Livingston and James Monroe; on behalf of France, Francis Barbe Marbois.

1. Spain cedes the Colony and Province of Louisiana to the French Republic and the latter cedes it to the United States.

2. This cession includes adjacent islands, lots, public places, vacant levees, buildings, fortifications, barracks and other buildings that have no owners; archives, papers, etc.

3. The inhabitants will be admitted conformably to the requirements of the Federal Constitution to enjoy the rights of citizens and in the meantime be protected in their liberty, property and religion.

4. A French officer to receive and execute transfer.

5. Upon the ratification of the treaty France will deliver all military posts, and French and Spanish troops will vacate, if possible, within three months.

TERRITORY ACQUIRED BY UNITED STATES.

6. United States will carry out Spanish treaties with Indians until new treaties void the old ones.

7. French and Spanish import to be placed for twelve years on the same footing as current American import.

8. After twelve years French vessels to enjoy rates of most favored nation.

9. Payment due to U. S. citizens prior to September 30, 1800, is approved; special convention relative to the definitive law between the contracting parties to be approved the same time.

10. Ratification to be exchanged within six months. Treaty written primitively in French, also in English. Executed at Paris, April 30, 1803. (Signed) ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON,
JAMES MONROE,
F. BARBE MARBOIS.

The Convention between the United States of America and the French Republic, after an appropriate introduction and preamble, stipulated:

Article I. The Government of the United States will pay to the French Government sixty million livres.

Article II. United States issue bonds for eleven million two hundred and fifty thousand dollars ($11,250,000), bearing 6 per cent interest per annum, payable half yearly. The principal payable at the Treasury of the United States not less than three million (3,000,000) annually, first payment fifteen years after the ratification.

Article III. The dollar shall be fixed at five livres and eight sous, Turnois.

To be ratified as above.

Dated and signed as above.

Another convention by the same parties regulated the total amount, mode of proof and payment of private claims.

Governor Laussat from New Orleans authorized Lieutenant Governor Dehault De la Suze at St. Louis to deliver to Mr. Stoddard, under a power of attorney from France, the civil and military possession of that part of Louisiana, which De la Suze commands; he also instructed the latter, in conjunction with Pierre Chouteau, to make an inventory of all houses and buildings to be transferred, and sends these instructions on December 21, 1803, also:

To Don Pedro Dehault De Lassus, commandant at New Bourbon.

To Don Francisco Vallé, commandant at St. Genevieve.

To Don Louis Lorimer, commandant at Cape Girardeau.

To Don John Lavallée, commandant at New Madrid.

By the middle of February, 1804, letters from Laussat reached Captain Amos Stoddard and he in turn wrote to Lieutenant Governor Delassus at St. Louis:

KASKASKIA, 18th February, 1804.

SIR—I have just received by express from New Orleans, a variety of dispatches, relative to the late retrocession of Louisiana.

"Those addressed to you and entrusted to my care by the French and Spanish Commissioners, I do myself the honor to forward by a Sergeant of our army, who is bound on business to Captain Lewis.

"In a few days the troops under my command will ascend the Mississippi in public boats. I shall proceed before them by land and concert with you the necessary arrangements before their arrival at St. Louis. The inclosed letter to Mr. Chouteau, I would thank you to deliver to him. Please accept the assurance of my respectful consideration.

"AMOS STODDARD,

"Captain U. S. Artillery, Agent and Commissioner of the French Republic."

In preparation for the transfer Lieutenant Governor Delassus ordered all the garrisons to be neat and in readiness to evacuate with arms and knapsacks, the commander trusting that "every man will so comport himself as to uphold the reputation of the Spanish troops." A soldier standing on the gallery of the Governor's mansion, southeast corner of Main and Walnut, was in proper time to wave his hat as a signal for a "Salvo" from all the cannon that were mounted and in battery. This was practicable, as the "Fort on the Hill" was on Fourth and Walnut and the ceremony took place at the Chouteau mansion on Main and Walnut.

The troops of Captain Stoddard landed at Cahokia and were cantoned several days, waiting till March 9, 1804, when they were led over to the St. Louis side by Lieutenant Worrall, Adjutant to Captain Stoddard, who with Captain Merriwether Lewis' First U. S. Infantry, and the most prominent citizens of the place, assembled at the Governor's office, while most of the inhabitants gathered on the street before the house. Lieutenant Governor Delassus then read the following:

PROCLAMATION.

MARCH 9, 1804.

"INHABITANTS OF UPPER LOUISIANA:

"By the King's command, I am about to deliver up this Post and its dependencies.

"The flag under which you have been protected for a period of nearly thirty-six years, is to be withdrawn. From this moment you are released from the oath of fidelity you took to support it.

"The fidelity and courage with which you have guarded and defended it, will never be forgotten, and in my character of representative, I entertain the most sincere wishes for your perfect prosperity."

With the exchange of the usual civilities, Delassus turned over the Governmental residence to Captain Stoddard, and the boom of the cannon announced to the whole neighborhood that a new era was to dawn on St. Louis and the West. The official document, testifying to the transfer of the Territory by Spain to France, represented by Captain Amos Stoddard, was executed in triplicate, both in the Spanish and English language, signed by Carlos Dehault De Lassus and Amos Stoddard in presence of Merriwether Lewis, Captain First U. S. Infantry; Antoine Soulard, Surveyor General, and Charles Gratiot.

This constituted a double transfer: first, from Spain to France, pursuant the peace of Ildefonso, Captain Stoddard representing France, and second, France transferring the Territory to the United States by the means of a power of attorney given to Captain Stoddard. The American troops marched to the Fort, exchanged military salutes with the evacuating Spanish troops, which took quarters on southwest corner of Elm and Third streets, waiting for a chance to embark via New Orleans for Pensacola, Florida.

At the request of Captain Stoddard Lieutenant Governor Delassus addressed the Delaware, Abenaki and Sagui Indians, and informed them of the transfer in the usual patronizing style; he lauded their past loyalty and exhorted them to follow it up in the future and added that their Spanish father's heart was happy to know that they will be protected and sustained by their new father. Official circulars were sent to the subdistrict commanders conveying the news and directions relative to the transfer.

In keeping with instructions of President Jefferson, the old method and practice of Administration was continued during the seven months of Captain Stoddard's authority, except that English became the official language instead of Spanish, which the inhabitants could easily stand, for they were still mostly French.

Delassus gave to Stoddard the characteristic description of about 45 persons, more or less officiating in Upper Louisiana. Of these eight-ninths (8-9) were of French descent and one-ninth (1-9) of other nationality. A spirit of candor worthy to an old Roman pervades this list, which is highly interesting reading, given in full in Fred L. Billon's Annals of St. Louis, first volume, pages 365–371.

With regard to legal transactions in the young colony it may be noted that the original documents of grants, deeds, certificates, etc., were made out on loose sheets, and afterwards stitched together, kept at the Government Office and passed from Governor to Governor. Most of these papers are now at the Recorder's office. These notes commenced January 21, 1766, by Joseph Labusciere, were headed appropriately and turned over to the first Spanish Governor. The first regular record books were commenced in November, 1816.

The mode of securing land grants was simple. The settler petitioned the Governor for the grant of the land described by him, who acceded (if so) to the petition on the bottom or back of the same paper, and directed the Surveyor to run out the lands. This petition and the report of the Surveyor entitled the actual settler on application to the proper officer at New Orleans, to the issue of the grant. The great majority of these settlers never called for these grants, as it took five months to go to New Orleans and return, but having an equitable claim, expected an acknowledgement of their grants from the United States.

On the suggestion of the Attorney General of the Indian Territory, Captain Stoddard wrote on January 10, 1804, to the Secretary of War, that attempts to defraud the United States of land are being made; a previous Commander having signed blank papers for the insertion of the necessary petition, order of survey and dates. While that Commander had left more than 5 years ago, some of the claimants by the strength of such papers, had not resided in St. Louis for 2 years. Jefferson referred this report to Congress.

The conditions of settlement exacted great fortitude on the part of the first inhabitants, who commenced to build up St. Louis. It took a resolute disposition to move a thousand miles into the wilderness, face an unknown climate, the savage Indians, forego the charms of civilization and medical aid. But these circumstances and their trials helped to mould the character of men, who played an important part in subsequent events. A few examples will suffice to show the nature of then existing general relations.

Charles Gratiot came to St. Louis in 1781; he became a Spanish subject in order to be permitted to trade with the Indians; went to Richmond in the year 1783 and was absent one year to collect government bills due him. In 1791 he sailed with furs to Bordeaux in France and from there to London, which already then was the best fur market; from there he went to Switzerland and called on his

relations after an absence of 25 years; returning by way of London he secured an outfit of merchandise needed in the far West, and came over Montreal and Mackinac back home to St. Louis. Gratiot made a second trip to London, but was dissatisfied with his results, and returned again to St. Louis. His energetic disposition and the general wants of a new community led him into various enterprises and he carried on a farm, mill, distillery and operated a tannery and salt works besides his trading ventures. In 1798 he received from the Governor General at New Orleans a concession for Gratiot League Square, and with his wife Victoire, eldest daughter of Madame Chouteau, educated their 13 children. Gratiot was active, judicious, perseverant and ambitious.

Daniel Boone, from Pennsylvania, came to Upper Louisiana in 1797 when 62 years of age. His previous successive homesteads were lost to him on account of neglect in perfecting their title; Boone received a grant of land from Governor Trudeau and settled with his son at the village of "Charette," probably named after the heroic leader of the Vendèens: another proof of the great diversity of the first settlers of Missouri. Daniel Boone's portrait was taken shortly before his death, at 86 years of age, by Chester Harding. Boone was for a time Syndic (Civil Magistrate) of the Femme Osage settlement. The adventures of the hardy pioneer are known all over the world.

Chester Harding, painter, came to St. Louis in 1820, remained long enough to paint over 100 portraits, among which was also that of Daniel Boone. Left to perfect himself in Italy, returned to Boston, living there in easy circumstances from the reward of his art; one of his daughters married Judge John M. Krum, father of Judge Chester Krum. Two sons of Chester Harding the painter, became very prominent in Missouri in 1861. The one also named Chester Harding was Lyons' Adjutant General, and as such by General Lyons' order the actual Commander of all troops in Missouri; the second, James Harding, was Quartermaster General of the State Militia under Governor Jackson; he married into a Southern family, and by the force of circumstances and associations drifted into the Confederate service.

Interesting as the journeys through primeval forests and unknown rivers may have been, they were full of dangers, which tried the nerve and endurance of men to the utmost. Consider the case of Dr. Antoine Francois Saugrain from Paris, France, who started in March,

1788, from Pittsburg, with three companions and horses on a flatboat down the Ohio river. Opposite the Big Miami a party of Indians commenced to fire upon them from ambush, and shot two horses, wounded one man severely and injured the hand of Saugrain. Being pursued by the Indians in a canoe, all jumped from the flatboat to reach the Kentucky shore. The wounded man's strength gave out and he drowned; another man was waylaid on shore, tomahawked and scalped. Dr. Saugrain and the fourth man, named Pierce, were overtaken by the Indians, bound and dragged along. During the night, while the Indians were fast asleep, Dr. Saugrain succeeded to loosen his ties, liberated his companion and they fled through the woods skirting the river, until after three days of hunger, frost and exposure, they succeeded to hail a boat and secure relief and assistance, to nurse their wounds and frosted limbs. It took nearly two months before they were able to continue their journey.

Even more manifold than the experience of the first immigrants was their derivation and the causes which brought them to St. Louis. Adventure, trade, necessity brought the trapper, the merchant, the refugee from the reign of terror, from the insurrection in the West Indies, the ice-bound lakes of Canada, from the ranks of discharged Spanish and American soldiers, all to the common destiny of becoming here good American citizens.

TERRITORIAL DAYS OF MISSOURI.

An Act of Congress of May 7, 1800, divided the Northwest Territory into Ohio and Indiana: the latter comprising Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin, to which, in 1804, Louisiana, including Missouri, was temporarily attached. Courts were held in June, September, December and March, and a Sheriff and Recorder appointed. The days of Arcadian simplicity and quiet life were ended by the American possession and immigration. In 1804 Lewis and Clark started on their great expedition of discovery Northwest to the Pacific Ocean, considerably aided by the experience of St. Louis traders and trappers.

Merriwether Lewis from Virginia, was private Secretary to President Jefferson till 1803. Congress making an appropriation to explore the Missouri river, cross the Stone Mountains, and descend on some river to the Pacific Ocean, Lewis was appointed for the task and Captain Wm. Clark was associated with him. He waited in St. Louis for the spring to open as well as for the actual transfer of the

Territory, at which he was present, signing the document as a witness. The expedition party was camping opposite the mouth of the Missouri; it consisted of 45 persons, of whom 12 were soldiers and 15 boat hands. One man died the first winter and 15 were sent back with dispatches. The expedition crossed the Rocky Mountains September 22, 1805, built boats and reached the Pacific Ocean on the Columbia river on November 15; built a fort and passed here the second winter, returning to St. Louis September 23, 1806, after a voyage of 28 months. Lewis was rewarded by a land grant and the appointment as Governor of Upper Louisiana. He left St. Louis for Washington, became low spirited and shot himself on his way in Kentucky. The Lewis and Clark expedition practically gave Oregon to the United States. The Northern boundary of the Union was subsequently secured by a treaty with Great Britain.

In the meantime, the city destined to become the commercial metropolis of the West, prospered. The numbr of taxpaying inhabitants was already 729 in the year 1807 and taxes could be paid in deer skins from October to April, after that date in cash. The town was incorporated in 1809, the centennial celebration of which will be held in October, 1909. The first Treasurer, Auguste Chouteau, reported end of the year 1810:

Receipts from all sources	$529.68
Expenditures	399.15
Balance in the Treasury	$130.53

A more promising sign of advancement was, in 1808, the first edition of a newspaper: the Missouri Gazette, published by Joseph Charless, a son of Erin, and a refugee of the Irish rebellion of 1795. The first number of the paper was printed on foolscap; subscribers gave their notes or verbal promise, which they could redeem in flour, corn, beef or pork. The paper was quite efficient in promoting the best interests of the community.

The way of making roads was simple, the Court ordered and inspected the survey and made provisions for its "cutting out." Thus a road was ordered to St. Genevieve, Cape Girardeau and New Madrid, quite an enterprise, considering that the only road leading from town to the river was on Market street, for perpendicular rocks, about 40 feet above the usual stand of the river, extended from Poplar street to Rocky Branch.

In 1812 the Territory was named Missouri; a Governor was appointed and the Legislature, biannually elective, met every year in St. Louis, the first meeting being in Mr. Sanguinette's loghouse on Second street.

For the war of 1812 with Great Britain, St. Louis mustered one Company of Riflemen, one of Infantry and one of Artillery and one of Veterans above 45 years of age, which, according to the "Gazette," comprised nearly every man in the place. There were also several hundred Regulars here; their main duty was to watch the Indians, who under the pretext of war, robbed and killed several persons in the neighborhood. During this war, expeditions of Regulars went from St. Louis or Bellefountaine to Portage des Sioux, Rock Island, Natchitoches, the Falls of St. Anthony and Council Bluff. Already February 18, 1815, the St. Louisians could fire a salute in honor of the victory of New Orleans, gained January 8, full fourteen days after the "Treaty of Ghent" had been signed, of which no telegraphic news could then be conveyed. Another memorable event gladdened the heart of the St. Louis people, when on August 2, 1815, probably the larger portion of the 2,000 inhabitants, watched the landing of the first steamboat on the St. Louis Levee: little did they dream then that less than fifty years later more than one hundred large steamboats would crowd that landing and that within another fifty years those floating palaces would be almost entirely superseded by the "Iron Horse," which on this Continent commenced to feed on coal, cash and human flesh, full 13 years later than the landing of the steamer "Pike."

From the date when St. Louis became part of the Union to the admission of Missouri as a State, namely, in a period of 17 years, the new conditions brought many notable men to the city. It is not possible within the compass of these lines to do justice to their merits. To those readers acquainted with the relations of St. Louis, the names themselves will suggest many living and institutional mementoes, while not few of these men acquired even a national reputation.

SETTLERS OF AMERICAN ERA.

This designation comprises chiefly those settlers who came to St. Louis between the dates of the Louisiana purchase and the admission of Missouri to Statehood. Many of these men are most intimately connected with the early development of St. Louis and are known even to the present generation. According to Mr. Billon's excellent

Chronicle, there came to St. Louis in 1804: Gen. Daniel Bissell, Merriwether Lewis, Geo. Wm. Clark, Wm. C. Carr, Rufus Easton, Alex McNair, John Mullanphy; in 1805: Z. M. Pike, Clement Biddle, Jno. B. C. Lucas; 1806: Joseph Charless, the Blow family, Fred Bates; 1807: Dr. Bernard J. Farrar; 1809: John W. Honey, Michael Tesson, Bartholo Berthold, Rene Paul, Moses Austin; 1810: Judge Robt. Wash; 1811: Hy. Von Phul; 1813: Peter, John and Jessie Lindell, Captain Theo. Hunt, Jas. Kennerly; 1814: Edward Bates, Nathaniel Paschall; 1815: Major Thos. Forsyth, Captain Mackey Wherry, Thos. Hart Benton; 1816: Archibald Gamble, James Clemens, John Bobb; 1817: Robt. Collet, John D. Daggett, Wm. Glasgow, Jr., Thornton Grimsley, John L. Sutton; 1818: Hamilton R. Gamble, Geo. Collier, Sullivan Blood, Archbishop Louis Wm. V. Dubourg, F. K. Billon, Jeremiah Connor, Col. John O'Fallon, Fred Dent; 1819: Dr. Wm. Carr Lane, Henry Shaw, Chas. Chambers, Jos. C. Laveille, Edward Knapp; 1820: Chester Harding, Sr., Elihu W. Sheppard, Britton A. Hill, D. Robt. Barclay, Wm. Higgins, N. B. Atwood. These men, with a few of the original settlers, very soon controlled the bulk of the real estate. Some of the largest holdings were soon subdivided, like the John Mullanphy estate, which through five married daughters went to Richard Graham, Chas. Chambers, Thos. Biddle, Wm. S. Harney, James Clemens, and one son, Bryan Mullanphy, whose generosity established the Mullanphy Emigrant Home. No doubt these large land holdings exerted a conservative influence and in latter days outweighed slaveholding interests. Gen. Daniel Bissell, Commander at Bellefountaine, bought a large tract of land in that neighborhood. Officers of the Army and of the Territorial Government, exercised through their culture and education a directive influence, while old troopers, discharged at this point, added to the settlement a hardy and resolute element.

When Fred K. Billon arrived in St. Louis in 1818, its population was estimated at 3,000. The census gave the State of Missouri 20,000, and the Legislature petitioned Congress for admission as a State into the Union, which proved its appreciation of this part of the country by sending in 1819 the steamer "Western Engineer," drawing only 19 inches of water, up to the Yellow Stone river, to select a site for a fort and to make geodetic, geological, botanical and zoological observations; each branch being represented by a proficient scientist. This expedition started from Pittsburg and was expected to stay out for two years. By this time two banks had been

started in St. Louis: the first was discontinued on account of too little confidence by the people, and the second on account of too much confidence in the people. Characteristic for the period (1810–1818) are the four duels which had been fought on Bloody Island opposite St. Louis. None of these had an adequate cause and two terminated fatally. All of the parties professed to be Christians, though their vindictive hatred is little in accord with the teachings of the great master. In one of these duels, Thomas H. Benton killed Charles Lucas, a young attorney. Benton came recently from Tennessee, where he had been already prominent in politics, and where some of his experience is so far germane to these lines, as he was soon to become the most prominent man in St. Louis and Missouri:

Under date of September 10, 1813, Thomas H. Benton describes a scene which casts a shadow before coming events, in so far as it brings to light vindictive passions and acts of cruel violence, that could only have been nurtured under the degrading influences of Slavery surroundings. He writes to a newspaper at Franklin, Tenn., September 10, 1813:

"A difference which had been for some months brewing between General Jackson and myself, produced on Saturday, the 4th inst., in the town of Nashville, the most outrageous affray ever witnessed in a civilized country.

"In communicating this affair to my friends and fellow citizens, I limit myself to the statement of a few leading facts, the truth of which I am ready to establish by judicial proofs.

"1. That myself and my brother, Jesse Benton, arriving at Nashville on the morning of the affray, and knowing of Gen'l Jackson's threats, went and took our lodgings in a different house from the one in which he stayed, on purpose to avoid him.

"2. That the General and some of his friends came to the house where we had put up, and commenced the attack by leveling a pistol at me, when I had no weapon drawn, and advancing upon me at a quick pace, without giving me time to draw one.

"3. That seeing this, my brother fired upon General Jackson, when he had got within eight or ten feet of me.

"4. That four other pistols were fired in quick succession—one by General Jackson at me, two by me at the General, and one by Col. Coffee at me. In the course of this firing, General Jackson was brought to the ground, but I received no hurt.

"5. That daggers were then drawn. Col. Coffee and Mr. Alexander Donaldson made at me and gave me five slight wounds. Captain Hammond and Mr. Stockley Hays engaged my brother, who, being still weak from the effects of a severe wound he had lately received in a duel, was not able to resist two men. They got him down, and while Captain Hammond beat him on the head to make him lay still, Mr. Hays attempted to stab him, and wounded him in both arms, as he lay on his back parrying the thrusts with his naked hands. From this situation a generous hearted citizen of Nashville, Mr. Summers, relieved him. Before he came to the ground, my brother clapped a pistol to the breast of Mr. Hays to blow him through, but it missed fire.

"6. My own and my brother's pistols carried two balls each; for it was our intention, if driven to our arms, to have no child's play. The pistols fired at me were so near that the blaze of the muzzle of one of them burned the sleeve of my coat, and the other was aimed at my head, a little more than arm's length from it.

"7. Captain Carroll was to have taken part in the affray, but was absent by the permission of General Jackson, as he has since proved, by the General's certificate, which leaves the doubt open, whether it reflects less honor upon the General or upon the Captain.

"8. That this attack was made upon me in the house where the Judge of the District, Mr. Searcy, had his lodging! So little are the laws and its ministers respected! Nor has the Civil authority yet taken cognizance of this horrible outrage.

"These facts are sufficient to fix the public opinion. For my own part, I think it scandalous, that such things should take place at any time, when the public service requires the aid of all its citizens. As for the name of courage, God forbid that I should ever attempt to gain it by becoming a bully.

"Those who know me, know full well that I would give a thousand times more for the reputation of Croghan, in defending his post, than I would for the reputation of all the duelists and gladiators that ever appeared on the face of the earth.

"Thomas Hart Benton,
"Lt. Colonel 39th Infantry."

The incident displays the temper of persons, called upon to act a leading part in coming events. Soon after the above incident, Benton removed to St. Louis, and in 1819 edited a newspaper in opposition to the "Missouri Gazette," published by Joseph Charless. Charless was born in Ireland, 1772; took part in the Irish rebellion of 1795, in which Robert Emmett perished. He fled to the United States; went first to Lexington, Ky., and came in 1806 to St. Louis, and being a practical printer and man of a liberal disposition, founded the "Missouri Gazette," the parent of the "St. Louis Republic." It was prob-

ably the example of Charless which started a large Irish emigration to St. Louis, the city whose name was also congenial to their religious tennets.

ADMISSION OF MISSOURI.

The fourth session of the Missouri Territorial Legislature, organized at St. Louis, October 26, 1818, by electing David Barton Speaker, and resolved upon the recommendation of a committee, that it was both proper and expedient to petition Congress, to admit Missouri as a State, authorizing it to propose a Constitution and form a State Government. The census gave Missouri 19,218 white male inhabitants, and the whole subject relative to Statehood was embodied into a memorial and the delegate to Congress was requested to present the same to the Federal Legislature. An act introduced at the same time in the Territorial Legislature of Missouri by Hy. S. Geyer, to incorporate a Board of Trustees for superintending schools in the town of St. Louis, shows the fostering care for education, coeval with the ambition for Statehood and a resolution passed shortly before adjournment on December 24, which rebuked the Lieutenant Governor for arrogating to himself the privilege of letting out the public printing, proves the jealousy of the ancestors in the case of vested rights.

On the reassembling of the Territorial Legislature at St. Louis on September 18, 1819, Alexander McNair was declared elected Governor. On October 2 the Legislature had a joint session, in order to elect two Senators for Congress. Every one of the members of both houses had the right to vote for one Senator. David Barton received 34 votes; Thomas H. Benton 27; John B. Lucas 16; while 27 votes were scattered between three more candidates. Barton and Benton were declared duly elected, though either of them received only a plurality of the votes cast. As the member to the House of Representatives in Washington had been previously elected by the people, the whole State machinery was ready for operation, long before the State was admitted to the Union.

The Constitutional Convention assembled at St. Louis, June 12, 1820, under an act of Congress of March 6, 1820, entitled "An act to authorize the people of Missouri Territory to form a Constitution and State Government and for the admission of such State into the Union on an equal footing with the original States and to prohibit Slavery in certain territories." The "certain territories" des-

ignated in that act were laying West of Missouri and North of 36° 30' Latitude, and their consecration for future Free States was the consideration for admitting Missouri as a Slave State into the Union. This solemn compact was afterwards broken by the repeal of the Missouri compromise in 1854.

St. Louis members of that convention were: David Barton, President; William Rector, Alexander McNair, Bernard Pratte, Edward Bates, John C. Sullivan, Pierre Chouteau, Jr., and Thomas Riddick, William G. Pettus was made Secretary over Archibald Gamble, candidate for the same office. The Constitution this convention framed guaranteed to colored people equality of punishment, but only with regard to capital offenses; slaves abused by their masters were to be sold by authority of the State, for the benefit of the master; which for the slave, was rather an additional and cruel punishment. Slaves could not be emancipated, except by the consent of the owner. The provision to prevent free Negroes and Mulattoes from coming to and settling in the State was obviated by special ordinance, exacted by Congress as imperative, before the President could issue his proclamation for the admission of the State.

Article II, Section 9, of that Constitution enjoined: "No person, while he continues to exercise the functions of a bishop, priest, clergyman or teacher of any religious persuasion, denomination, society or sect whatever, shall be eligible to a seat in either branch of the Legislature, or to be elected or appointed to any office of profit within this State, the office of Justice of Peace excepted." This indicates that the direct political activity of the designated persons was not deemed beneficial, by the framers of the Constitution, who adopted the same by the vote of all members save one. English and French copies of the Constitution were ordered printed, for the use of the authorities

When the Constitution was presented to Congress for approval and acceptance, the motion for its unconditional adoption was defeated, and a resolution passed, of admitting the State on certain conditions. The Missouri Legislature complied with these on June 26, 1821, with these words:

"That this State has assented and does assent that the fourth clause of the twenty-sixth section of the third article of the Constitution of this State shall never be construed to authorize the passage of any law, and that no law shall be passed in conformity thereto, by which any citizen of either of the United States, shall be excluded from the enjoyment of any of the privileges and immunities to which such

citizens are entitled under the Constitution of the United States. This proviso secured to free Negroes and Mulattoes the right to come to and reside in Missouri. In consequence of the above pledge President James Monroe issued his proclamation on August 10, 1821, that Missouri had become a State by virtue of accepting the conditions stipulated by Congress.

The contest ended by the Missouri Compromise has been related before, with the general political development of the Slavery power. It seems that Benton's ability and influence lay dormant during this important period of State organization, which was the most opportune time to free Missouri, as it would also have been the best time to fight Slavery extension. But no one was great enough to follow the footsteps of Thomas Jefferson, who liberated the North-West Territory, by his far-sighted policy. Had Thomas H. Benton cast the weight of his capacity and influence for making Missouri a Free State, he would have become one of the greatest men of this nation and saved hundreds of thousands from premature graves. Fearless, able, learned, genial in his disposition, he secured success and renown with other measures, but missed the chance of his life, when he assisted or suffered Missouri to become a Slave State. It is true he would have had to rise above the influences of his youth, the training in a Proslavery community, the vicious effects of absolute power, and for the time being, the allurements of high office. He was born a slaveholder in North Carolina, removed in his youth to a cotton plantation in Tennessee, got early into politics and was influenced by the unbridled passions of Southern Society; of which his own letter upon the difficulty with General Jackson is the best proof and the duel with young Lucas a sad sequel. Benton had afterwards the greatest merit in developing the Great West; he helped to secure Homesteads to millions; was a sound financier, and like his latter days friend, General Jackson, an uncompromising Union man; but he failed to see that the Union could not exist with Slavery. Theodore Roosevelt says in his work upon Benton: "The South falling always more to the rear in the race for prosperity and blindly attributing her failure to everything but the true reason—the existence of Slavery," also held that Benton tried to hide this cause from himself and others and placed it upon the Tariff. A few pages farther Roosevelt states: "Now whether a protective Tariff is right or wrong, may be open to question." It certainly was not an open question in the minds of the Southerners, who exported their staples for the price

made in the world's markets and paid for the imported manufactures the prices enhanced by the Tariff.

There are several mitigating circumstances, which to some extent, palliate a Proslavery disposition in Missouri at the time. Slavery existed in the Louisiana Territory under Spanish dominion. France repossessed Louisiana only on paper and made the United States guarantee all possessive rights, which could readily be construed to include Slavery. The "peculiar institution" exhibited in Missouri a milder nature than farther South. While corporal punishment could be administered by master and overseer, its more severe applications were relegated to the justices and resolutions introduced in the Legislature "to treat them (the slaves) with humanity and to abstain from all injury to them, extending to life and limb," prove that the slaves were partly protected by the Missouri laws, which were not as cruel towards the offending slave, as those in other parts of the country. It is true that here as in all Slave States a great many masters waived excessive punishments and treated their dependents with kindness and care; but neither this, nor the fear of remote slave insurrections could possibly excuse inhuman laws.

On July 4, 1826, Thomas Jefferson died; the great statesman and patriot was also the ablest opponent of Slavery expansion. Jefferson Barracks, named in his honor, was occupied the same day by four Companies of United States Soldiers and the next year the St. Louis Arsenal was started; few anticipated then that civil war was so near, nor that this would be a most important place in the organization of Union forces. Three years later the corner stone of the St. Louis Cathedral was laid on Walnut street, very near the point where the first settlers landed; the very considerable dimensions of the Church anticipated the future great City.

THE GERMAN IMMIGRATION OF 1830.

With the year 1830, there commenced in Europe an era of such momentum in History that it cast the shadow of coming events westward, even to the far off banks of the Mississippi. The American War of Independence of 1776, and the French Revolution of 1789, by their declarations of inalienable natural right, had roused a large portion of the people of Europe to a sense of their human dignity. The genial heir of France's revolutionary power humbled privileged legitimacy all over the Continent. Overreaching his capacity and

neglecting the very principles which elevated him, the Corsican conqueror fell as much through his own faults as through the national enthusiasm of the countries which his despotic rule had oppressed. The humbled legitimistic rulers took advantage of the national enthusiasm of their people, and, making a virtue out of necessity, partly granted and partly promised, liberal organic measures. Once out of danger, however, nor dreading any more the "Ghost of St. Helena," their memory relative liberal promises failed; granted rights were evaded; old privileges re-established, and the reaction flourished all over Europe. This was the era of the "Holy Alliance" between Russia, Austria and Prussia, whose grasping absolutistic tendency was not limited even by the Atlantic Ocean, and elicited from a far seeing American Cabinet the famous document originating the "Monroe Doctrine." This "Reaction" was supreme from 1815 to 1830; but while it could change outward forms, it could not suppress the awakened spirit of the people seeking more liberal and progressive relations. The great lessons of American Independence and the French Revolution, lived in the minds of the best and ablest men, and spread from them quietly but irresistibly through the masses. Charles X., King of France, by the grace of the Holy Alliance, a royal Bourbon, who never forgot past privileges nor comprehended the progress of modern evolution, was chased from France by the revolution of 1830, which guided by aged Lafayette, Thiers, Arago and other liberal minded men, raised Louis Phillip to the throne as a "Citizen King" with constitutionally limited powers. This popular upheaval of France set all liberally disposed persons of Europe in motion, and for a time a general uprising was anticipated. It was partly suppressed and partly neutralized by the yielding of the Governments; granting some constitutional institutions, which, however, were not satisfactory to the men of most progressive minds, and especially not to the students of the German Universities, where the "Bursch Societies," cultivated an idealism of truth, which the most resolute capacities among them tried to apply to practical life. The theories of natural human rights brought down upon them the persecution of the absolute governments. Prominent among these students, both for his zeal in the cause of free institutions, and his ability and learning, was Karl Follen or Follenius, who even dreamed of a German Republic to be proclaimed on the battlefield of Leipzic, for which he and friends had already discussed the plan of a Constitution. Follen was an uncompromising Republican, in the full

meaning of the word. The dawn of the new era of 1830 animated him to these lines:

"It is awaking,
It is awaking!
Out of the depth of sun pregnant night,
In flaming glow of a morning rapture,
The sun of suns—
The people's might.

Humanity, thou greatest of deserts,
Greeted in vain, by the spring of mind,
Tear up and break up the ice of ages,
Rush on in strong, proud ocean billows;
Down serf and tyrant, who only abused thee.
Be now a nation, and a Republic—
Fight for thy kind!"

Follen's general tendency being known, the authorities made an attempt to connect him with the crime of Sand, who for political reasons murdered Kotzebue in 1819. This attempt failed, but the persecutions continued. Follen accepted a call for a professorship in Chur, Switzerland, which shielded him against the attacks of the reactionary powers, until he left for Paris, where the venerable General Lafayette gave to Follen letters of recommendation, which secured him a professorship at the Harvard University in Boston. He found friends among the most cultured people and joined the Antislavery Society started in 1832, knowing that this would bar his permanent employment at the University. Animated by the idea of "a healthy mind in a healthy body," Follen started a Turn place for gymnastic exercises. It will be seen later that the Turners, whose societies spread all over the country, were among the first and staunchest supporters of the Union cause.

The Governor of Massachusetts in his inaugural address, intimated that the Abolitionists, by their sayings and doings, were guilty of an offense against the laws of their country and liable to prosecution. The subject was referred to a Committee before whom delegates of the Antislavery society appeared, in order to prevent hostile legislation. Follen pointed out in his pleading that the object of muzzling people by law was to perpetuate Slavery; that the slaveholders had incited hatred against the Abolitionists; that Southern Legislatures had offered rewards for the abduction or assassination of Antislavery men, and that if now any censure should be passed upon the Abolitionists or members of the Antislavery Society, this would even

endanger their personal safety or life, just in the same manner as a recent meeting at Faneuil Hall condemning Anti-slavery doctrines, caused the gathering of a mob, which threatened the personal liberty of people, and dragged Lloyd Garrison with a halter round his neck, through the streets of Boston. Heedless of such experiences, five thousand people celebrated the martyrdom of Elijah P. Lovejoy at the Tabernacle in 1837. For all that, Karl Follen never dared to call on his brother in Missouri; he perished in 1840 on the steamer Lexington.

The same spirit which animated Karl Follen was shared by his younger brother, Paul Follenius, and the latter's brother-in-law, Friederich Muench. While classmates at the University they had the same political aims and shared in the same disappointment in their old home relations, and organized in 1833 the "Gieszen Emigration Society" of five hundred members; one-half started under the lead of Follenius via Bremen and New Orleans, the other half under the lead of Frederick Muench via Baltimore. Cholera broke out on Follenius' vessel on the Mississippi; he himself remained behind sick in Paducah; when he arrived at St. Louis, the society had disbanded, without due consideration of incurred obligations. Follenius and six families went to Duden's old place, 56 miles west of St. Louis; he bought there a farm of 160 acres, and Father Muench settled in the same neighborhood.

Fred Muench was very active in securing a large German immigration to Missouri. Having faith in free institutions, he desired to share them with men of similar convictions, who at that time despaired of a favorable political development in Germany. He no doubt held that an addition of German idealism, thrift and social tendency, will be very acceptable to the serious business disposition, daring enterprise and more or less puritanic rigor of the native American. His writings of a political and philosophical nature, enlightened the reader on the questions of American organization. Antislavery in conviction, as all educated Europeans had been, he still did not agitate the question, expecting from the natural development of forces a favorable solution of the issue. The few allusions to the Slavery question in his works published in 1902 are conservative, but none the less decided; thus he said in an essay before the National Turner Convention at Pittsburgh, in August, 1856:

"No one will doubt that where equality of human rights is maintained without exception, the community is morally elevated. It has the same

effect here (in the Union), wherever it exists, to bring the demands of justice home to the conscience of the people; while the great exception of this condition of the equality of human rights, which still prevails, contrary to the spirit of republican institutions, and which threatens even to root deeper and spread farther, necessarily obliterates the moral conscience and demoralizes the entire character of the people. Had we no contest against Slavery, and the other deviations from human rights—could we not hope that the better sense of the people will awake and carry on the initiated contest until inhumanity is conquered, we would have to despair of the possibility of ever vindicating a more honorable character as a people, than such as the Russian knout and bondage system can show."

Of the liberal and dissatisfied men of Germany and Switzerland, many immigrated and settled in the immediate neighborhood of St. Louis, St. Charles, Belleville and Highland. Seeking their new homes from love of Liberty, it was not strange that these men cast the full weight of their intellectual and moral influence against Slavery. It was not only the personal activity of men like Fred Muench, Gustav Koerner, Weber, Wesselhoeft, the Engelmanns, Kehr, Bunsen, Goebel, and many others too numerous to name, which exerted a powerful influence in local and national politics, at and around St. Louis, but their liberal tendency and connections gave like elements in Europe a direction towards this locality, when the similar, but far more serious later popular upheaval of 1848 and its failure, scattered its champions all over the world.

The men who settled in Missouri during the decade after 1830 had soon reason to ponder over the evil influence engendered by Slavery and race prejudice, when in 1836, F. L. McIntosh, a colored steamboat hand, was burned at the stake on the corner of Seventh and Chestnut streets, notwithstanding the exertions of Joseph Charless, the first publisher of a newspaper in St. Louis, to prevent this brutal act. In 1837, the year Lovejoy was murdered in Alton, the St. Louis *Republic* first appeared as a daily paper; the Bank of Missouri was incorporated with a capital of Five Million Dollars and the Planters' Hotel was started. In 1846 the Mercantile Library was originated and the year later the Boatmen's Savings Institution. In 1846 Congress called for 50,000 Volunteers for the Mexican War. A Legion was formed in St. Louis, which took a prominent part in the war with Mexico, and in which many foreign born citizens had enlisted, as their affiliation with the Democratic party which favored immigration, led them to support a Democratic measure. This is strange enough, as the emigrants from the Continent of Europe were

nearly all hostile to Slavery, while the Mexican war was waged chiefly in the interest of that institution. The year 1849 was one of great calamities to St. Louis; a great fire destroyed nearly all the wholesale business portion of the city and the cholera reduced the population by many thousands before it was finally controlled, and an unexplained bank theft of $120,000 shook the confidence of the financial circles. Matters improved again when July 4, 1851, ground was first broken on the Pacific railroad. In 1852 the great Hungarian patriot, Louis Kossuth, animated a St. Louis audience with his eloquent pleading for liberty, for his country's and humanity's cause; it was the epilogue of a popular movement which shook Europe, and the prologue of a popular storm in America, such as the world had never witnessed before, and may never witness again. While the elementary forces of this contest were segregating in the Union, more or less for three-quarters of a century, the European Revolution of 1848 had a most direct and powerful bearing upon the determined and successful evolution of the Union cause in St. Louis and, therefore, deserves more than a casual notice by all those who seek in History the unbroken chain of cause and effect, for useful application in the solution of future events.

THE IMMIGRATION OF 1848.

The dissatisfied European Emigrants of 1830 left a large number of dissatisfied persons behind, who did not have the heart to part from their native country; some of them had faith in the promises of the rulers; others in their own capacity of redressing matters, and some did not even have the means to move to localities of better relations. But the desire for liberty and equal rights, always latent in the human breast, had been roused by the events of the past, and when the aggression of the privileged few encroached upon the slender popular acquisitions, it met a passive resistance from the masses, which was only the calm before the storm. After the year 1830, the co-relation of nations in Europe became even more patent than that of forces. The new election law of France brought the possessive and middle classes to power. The census was 500 Franks for offices and 200 Franks for electors, and there was a tendency to represent wealth rather than men. Thus the National Guard of Paris, numbering 60,000 men, was regulated to wear expensive uniforms, entirely beyond the means of small people, and while prosperity was flourishing in trade and industry, it was that of the classes and not of the masses.

Liberal persons like Lafayette were soon shelved and more and more conservative measures adopted. Speculation was rampant, legislators indulging in it on the basis of anticipated measures, for which they were vigorously attacked by a press, which the Government tried to silence by heavy bonds. Meetings of clubs discussing the rights of men were closed; the bearing of arms prohibited.

No wonder that the fortifying of Paris in 1840 was suspected as a design for the coercion of its inhabitants. The opposition in Parliament ventilated all evils with the full vivacity of the French temperament, and demanded universal suffrage, government workshops, exclusion of public officers from politics and a moral reform to abate the ruling corruption. The progressive and often revolutionary commotions in other parts of Europe only added fuel to the smoldering fire.

Yielding to popular pressure, liberal constitutions were granted during 1831 in Saxony and the electorate of Hesse, likewise in 1833 in Brunswick and Hanover; better press regulations were adopted in Bavaria and by the Legislature of Baden, where a German National representation was even mooted. The student associations at the Universities were a powerful lever to raise the sentiment for a United Germany, and in adopting the Black, Red and Gold colors, aided in verifying Lafayette's prediction that the "Tricolor" would make the round of the world. The enthusiasm of the youths was not yet shared by large portions of the people and some premature revolutionary movements for Union and Liberty were suppressed almost as quickly as started.

Prussia advanced steadily in its industrial development; the improved means of communication bettered home relations; with only 12,000,000 inhabitants but 15 times as many newspapers as Austria, it bid fair to outstrip that three times larger empire, whose excess of conservatism produced a general stagnation at home.

The assimilation of all German interests with those of Prussia were greatly aided by a Tariff Union with other German States, by which 25,000,000 people were united by a common trade regulation and policy. This, no doubt, was advanced through the more rapid communication by railroads, steamboats, mails and telegraphs; while eminent men of thought sought to establish fundamental principles, upon which all governmental and generally humane relations should be based. It was evident that the spirit of critical research thus created could not be satisfied with half measures. The ultra conserva-

tive policy represented in England by the "Iron Duke," Wellington, had also to yield to the spirit of the age, which carried the Parliament Reform and a more just representation by the threat of the abolition of the House of Lords. The so-called "Chartist" movement presented a petition with one and a quarter million signatures, demanding universal suffrage, inclusive women; secret ballot; pay of members of Parliament; equal election districts; no census for elective representatives and yearly elections, showing that their aspirations were in sympathy and in some features, even beyond American institutions. The emancipation of 800,000 slaves in the West Indies set an example whose imitation would have saved the Union several milliards of treasure, half a million of lives and untold grief and suffering. The emancipation of slaves in the West Indies cost England one hundred million of dollars; it liberated field hands in seven years, other slaves in five years; it also freed all newborn children and those under six years of age. This act of emancipation passed in 1833, in which year Wilberforce, its chief promoter in Parliament, died. In 1839 Richard Cobden brought the Free Trade question to the front, while the reduction and final abolition of the grain taxes secured a much needed relief to the poorer people; the deficit in the Budget, which was thereby created, was made up by an income tax exempting $750 incomes, and placing the burden of taxation where it could be best borne. Other States were not free from the commotions which followed the year of 1830. In Belgium the movement took a national character, through its separation from the Netherlands and the election of a Constitutional King in the person of Leopold of Coburg, the neutrality of the country being guaranteed by the Great Powers, who after the sea battle of Navarin, October 20, 1827, broke the Osman power and established Otto of Bavaria on the Greek throne. This ended in Hellas the turbulent wrangles of native oligarchs, but it could not end the continued jealousies with Turkey, which latter country was sorely pressed by Mehmed Ali, Viceroy of Egypt, until it found protection through the Great Powers, chiefly Russia. Even Turkey yielded to the general drift of political affairs and made some reforms by the Statute of November 21, 1839; but it took good care at the same time to have its army reorganized by the greatest military capacity of Europe, General Hellmuth von Moltke. While Austria lost steadily ground in the German Confederation, to which its Teutonic Provinces belonged, there was great organic progress in Hungary through the emancipa-

tion of serfs, the nationalization of its Parliament and administrative reforms, under the leadership of a number of able representatives and chiefly through the undaunted patriotism and genial eloquence of Louis Kossuth. In Spain also liberal concessions were made to propitiate the people, for the Government of Christina, the daughter of the King, against the legitimate claims of Don Carlos, the brother of the King, who justly claimed that under the Salic law, only males could succeed to the throne of Spain. In the course of repeated wars between "Carlists" and "Christinos," the Church property was confiscated and liberal Constitutions granted. Similar, though with slightly differing causes, were the events in Portugal. The rise of Poland against the land grabbing powers of Russia, Austria and Prussia, and its heroic struggle, may be also attributed to the general liberal trend of affairs. The Poles had one element of weakness, which entailed their defeat; they did not liberate their serfs in time, and these had no incentive to sympathize with a national movement, but even helped the aggressive powers to break it down.

In the manner of emancipating slaves in the West Indies, England gave the Union one example worthy of imitation; Switzerland gave her another, by the manner in which it suppressed a Secession uprising. In Switzerland, which was a rather loose Confederation of nearly 2,000,000 people, the Cantons, a subdivision similar to the States of the Union, exercised considerable independent rights, while rifle and other societies kept up generally a sound spirit of democracy all over the land. The great number of political refugees, which her laws freely admitted, always exposed Switzerland to considerable political friction. This as well as the liberal progress of other countries and the growing necessity of a more concentrated power for defense, led to more liberal constitutional amendments, which strengthened the common federal administration. The admission of the Jesuits gave rise to serious contentions in several Cantons, seven of which, namely: Luzerne, Schwyz, Uri, Unterwalden, Zug, Wallis and Neufchattel, formed a separate Union. This the Congress at Berne declared dissolved July 20, 1847, and demanded the removal of the Jesuits. The seceded Cantons declined to accede to this request and took up arms, whereupon the Central Government ordered General Dufour on November 4 to exact obedience, placing 30,000 men at his command and called out its Reserve forces. The General lost no time and moved upon the Secessionists before they could concentrate their forces. Neufchattel had to capitulate on November 14; Zug, November 21; on November 23, Dufour outmaneuvered the

opponents at their intrenched camp and brought Luzerne to submission; on November 25, Schwyz and Unterwalden surrendered; Uri followed suit on the 26th and Wallis November 29; this whole civil war lasted three weeks. This result made room for the closer Union of the whole Confederation, as the recent events had most forcibly demonstrated the necessity thereof. In comparing the results of this Secession war, with the later one in the United States, it should be borne in mind that in both, numerical and industrial preponderance and established military organization favored the general Government; the soldierly qualities of the opponents were in both equal, but in the United States the armies had to overcome immense distances with a sparse population, while small Switzerland, studded with cities, had ready depots of provisions; the North American Union, however, is an open country, while Switzerland is a natural fortress all over. Considering all in all, it must be acknowledged that General Dufour used his time and chances to very good advantage.

The impulsive character of a Southern people brought the popular fermentation of this period, more to the surface in Italy, than anywhere else. Revolts in the poorly governed Pontificate, Modena, Bologna, Parma and the Romagna, were aimed against the temporal power and authority of the Pope, which had to be re-established by Austrian bayonets. The tyranny wielded by foreigners and a great many secret societies readily united the people, and the most able agitator, Guiseppe Mazzini, prepared Italy for the coming events. Carlo Alberto, King of Piedmont, was called to play the part in Italy, which later on was offered to the King of Prussia, in Germany. Carlo Alberto organized his Kingdom on sound lines of political economy, improved the administration and perfected the army. Tariff Unions likewise prepared the ground.

In 1846 Pope Gregor XVI., who had condemned railroads as the work of the devil, was succeeded by the liberal Pope, Pius IX., whom Italian enthusiasm pronounced the leader of Italy on its road towards Republican freedom, and the shouts "Eviva Italia libra" were alternated with "Eviva Pio Nono." This was no small gain with a people of whom a large portion was fanatically religious. Hostilities between the people and the Austrians governing the Provinces of Venice and Lombardy were of daily occurrence. Petitions for reforms were declined by the Austrians and offensive police regulations enforced.

FRIEDRICH HECKER.

Leader of Republicans in Germany.

Considering that at this time about five millions of Germans lived in the United States, it becomes quite evident that their representations of American institutions and relations exercised at home a powerful influence by spreading progressive political ideas. In 1845 an uprising took place in Leipzig, Saxony, which commenced with religious grievances, but also affected political questions, and was partially successful. Another issue sprung up in 1846, about the nationality of the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, the former being claimed absolutely and the latter conditionally by the Danes, while German public opinion and the great majority of the people in the Duchies firmly held to their union and representation in the German Confederation. The famous song, "Schleswig-Holstein Meerumschlungen" sounded from the Belt to the Alps and roused the German national spirit to fever heat and proved already then, that the Germans although divided into great many smaller States, were still one nation.

Events commenced to point now towards a near and forcible rearrangement of governmental powers and institutions. Even in progressive States like Prussia and Piedmont, the material development had outstripped legal provisions, and the wants and desires of the people were in advance of the measures designed to satisfy them; though urged repeatedly, the King of Prussia conceded to the collective provincial representatives only an advisory voice and not legislative powers. Russia was governed by the absolute will of Emperor Nicolas and Austria by that of the Prime Minister, Metternich. In France the exertions for redress of evils were rejected by the arrogant claims of a self sufficient power; in Bavaria, public opinion was outraged by the insolence of the adventuress, Lola Montez, whom the favor of the King had dubbed Countess of Landsfeld.

Inconsiderate repression of popular tendencies and sentiments had gathered in many States explosive material, auguring that sudden and forced change of relations, which is usually termed a revolution. The verdict of the Confederate Diet, claiming only Holstein, dissatisfied all Germany; Prussian liberal statesmen insisted on the constitutionality of their demands; the martial law inflicted on the Venetians and Milanese was met with undisguised hatred; the baffled opposition in France only watched the moment to upset by force what it failed to change by argument.

On January 12, 1848, the people of the City of Palermo in Sicily rose in arms against the Government and demanded a more liberal

Constitution; other cities in Sicily followed this example, which brought the Neapolitans to their feet, and by the 10th of February, the Government granted a new Constitution for both parts of the Kingdom. February 11 the same was heralded by the Grand Duchy of Toscana, while in Piedmont Carlo Alberto proclaimed at the instance of Count Cavour a "fundamental statute" (Constitution) as the basis of progressive laws.

In France the message from the throne was met by ominous silence from the opposition, which resolved to have a monster public demonstration at a Reform banquet, to be held February 22. This was officially postponed, but the people of Paris gathered in large masses, cheering for Reform and against the Cabinet; by the 23d the discontented masses had largely increased, armed men appeared among them, and the Government called out the Militia, which, however, assembled only partially, showing little disposition to support the Government, and in many places took active part in the demonstrations against the same. King Louis Phillippe now got alarmed and accepted the resignation of the Guizot Cabinet, the news of which created some satisfaction among the surging crowds, when a chance shot went off before the palace of the Secretary of Foreign Affairs on the Boulevard of Capuchins. A guard stationed at that place thought itself attacked, fired upon the people and killed and wounded a large number. Placing the dead and wounded men, women and children, on carts, the people marched through the streets shrieking for vengeance, while the chimes of the churches called the citizens to arms. Barricades rose in all directions; contradictory orders neutralized the arm of the military, and when the Tuilleries were threatened by surging crowds, Louis Phillippe abdicated the throne in favor of his grandson and sought his own safety in flight. A large number of armed citizens pressed into the Chamber of Deputies, where the Republic was proclaimed and a provisional Government organized.

The news of successful revolutions from the South and the West spread like wildfire over Germany and the excitement, though slower in growth, was for the same reasons all the more lasting.

On February 27, 1848, a large assembly of people at Manheim demanded representation of the people in the German Confederate Council; liberty of the press; trial by jury; arming of the people; in fact, all rational and liberal guarantees for human rights. Similar demands were made in many large cities of Germany. On March 1 the President of the Confederate Council issued an address, vindi-

cating Germany's position among the nations; on the 9th the same Council adopted for the Confederation the "Black-Red-Gold" colors; on the 10th they called upon the various German Governments to send representative trustees, who should form a Council for the revision of the fundamental law of the Confederation. This work was partly anticipated by a Committee of seven representative men, who were elected on March 25 by a meeting of liberal citizens at Heidelberg. This Committee proposed: One head for the German Confederation; a responsible Cabinet; Upper and Lower Chamber of Deputies, a common army, diplomatic representation, tariff trade policy, civil and criminal law and a guarantee of all popular rights. The masses of the middle and smaller States favored the above demands and also soon secured power to effect them. In Bavaria the King yielded on March 6, resigned on the 20th, and the new King swore to support the Constitution. The Governments of Wurtemberg and Saxony yielded likewise with good grace; those of Hanover and Hesse, to an uprising of the people and the threat of an imminent attack. However, in those small States there was always a disposition towards liberality, as governors and governed were more in touch with each other and conditions partook to some extent of the nature of patriarchial relations. It was different in the two large German States of Austria and Prussia.

In Austria the great diversity of nationalities gave to the Government a convenient weapon to suppress one nationality by the prejudices of the other. The aristocratic privileged element, aided the Government to keep the masses in a dependent state. There was no progressive betterment of public affairs to be expected, without a successful revolution. Hungary having a constitution and own Legislature, was in better condition for organic progress. The King of Hungary, who is also Emperor of Austria, had sanctioned many liberal laws passed by the Hungarian Parliament, but still more liberal laws awaited the King's sanction, when the revolution broke out in Vienna.

By a concerted notice, the members of student societies assembled on March 13 in the Aula of the University, in the inner city of Vienna. Members of other societies, especially the literary society, were present in large numbers and a surging mass of humanity crowded the principal streets. At the state house a petition for popular rights was presented, backed by thousands of men in the yards and on the avenues. This petition received a favorable answer from

the Government. Yet some detachment of the military fired on the people at the State house and at the Government Arsenal and a few persons were killed. This was the signal for every one to seek such arms as he could find. The students assembled at the Aula, put that place in defensible condition and sent deputation after deputation to the Mayor for arms from the citizens' armory. The order for this was received in the evening and by next morning so many arms were in the hands of the people that the movement was considered beyond the control of the Government. By March 15, the armed and partly organized citizen soldiery, greatly outnumbered the regular military organization. Emperor Ferdinand had opposed the use of force from the start and yielded to all demands of the people. A large Hungarian delegation came up to Vienna the same day and presented all laws passed by its Parliament, which, under the pressure of circumstances, received the immediate sanction of the King.

In Berlin and other Prussian cities, the same excitement was caused by the news of successful revolutionary movements in other parts of Germany and Europe. On March 14, the King of Prussia proclaimed the date of April 27 for the assembly of the United Diet and for the exercise of its consultative voice. As threatening dissatisfied masses continued to gather, the date of meeting was reconsidered and the Diet was convened already for April 2 with an announcement that it will deal with all the demands of the new era and many timely measures, looking towards the union of all German States. This paper was issued March 18, and it is asserted that the population conceived the idea to march to the castle of the King in order to thank him for this grant, while many remained behind, to gather materials for barricades, in case the "thanksgiving move" should lead to trouble, which seems to have been anticipated. When the procession arrived at the castle, some shots fell from the military stationed there and a charge was made upon the people, who fled shouting, "We are betrayed!" Numerous barricades were now built and defended by the citizens and stormed by the soldiers. In these contests about two hundred of the people were killed. After several urgent representations by leading citizens, King Frederick William IV. yielded to the popular demand and ordered the military force out of the city. Whether he did this in correct deference to circumstances or from kindness of heart is an open question. The King with his court and staff, decorated with the Union colors of Black, Red and Gold, rode among cheers through the streets of Berlin, but was soon afterwards

greatly humiliated by being obliged to stand bareheaded on the balcony of the castle, while the coffins of the 187 killed citizens were carried past him in awful procession.

In the meantime the movement for the Union of all Germany, and for a more popular Government, continued in various forms. Pursuant a previous agreement, a convention of representative prominent men assembled at Frankfort on March 31. This convention named the Foreparliament, consulted and passed resolutions upon many political questions. A motion to declare itself permanent, which would have been the logical sequel to its origin, failed by a large majority. This vote caused all those members to leave the convention who distrusted the monarchical governments, and who expected a German Union with equal rights for all, only from the establishment of a German Republic. To effect this, the seceded delegates issued a proclamation and called the German people to arms. Although these delegates were correct in their anticipations of royal faithlessness, their rising in arms was not organized with sufficient care. Frederick Hecker, an able representative of the people, was the chosen leader of the insurrection, which commenced at Constance, April 17, 1848. A detachment under Hecker's resolute lead, met a federal force at Kandern on April 19 and after failing to induce the military to espouse the cause of the people, was defeated and had to retreat; on the 23d the insurgents lost the intrenchments of Freiburg; on the 27th George Herwegh's Corps was dispersed and already on the 29th Hecker and Struwe sent a proclamation from Straszburg, which at that time was French Territory, that the Republican movement had failed, but would be taken up later with a better organized plan.

The German National Assembly convened at Frankfort May 18; much enthusiasm was manifested and great hopes were expressed. It was a brilliant assembly of learned men; but achieved nothing beyond advancing the idea of a German Union and clearing up the notions of popular rights; for after the plan for a permanent organization of the German Confederation was agreed upon and sanctioned by some of the rulers and sworn to by the troops of the smaller German States, Prussia avoided every direct self obligation by an excuse, while Austria took no heed of the proposition whatever. Now several Republican uprisings took place in different parts, but were suppressed, generally with the aid of Prussian arms.

On October 8, 1848, the German National Assembly commenced the debates on the proposed Constitution for all Germany, and ended

it on March 28, 1849, by the election of Friederich William IV., King of Prussia, as German Emperor. Unfortunately, he declined to accept this honor, tendered at the hands of a representative—but, in his opinion, a revolutionary body. Various Governments now recalled their representatives from the Federal Diet, and, after a brief exertion of the radical minority, mostly the representatives from smaller States, the National Assembly dissolved, without any immediate practical result. The dissatisfaction, however, with the failure of this Union movement, and the despair of gaining more rational and equitable political relations through the Governments, gave new life to the Republican and radical movement all over Germany, with the exception of Prussia and Austria proper, where all the liberal concessions had been revoked, and its defenders beaten down by the military force. In the Palatinate, Rheinish Prussia and Bavaria, in Hesse, Wurtemberg and Baden, the people not only insisted upon the ratification of the Confederate Constitution, but in many places armed in open hostility to their Governments, being joined by considerable portions of the regular armies, which sympathized with the revolution. A quickly mustered Prussian force, in a short campaign from June 13 to June 18, 1849, reconquered the Palatinate from the revolutionary host. The latter retreated to Baden and on June 21 fought a battle at Waghaeusel, under the lead of the Pole, Mieroslavsky, Francis Sigel being second in command. Numerous other engagements took place, but the advantage of the excellently organized armed and officered Prussian troops was more than a match for the devotion of the revolutionary forces. By July 10, 1849, the last of their troops and leaders crossed the Swiss boundary, while the fortress Rastadt capitulated on July 23. From this fortress, Carl Schurz, with Captain A. Neustadter, made their escape through the sewers; Blenker, Sigel, Mieroslavsky, Gregg, had fled to Switzerland; Frederick Hecker had returned from America to devote his services to German Union and Liberty, but arrived too late for action.

The German uprising of 1848 and 1849 was for human rights and national Union. The patent weakness of small States, the facility of intellectual and material communication, and sectional ambition, told the knell of doom to the small German principalities. The Union sentiment in Germany was at first favored by the Governments as an element of strength against possible French aggression, but it was disowned by them, when found to be inseparably linked with the demand for popular rights.

In Italy, the Union and national spirit found its greatest incentive in the hatred towards Austria, the foreign oppressor. The King of Piedmont was the leader, whom Garibaldi supported with his Free Corps and Mazzini with his Republican adherents. Both in Italy and Hungary, the revolution led to regular campaigns, with many well contested battles and sieges. In Hungary the great diversity of nationalities added fuel to the contest. Under Louis Kossuth's lead, an energetic war for independence was fought over one year until the nation was overpowered by the joint armies of Russia and Austria mustering 275,000 men with 600 cannon. An ill-timed uprising in Paris brought the Conservatives to the control of the National Assembly, where they most unfortunately greatly curtailed the elective franchise. This gave the President, Louis Bonaparte, a chance to supersede the Constitution on December 2, 1851; proclaim himself First Consul for ten years and later, as Emperor, reinstate Universal Suffrage and thereby secure an overwhelming majority as an endorsement by the people. Louis Napoleon at the same time proclaimed a new Constitution, which, apparently liberal in the extension of the suffrage, greatly rescinded the rights of the people and placed the power in his own hands. The "Reaction" was now complete all over Europe and took bloody revenge on those who questioned the rights of Governments not based on the consent of the governed.

The Revolution of 1848–1849 in Europe, a great moral and mental upheaval, was keenly felt on the shores of the Atlantic Ocean, as well as on the banks of the Mississippi River. In the American Union, this feeling was enlivened by the sympathies of a free people, which received with open arms many fugitive emigrants, the bearers of deep convictions on human rights and universal liberty; many of these men had a military education and a valuable experience in the organization of armies and in actual warfare, for which they should soon have a practical application. For while every man represents only one number, his capacity fixes his position before the decimal point.

Great many of the 1848 and 1849 political refugees came to St. Louis and vicinity. They were attracted to this point by the writings and example of the emigration of 1830. Among these men of 1848 were Theodore Olshausen, member of the provisional Government of Schleswig–Holstein, Friederich Hecker, leader of the first Republican uprising in Germany; Carl Daenzer, member of the Frankfurt

Parliament; General Francis Sigel, Commander in Baden; Emil Pretorius, Henry Boernstein, Journalists; Theodore Rombauer, director of the arms factory in Hungary; P. J. Osterhaus, Eno Sanders, Dr. Hugo Starkloff, A. Albert, J. T. Fiala, and many others, who had taken part in the revolutionary wars of Europe. At the time when most of these immigrants arrived, there was little agitation on the Slavery question, and as the Democratic party was more liberal on immigration laws, had less religious prejudice, claimed to sympathize with Jefferson's radicalism and aversion to aristocracy, it is quite natural that this immigration gravitated towards that party. The action of Captain Ingraham, who cleared the deck to liberate Martin Koszta from an Austrian war vessel in the port of Smyrna; Secretary Marcy's manly stand in this affair; the twenty-one years proposed for the period of naturalization by Whigs and Know-Nothings, strengthened the adherence to the Democratic party. It happened in 1853 that some zealots of the Know-Nothing party under the lead of one nicknamed "Ned Buntlein," raided the first ward of St. Louis; burned down one house near Park avenue and Seventh street, but were beaten back by the German residents. Such incidents served to unify the foreign element, but when later the Slavery question came to the foreground, the immigrants dropped every other consideration and rose in arms for the Union.

HENRY T. FLAD.

Private 3d U. S. Reserve Corps, Missouri Volunteers.

CHAPTER III.

UNION POLITICS.

THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1860.

The canvass and election of 1856 created in the Proslavery men of Missouri also the gravest apprehensions and a bitterness of feeling which led to disturbances at political meetings. The mantle of Benton's leadership fell upon the shoulders of Frank P. Blair, who, although slaveholder, became an able, bold and eloquent leader of the Republican cause. He was born in Washington, D. C., in 1821, graduated at Princeton College in 1841 and commenced the practice of law in St. Louis. Blair went through the Mexican war as a Private, and returning in 1848 to St. Louis, supported the Free Soil movement, was elected to the Legislature of Missouri in 1852 and re-elected in 1854. He was sent to Congress in 1856, defeated for the same place in 1858 by Richard Barrett, but seated for the same term by a successful contest. In 1860 he was defeated for the short term and elected for the long term. Blair's strong convictions, fearless utterance and oratorical power brought him to the front among a number of able men in his party, and his family connections in Washington and the East gave him a far reaching influence in shaping the Union movement in St. Louis, although the very great majority of Republicans in St. Louis were naturalized citizens, chiefly Germans, who lifted him on their shoulders in the commencement of his political career.

A convention was called to meet May 10, 1860, in the small hall of the Mercantile Library for the purpose of selecting delegates to the Republican National Convention, which was to meet at Chicago. The call was signed by B. Gratz Brown, Henry Boernstein, O. D. Filley, Carl Daenzer, James O. Broadhead, Wm. D'Oench, Henry T. Blow, Sam T. Glover, John H. Fisse, Ben Farrar, and other representative men. B. Gratz Brown was elected president of that Convention in recognition of his services, as an eminent political writer, whose genius greatly aided the successful Union movement in 1861. The convention instructed its delegates to vote at Chicago for Edward Bates, born in Virginia in 1793, a lawyer of high-standing, who had held many prominent positions in Missouri. Judge Bates was a

Whig in politics and though a slaveholder believed in free soil. A member of the Missouri State Convention of 1820, he, like Benton, failed to keep Slavery out of the State at the time, but was strongly opposed to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, to which he was indirectly a party. The proposition of the name of Edward Bates seems to indicate an inclination for a compromise policy, notwithstanding that the earnestness of the situation, and the certainty of the irrepressible conflict, called for a resolute, energetic, radical leader, whose deep convictions were not biased by the rules of an out of date conventional law, the obligations of which were scouted by a large number of States, fast rising in arms.

The Democratic National Convention assembled at Charleston, S. C., April 23, 1860, and adopted a squatter sovereignty platform, referring every question upon which an issue may be raised, to the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States: upon which nearly all Slave State delegations withdrew, holding that Congress must protect Slavery in the Territories, and that the citizens thereof may prohibit or recognize Slavery, only at the time of entering Statehood. On this apparently not very material difference, ostensibly, the two factions of the Democracy separated. The real cause was that the Ultra Proslavery delegates did not want Douglas, whom they distrusted, nor did they care for squatter sovereignty, after they found out in Kansas, that the North could colonize faster than the South.

The Regular or Squatter Sovereignty Democracy reassembled subsequently at Baltimore and nominated Stephen A. Douglas, after a number of additional withdrawals of delegates, among which Ben F. Butler, with the Massachusetts delegation gave for a reason that a withdrawal in part of a majority of States had taken place, and personally to himself he said: "I will not sit in a convention, where the African slave trade, which is piracy by the laws of my country, is approvingly advocated." The delegates who had seceded at Charleston convened at Baltimore and nominated John C. Breckinridge, with an Ultra Southern platform.

The Republican National Convention met at Chicago, adopted a Free Soil platform, claiming for Congress not only the right, but also charging it with the duty of prohibiting Slavery in all Territories, but it also said with regard to its status in the States:

"That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State, to order and control its own domestic institutions, according to its own judgment, exclusively, is

essential to that balance of power, on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depends, and we denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of the soil of any State or Territory, no matter under what party, as among the gravest of crimes."

The first part of this resolution secures to the States exclusive jurisdiction respecting Slavery, the second part which is not quite germane to the first, condemns lawless incursions into States and Territories and fits John Brown's raid into Virginia, and the raids of Missouri border people into Kansas. All three platforms dealt with many questions which have no direct bearing on the issue.

A fourth national ticket was started at Baltimore on May 19, 1860, under the name of "Constitutional Union," nominating John Bell of Tennessee. Its platform was purely negative, opposed to the creation of sectional parties and recognizing no political principle except the Constitution of the country, the Union of States, and the enforcement of the laws, terms to which all parties could subscribe before actual Secession. Although there were four parties in the field, practically they had only two issues: Free Soil or Slave Soil. The Constitutional Union men, who had no program of their own, and the Squatter Sovereignty votaries, who of late represented only a distinction without a difference, were after the election, lost in the contest of the two great parties.

The Presidential election of the most weighty consequences took place November 6, 1860. Of the 4,645,390 votes cast, over 72 per cent came from the Free States and less than 28 per cent came from the Slave States, outside of South Carolina, which chooses by the Legislature. The electoral vote again widely differed from the popular vote, which frequent result is caused by the manner of apportionment. By grouping all the Free States and all the Slave States together, the very sectional character of the political parties is manifest. According to a table compiled in the "American Conflict," by Horace Greeley, the following was the vote:

	Free State.	Slave State.	Total Vote.	Per Cent.	Electoral Vote.	No. of States.
Lincoln	1,831,180	26,430	1,857,610	40	180	17
Douglas	1,128,049	163,525	1,291,574	28	12	2
Breckinridge	279,211	570,871	850,082	18	72	11
Bell	130,151	515,973	646,124	14	39	3
Total	3,368,591	1,276,799	4,645,390	100%	303	33

Nine Slave States had no Lincoln ticket at all, and of the 26,430 votes cast for Lincoln in Slave States, Missouri alone cast over 17,028, and the balance of 9,402 was divided between Delaware, Maryland, Virginia and Kentucky. Of the popular vote in the Free States, Lincoln received 54 per cent, Douglas 34 per cent, Breckinridge 8 per cent, and Bell 4 per cent. These figures speak volumes in condemnation of a policy, which in the past had tolerated the growth of Slavery. It was rather inconvenient for Ultra State Rights politicians that Lincoln carried a clear majority of the total number of States.

The vote in Missouri stood:

Douglas, Squatter Sovereign, Democrat	58,361	36%
Bell, Compromise	57,762	35%
Breckinridge, Secessionist	30,297	19%
Lincoln, Free Soil Republican	17,017	10%
Total	163,437	100%

In St. Louis, Blair was elected to Congress by a plurality of 1,486 votes, but was short of a majority by 3,056 votes, in a total of 25,962 cast for all candidates.

The vote for Governor of Missouri was:

Gardenhire, Republican	6,124
C. T. Jackson, Douglas Democrat	73,372
H. Jackson, Secessionist	11,091
Orr, Compromise	65,991
Total	156,578

This shows a strong Conservative and Compromise vote, for at that time C. T. Jackson posed as a Conservative Democrat, who even after the election, in a speech at Boonville, claimed to be opposed to Secession. The small Republican vote in the State was chiefly owing to intimidation, which was not always successful. It happened on election day a party of St. Louis hunters visited F. Kennett's castle at Selma, and after a successful hunt, started out for the next polling place. B. G. Farrar, who afterwards became a General in the Union service, was the only Republican in the party, and arrived at the polling place at a store in the woods, was warned by a countryman not to dare to cast a Black Republican vote. Farrar answered he

will vote as he pleases and by way of caution and in full view of the countryman loaded his double-barrelled gun with a full complement of buckshot, cast his vote for Lincoln and was not molested, owing his immunity partly to his shotgun argument and partly to the presence of his educated friends, who would not have tolerated any fair action. But even in St. Louis the animosity between the parties was steadily growing. At a ratification meeting for Lincoln and Hamlin, held on Lucas Market (Twelfth and Olive), the speakers were frequently interrupted with taunts and missiles and the meeting was broken up. To guard against such impositions a Republican campaign organization was formed under the name of "Wide Awakes," in which James Peckham, later on author of the valuable work, "Gen. N. Lyon and Missouri in 1861," was the leading spirit. Although the "Wide Awakes" were not an armed organization, their prompt services, orderly marches and united action were a practical example for the powerful military organizations which sprung into life in the spring of 1861, the germs of which, however, lay much deeper than the Republican "Wide Awakes" or Democrat "Broom Rangers." The time for these campaign exertions could be well spared, even by steady men, for business was slack, merchants and manufacturers had to contend with financial difficulties; heavy losses were imminent on all sides; scarcity of money, heavy discounts and poor prospects ahead; but all this did not hinder the good citizens of St. Louis to attend to their political duties.

The result of the election was the end of a most animated campaign, in which the ablest statesmen and speakers of the North and the South addressed large enthusiastic meetings, as the Free Soil orators spoke almost exclusively to Northern audiences and the Ultra Pro-Slavery Democrats to Southern gatherings, this was no more a campaign for an intellectual victory by shaping opinion, but it was one of animating the followers of two different and antagonistic camps, and of firing the Northern and the Southern heart. That which had been mooted in the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions, and had been often threatened by speakers in and out of Congress, and had been boldly proclaimed and brought to the verge of execution by the nullifying proceedings in South Carolina, should now become an accomplished fact of the gravest consequences. Already in October, 1856, the Governors of Southern States met at Raleigh, N. C., and consulted on common measures to be taken by their people in case of Fremont's election, and Governor Wise of Virginia

volunteered in that event to march to Washington with 20,000 men, take possession of the Capitol and prevent Fremont's inauguration. Unfortunately, Fremont was not elected and the Anti-Free Soil Seceders, not hindered by the irresolute and incapable administration of Buchanan, gained four more years to stock Southern Arsenals with arms and ammunition; to disperse the United States Navy to all points of the compass; to bring faithless officers into command of troops located in the South; and to work up to fever heat race prejudice and apprehensions of possession in a Southern population, which was always more inclined to bold action, than to cool reflecting reasoning.

CAUSES OF THE CIVIL WAR.

The immense moral power in this gigantic contest, both North and South, was based on the two diametrically opposed interpretations of implied rights, which were derived and claimed from circumstances, but nowhere clearly defined or concisely expressed, nor vested by the Constitution of the United States in any authority; the South claiming State sovereignty and the North the sovereignty of the Union. Incidental causes were assigned, as the Fugitive Slave law and the Personal Liberty bills; the making and the repeal of the Missouri Compromise; the Protective Tariff; the ethical verdict of the world; abolition fanaticism; the servility of ministers of the Gospel; the different systems of labor creating divergent interests and disposition; estrangement on account of contrary views on the liberty of conscience, of speech, of the press, of education and inalienable human rights; the injustice in the representation; the invention of the cotton gin; Squatter Sovereignty; the Louisiana Purchase; the Mexican War; the admission of Territories as States and other minor causes; but all these are only stages or incidents of the gradual development from the original great cause: the permanent admission of the institution of Slavery by the Constitution of the United States of America. State rights and the maxim of an equal number of Northern and Southern States; a rigorous Fugitive Slave Law; the muzzling of free speech, prohibition of education; lynch law and mob violence were advocated and practiced almost exclusively in defense of Slavery only; the representation of three-fifths of all other persons (meaning slaves) was in the same interest, and

its injustice is flagrant. According to the census of 1860, six slaveholding Gulf States with a population of 2,311,260 white citizens, had 28 Representatives and 12 Senators, or 40 in all, while the State of Ohio, with a population of 2,339,599 white citizens, had only a representation in Congress of 18 members in the house and 2 Senators, or 20 in all—just one-half the representation for a larger number of citizens

The invention of the cotton gin by Eli Whitney of Massachusetts added one thousand millions of dollars to Southern wealth; it made slave labor more remunerative, but not more just. However, when the South set up its bill of grievances against the North, and especially against Massachusetts, it should have credited the same with the thousand millions gained by the invention of Eli Whitney from Massachusetts. The State sovereignty doctrine was illogically derived from the constitutional limitations of Congress, which were enacted with the evident intention of counterbalancing Federal centralization, advocated by Hamilton and the Federalists, and it was this interest for which Jefferson and Madison proposed the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions, for both were decided anti-Slavery men. During later developments it was found that State rights were the best shield for Slavery; but when the Northern States tried to neutralize some effects of the Fugitive Slave act through Personal Liberty bills brought by their State Legislatures the Southern statesmen charged ill faith and appealed to the Federal Government to vindicate the supremacy of the Union, which was done, as the case of Anthony Burns, a fugitive slave, proved, who in 1855 was returned from Massachusetts and marched through the streets of Boston under the protection of United States Marines and State militia, in spite of an outraged population.

The Presidential vote of 1860 terminated Slavery extension to new territory, but the Republican party reaffirmed the obligation of non-interference with Slavery in the States. There is no doubt that later a gradual emancipation would be sought and realized in every State. But this could only be done with the consent of each State, and in a manner subservient to the interests of the slaveholders. At present every one comprehends that this would have been an immense saving in life, health, happiness, treasure and chances of development. Why was it not done? It was not done because the slaveholders of the South, barely one-fifth of its population, were also the large landowners, formed an aristocracy and became the rulers in politics

through educational facilities and a high property qualification for office holding. Standing intellectually and materially above their white fellow citizens, the slave barons directed them to vote, work and fight for the "peculiar institution." The habit of commanding slaves made the planters domineering, haughty, overbearing and unfitted for a representative government, and the moment their selfish arguments did not prevail, their very nature prompted them to violence. Alike with every other aristocracy in the world, its status was fortified by laws made at the expense of outclassed neighbors.

The South was by nature an agricultural country; a rich soil and genial climate favored this condition, but the climate was also enervating, ill adapted to manufactures, nay, even unfavorable to mercantile pursuits, which demand a higher bodily and mental alacrity. This circumstance often entailed a dependence of the planter anticipating the price of his crops from the trader, who advanced the means for maintaining the slaves. Planters and traders were the most efficient church members, and many preachers avoided those ethical questions which endangered their pulpits, while others, true to their vocation, served the cause of religion under great difficulties. As to the Southern poor people, it must be borne in mind that satisfaction in life largely depends upon comparative conditions, and that people felt somewhat dignified to have others not only poor, but also black and enslaved.

The unrestrained rule and license toward slaves, as they had no rights which a white man was "bound to respect," reacted fearfully upon the white population; for if a man does not respect the rights of one set of men, why should he respect the rights of another? Negro Slavery was the substratum of Southern aristocracy, but every other slavery and aristocracy produced the same effects. The aristocracies of the old world all led to corruption and their own overthrow; for if the common people had sunk too low, these aristocracies led to empires, and where the common people had sufficient moral strength left, they regenerated in republics. That the breeder of slaves for the market of the Cotton States was a willing tool of the planter is self-evident.

It must be admitted that the South could not well tolerate the preaching of abolition doctrines; that any measure of immediate and unconditional emancipation would have been wrong, both for the slaveowner and the slave; but such extreme doctrines had hardly any following, and its votaries were persecuted at the North. Edu-

cation of the Negro could only come with the prospective liberty of the slave, which would have removed the incentive for Negro insurrections and the apprehension for the safety of slaveholding families, probably the greatest cause of Southern irritation and of the desire to suppress the discussion of the Slavery question.

Tyrannical, oppressive and vicious as Slavery was to the Negro, it was a by far greater curse to the White man who practiced it and to the one who tolerated it. Figuratively speaking, the whole American Nation was put to the cross before it could redeem the commonwealth from this terrible evil.

SECESSION.

When Lincoln's election became most probable meetings of prominent representative men were held in South Carolina and the other Southern States, to prepare measures for Secession. Such statesmen had nearly all died out in the South, who would have said with the lamented Henry Clay: "If Kentucky to-morrow unfurls the banner of resistance, I never will fight under that banner. I owe a paramount allegiance to the whole Union, a subordinate one to my State." Different sentiments prevailed now, which were voiced on the eve of election in a speech by N. W. Boyce of South Carolina, when he said: "I think the only policy for us is to arm as soon as we receive authentic intelligence of the election of Lincoln. It is for South Carolina in the quickest manner and by the most direct means to withdraw from the Union." This advice was promptly followed. The news of Lincoln's election was received in Charleston with enthusiastic cheers for the Southern Confederacy. On November 7th the Governor of South Carolina recommended to the Legislature Secession, and the arming of all men from the 18th to the 45th year of age; also that the Legislature call a Convention, to meet at Columbia, December 17, 1860. This latter body met, and on the 20th of December passed by a unanimous vote the following Secession ordinance:

"An Ordinance to dissolve the Union between the State of South Carolina and other States, united with her under the compact entitled the Constitution of the United States of America.

"We, the people of the State of South Carolina, in convention assembled, do declare, and ordain and it is hereby declared and ordained, that the Ordinance adopted by us in Convention on the 23d day of May, in the year of our Lord 1788, whereby the Constitution of the United States of America was ratified, and also all Acts and parts of Acts of the General

Assembly of this State, ratifying the amendments of the said Constitution, are hereby repealed; and that the Union now subsisting between South Carolina and other States, under the name of the United States of America, is hereby dissolved."

After giving as a cause for this action, the shortcomings of the Free States in their obligations with regard to Slavery and the Fugitive Slave law, and stating that the failure of one of the contracting parties to perform a material part of the agreement entirely releases the obligation of the other, they conclude by appealing to the "Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions," and state "that the State of South Carolina has resumed her position among the nations of the world as a separate and independent State, with full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent States may of right do."

There are several incorrections in this document, the most obvious lies in the words: "South Carolina has resumed her position among the nations of the world," for she never held that position, being a British Province before her people joined the Union, and being only part of a nation after they joined the Union. Although this attempt at legitimacy may have no intrinsic value, it shows that the people of South Carolina were desirous of placing their action upon a legal basis. It was not this effort at legitimacy which then prevented the expression of Union sentiments in the South, but the wild, excited crowds with Secession cockades and Secession flags, threatening violence to dissenters.

As anticipated by Southern statesmen, the Secession lead of South Carolina was quickly followed by the other States, which adopted Secession ordinances in the following order:

Date of Secession.	State.	Free men.	Slaves.	Total
1860. Dec. 20.....	South Carolina	301,271	402,541	703,812
1861. Jan'y 9.....	Mississippi	354,700	436,696	791,396
1861. Jan'y 10....	Florida.....	78,686	61,753	140,439
1861. Jan'y 11....	Alabama	529,164	435,132	964,296
1861. Jan'y 18....	Georgia	595,097	462,232	1,057,329
1861. Jan'y 26....	Louisiana.....	376,280	333,010	709,290
1861. Febr'y 1....	Texas	421,750	180,682	602,432
	Total.....	2,656,948	2,312,046	4,968,994

SLAVE STATES WHICH SECEDED LATER.

Date of Secession.	State.	Free Men.	Slaves.	Total.
1861. May	Arkansas	324,323	111,104	435,427
1861. May	North Carolina	661,586	331,081	992,667
1861. May	Virginia	1,105,192	490,887	1,596,079
	Total	2,091,101	933,072	3,024,173
Aggregate of Seceding States		4,748,049	3,245,118	7,993,167

SLAVE STATES REMAINING IN THE UNION.

Delaware	110,420	1,798	112,218
Kentucky	930,223	225,490	1,155,713
Maryland	599,846	87,188	687,034
Missouri	1,067,352	114,965	1,182,317
Tennessee	834,063	275,784	1,109,847
District of Columbia	71,895	3,181	75,076
Total	3,613,799	708,406	4,322,205

Of the population of the States which seceded immediately after the election, 47% were slaves; in the group of States which deferred Secession the slave population was only 31%, and in the Slave States which did not secede the slave population was only 16% of their inhabitants. As the large plantations were in South Carolina, Georgia and the Gulf States, which first rushed into Secession, it is evident that the slave oligarchs forced the issue in the supposed interest of their large possessions. The Secessionists had hardly a bare majority in any of the Southern States, but by acting a couple of months before the inauguration of President Lincoln the seceders gained a very valuable time for organization, without risking any interference from President Buchanan's pusillanimous administration. Another reason prompted immediate action on their part: the members of a defeated party always feel bitter after the election; passions are worked up to a high pitch, and the people are inclined to redress by violence their shortcomings in judgment or management. This disposition would have cooled off shortly afterwards, and the judicious, conciliating, yet firm and energetic action which could be expected from President Lincoln would have restricted Secession to a very few States. As it were, all the Slave States that did not secede disap-

proved this measure, either through their Governors or through votes by the people. It would be erroneous, however, to estimate the resources in men and material by taking only the seceded States into account. There was a large population in the Border States which furnished a considerable contingent to the Southern armies, and there were in the ranks of the Democratic party at the North a number of Southern sympathizers, who often hindered energetic action, and even threatened riot and violence.

Several Northern publicists of great influence, like Horace Greeley, Wendell Phillips and others, would permit Secession, notwithstanding the necessity that, if the Secessionists were not immediately conquered as insurgents, they would have to be conquered soon afterwards as aliens. Southern statesmen, with few exceptions, did not deem either contingency probable, for they counted upon the greater martial spirit of the Southerners and upon the ability and greater number of the West Pointers hailing from their section. No doubt the great extent of Southern territory, its large wooded portion cut up by great rivers, bays and bayous, its poor roads and means of transportation, were favorable to a defensive war. They placed also some reliance upon European, chiefly British, intervention, as one-eighth of the population of England depended for a living upon the cotton factories, drawing their raw material almost entirely from the Cotton States. This hope proved futile, for England did not receive the Southern Commissioners in December, 1860, nor did they fare better in France, whose disposition was reflected by the "Opinion-Nationale," which denounced the application for aid made by the Confederate Commissioners, stating:

"In the Nineteenth Century, men are found so destitute of all moral sense, as to rebel, to revolutionize the country, expose it to ruin and civil war, in the name of that social leprosy called Slavery. O shame! These men, without heart, dare address an appeal to France to aid them, and rend herself an accomplice in their criminal projects. No! The France of 79-30-48 can never take under her protection traders in human flesh."

At home matters of public opinion were more favorable. The conservative element of all parties was for compromise and peace, even at a sacrifice. Possessive and business interests favored a procrastination of the issue, either not knowing that time only increased the magnitude of the evil, or from the usual policy of habitual selfishness. "After us the deluge." It is true that the Regular army of the Federal Government was small, and the available Militia at first of

little value in the field. But there were nineteen million people North to eight million whites and four million slaves in the South, and in a last emergency these four million slaves could be turned into four million allies, which was partly done when, towards the end of the war, Negro Regiments were organized. Besides this, the North vastly outstripped the South in industrial capacity, skilled artizans, machinery, military outfit and provisions. One advantage of the South was real, even if not quite obvious at first sight: the measures of the North were limited by the Constitution of the United States, whose validity it tried to enforce, while the Confederacy framed its Constitution to suit the exigencies of the hour.

VAIN COMPROMISE PLANS.

Upon the heels of the election of the Republican candidate came the news of the immediate Secession movement in the South. The excitement of the canvass had not quite subsided when the attention of patriots was directed to the threatened danger. There was hardly time for opinions to crystallize into measures, yet the emergency was pressing and many and various propositions were advanced to meet the difficulties. The New York Tribune, a leading Republican paper, advised, November 9, 1860: "If the Cotton States shall decide that they can do better out of the Union than in it, we insist on letting them go in peace." Other influential papers, in trying to avoid civil war, suggested a convention of the people, counselling moderation and agreement on mutual interests. December 10, 1860, a Union meeting was held at Philadelphia in which the Mayor of the town favored another compromise and yielding to Southern aggression in order to prevent the loss of the Southern trade. To prove how circumstances alter cases, one speaker called Slavery the moth in the eyes of the South, and Free-Soil notions the beam in the eyes of the North. The resolutions of that meeting called for the repeal of offensive State laws; for a cheerful submission to the Fugitive Slave law, and for muzzling the public North and South upon the Slavery question. It was an expression of conservative cowardice, stimulated by selfish greed. There were some good grounds for despondency in the face of the three months' continuance of the administration of Buchanan, who announced his helplessness in his last message to Congress, in which he said "that intemperate interference of the Northern people with the question of Slavery in the Southern States

has at length produced its natural effect"; but in this President Buchanan was not correct, for the avowed object of the Republican party was to prevent the extension of Slavery into the Territories, while it disavowed either the intention or the right to interfere with Slavery in the States where it existed. Theodore Roosevelt, in his book on Benton, says: "The national government, even under Republican rule, would never have meddled with Slavery in the various States unless as a war measure." This was correct at the time, but would have changed after new acts of violence had broken down all considerations of amity and fellowship.

President Buchanan justly blamed some States for trying to defeat the Fugitive Slave law, but in referring to apprehensions of slave insurrections he omitted to state that none of any consequence took place, and that a policy of gradual emancipation upon good behavior, financially guaranteed by the United States, would prevent any possible slave insurrection. He also said it was his duty and determination to protect the public property and to enforce the laws in all the States, but he had no officers in the South (they had resigned). He could not execute the laws, and, under the circumstances, there was no power of coercion granted to Congress, the Judiciary or the President.

With regard to this message of the President, the reflection readily suggests itself that excuses are always near at hand where the good will is wanting, and President Buchanan found them without difficulty, as he was not inclined to act as the President of the United States, but only as the President of a political party—a misconception of duty which necessarily must lower the dignity and authority of that high office. The conservative, even reactionary, manifestations of the public naturally found a reflection in the old Congress assembling December 3, 1860, and whose time only expired March 3, 1861, and whose many members still cherished the hope of a peaceful solution. With the pressing emergency grew the exertion for devising measures to allay the coming storm. Desirous of finding a just mean between the opposing factions, statesmen of ability and patriotic intentions strained every nerve to find the correct remedies. Among the suggestions were: the immediate apportionment of all the territory into future States; the re-establishment of the division line of 36° 30'; the subdivision of the Union into four political bodies called sections, the North, the West, the Pacific and the South, a majority in each section to be requisite for the passage of an act. This

would have given any section an absolute veto power; the abolition of the Presidency; the establishment of an equilibrium between Free and Slave States, and a Convention of all States was also suggested. All these various propositions were referred to a grand select committee in the House, and a similar committee took up all propositions offered in the Senate, among which those offered by J. J. Crittenden of Kentucky were most prominent, bearing the authority and weight of a highly esteemed Senator, coming from a Slave State offering great strategical advantages in case of war. The leading features of the Crittenden compromise were:

In Territories north of 36° 30' north latitude Slavery is prohibited; in Territories south of that line it is to be admitted and protected by Congress. The Territories North and South of that line may elect to come into the Union as Free or as Slave States at the time of making their application for admission; Congress shall not abolish Slavery on places where the United States have exclusive jurisdiction within the limits of Slave States, nor in the District of Columbia, as long as Slavery exists in Virginia and Maryland; the transportation of slaves shall not be hindered and Congress shall pay for rescued slaves; the Fugitive Slave law shall be made more efficient, and State laws conflicting with it shall be repealed.

The above conditions mostly favored the views and objects of the Slavery power, while some minor conditions proposed with regard to fees of officers, nugatory features of the Fugitive Slave act, and upon the African slave trade, made the proposed compromise more acceptable to Northern views. Article 6, however, of the Crittenden Compromise contained the most extraordinary provision, forbidding any future amendment to the United States Constitution with regard to some of the amendments just proposed, and also with regard to some which were already in the Constitution. Mr. Crittenden forgot that there is only one power which makes immutable laws. Moreover, the above condition tended to change the United States Constitution to a compact, the very contrivance upon which the doctrine of Secession was based and which sooner or later would have led to civil war.

A SQUARE ISSUE.

The above terms were probably the best that had a chance to be accepted by the Southern States with the exception of South Carolina; Northern Democrats sustained them and President Buchanan urged

their adoption; but as they sacrificed the Free Soil principle and their sanction by constitutional amendments was slow and uncertain, they were opposed by most Republicans, of whom Th. L. Snead, a Southern writer, in his valuable work, "A Fight for Missouri," says:

"They would not abandon, in the hour of victory, the principles for which they had manfully contended through forty years of defeat and disaster, nor would they let those whom they had just vanquished, destroy the Union, in the very hour that it was about to be dedicated, as they believed, to a wider freedom and higher humanity."

Senator B. F. Wade of Ohio represented the Republican sentiment when he frankly declared that every civilized nation on the globe has the same opinion of Slavery as the Republican party, and if it had the power, not another inch of Free Soil of this government should be invaded by Slavery; at the same time it repudiates the idea of interfering with the institution in the States; the day of compromise was gone; they were not kept. The honest verdict of the people by a fair election cannot be set aside by a compromise; a majority fairly given must rule. This spirit evidenced by B. F. Wade carried a substitute for the Crittenden resolutions, offered by Clark of New Hampshire:

"Resolved, That the provisions of the Constitution are ample for the preservation of the Union, and the protection of all the material interests of the country; that it needs to be obeyed rather than amended; and that an extrication from our present dangers is to be looked for in strenuous efforts to preserve the peace, protect the public property, and enforce the laws, rather than in new guarantees for peculiar interests, compromises for particular difficulties, or concessions to unreasonable demands.

"Resolved, That all attempts to dissolve the present Union, or overthrow or abandon the present Constitution, with the hope or expectation of constructing a new one, are dangerous, illusory and destructive; that, in the opinion of the Senate of the United States, no such reconstruction is practicable; and, therefore, to the maintenance of the existing Union and Constitution should be directed all the energies of all the departments of the Government, and the efforts of all good citizens."

This was carried by 25 Republican votes, and opposed by 21 Democrats and 2 Conservatives, 23 votes in all. Subsequently a direct vote was had on the Crittenden resolutions. They were defeated by the majority of one, all Republicans voting against them and all Democrats and Conservatives for them. The House of Representatives also defeated the Crittenden Compromise by a decided vote, and, upon recommendation of the Committee of Thirty-three, adopted

Thomas Corwin's resolutions, which made concessions to the South relative to hostile legislation by Northern States, the Fugitive Slave law and migration with slaves, but made no concession to Slavery in the Territories. It is claimed that these resolutions would have been also adopted by the Senate if any disposition whatever would have been shown that they are acceptable to the South. The Senate's "Clark" resolution was brought into the House as a substitute to Corwin's, but not acted upon, as the latter covered the same ground, in addition to some compromise measures, and their wording was milder, yet fully as decided on the question of maintaining the Union.

While these unavailing attempts at a Compromise were made, events steadily drifted towards a hostile conflict. Howell Cobb, Secretary of the Treasury, anticipating the final breakdown, resigned on December 8th and left for Georgia. December 15th General Scott suggested the reinforcement of Major Anderson at Charleston with 300 men, and, though Secretary Cass also strongly urged this measure, President Buchanan refused his consent, whereupon Cass resigned and Judge Black became Secretary of State. Major Anderson, deserted by the administration, finding it impossible to defend Fort Moultrie and Fort Sumter with two weak companies of Artillery, abandoned Moultrie and removed all his forces to Fort Sumter. Floyd, hearing the news, wrote to the President: "One remedy is left, and that is to withdraw the garrison from the harbor of Charleston. I hope the President will allow me to make the order at once. This order, in my judgment, can alone prevent bloodshed and civil war." The President declined to act upon his advice and Floyd resigned; he evidently knew what was coming, for on the 26th the Secessionists seized Fort Moultrie, Castle Pinkney and the Custom-house and all United States officers in South Carolina resigned. On the 30th the United States Arsenal of that State, with munitions of war to the value of $500,000 was seized. In the face of such facts Buchanan's declaration made on the last of the year that he will defend Fort Sumter was of very little consequence. The very same day the Senate committee reported that they cannot agree upon any plan of settlement between the North and the South.

A Democratic State Convention was held at Albany, N. Y., January 1, 1861, in which the most prominent men of the party and other conservatives took part. The tenor of the speeches and resolutions were chiefly criticisms of the Republican party; warnings

against coercion; prayers for compromise; abuse of Congress; threats of the guillotine for those who propose to maintain the Union by force; indorsement of the Crittenden resolutions and a Convention by States; also the appointment of alternates to the Peace Conference which, pursuant to a call of the Virginia Legislature, was to assemble at Washington February 4, 1861. At this Peace Conference nearly all the Free States were represented; of the Slave States only seven, namely, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee and Missouri. This conference, through its chairman, John Tyler, ex-President of the United States, proposed as an amendment to the Constitution: to exclude Slavery in all Territories north of 36° 30' north latitude, but to admit States North or South of that line with or without Slavery; only conditional acquisition of new territory by consent of a majority of the Northern and a majority of the Southern Representatives; restrictions regarding Slavery in the District of Columbia; enforcement of the Fugitive Slave law; reimbursement for fugitives; regulation of slave trade; consent of all States to certain constitutional amendments. These and other compromise measures were offered before the close of the session, but without any result. As a further concession to the South may be considered the passage by Congress of separate acts organizing the Territories of Colorado, Nevada and Dakotah without any condition relative to Slavery. This left the status of those Territories only subject to past laws and their interpretation by the Supreme Court; practically, however, Slavery was out of the question in any of those Territories, and the result proved that the South paid little heed to such advances.

A Texas Senator, referring to the free debates which similar propositions might elicit at home, remarked: "A great many of the free debaters were hanging from the trees of that country," and a Georgia Senator, while discussing Texas politics, apostrophized Sam Houston for his Union fealty by expressing the wish: "Some Texas Brutus may arise to rid his country of this old hoary-headed traitor." When such sentiments prevail among the Senators of a great party, all concessions and peace offerings would appear to be idle waste. If any one doubted this proposition, the general rejoicing, booming of cannon and festive celebration which took place in all the larger cities of the South upon the news of the Secession of South Carolina, December 20, 1860, ought to have convinced him of the error of his ways.

TREASON IN THE CABINET.

A demand made on President Buchanan to rid his Cabinet from unreliable and even hostile elements was fully justified by circumstances. During 1860 Secretary Floyd had transferred from the Springfield Armory and Watervliet Arsenal, by order of December 29, 1859, 115,000 stands of arms and had sent them to the several arsenals at the South. A few days before Floyd resigned, towards the end of December, an order arrived from him at the Alleghany Arsenal, near Pittsburgh, to send 46 pieces of heavy ordnance to Ship Island, Louisiana, and 78 similar cannon to Galveston, Texas. An indignation meeting of citizens at Pittsburg secured a countermanding order from Washington which stopped this treasonable outrage. Secretary of War Floyd sold between the first of January, 1860, and the first of January, 1861, 31,610 percussion muskets at $2.50 apiece, on which the officers appointed for scrutiny disagreed as to their warranted condemnation. He wanted to send to Southern forts not ready for armament over 100 columbiads and a large number of 32-pounders, but the order was countermanded by Secretary Holt before it was fully executed. On November 21, 1860, a Mr. Belknap made application to buy from 100,000 to 250,000 United States muskets at $2.15. The Secretary claimed that this application was granted under the misapprehension that the price was to be $2.50, and Secretary Holt refused to recognize this contract. General Scott stated that Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi and Kansas were supplied with their full quotas of arms for 1861 in advance. Thus it seems that all the seceding States anticipated the war in 1860. In Texas the Union Governor, Sam Houston, prevented this, while a strong drift of Union sentiment did the same in Tennessee and Arkansas.

After Floyd left he was indicted by the United States Grand Jury for a defalcation of a quarter million of dollars. He had systematically stocked the Southern forts and arsenals with arms, ammunition and war material. Howell Cobb, Secretary of the Treasury, and Jacob Thompson, Secretary of the Interior, slaveholders and Secessionists, acted in a similar way, sending good arms to the South and the war vessels to distant ports, leaving for home service, from a total of 90 vessels with 2,418 guns, one vessel, the steamer "Brooklyn," with 25 guns, and the storeship "Relief," with 2 guns. A report upon the condition of the navy, made to Congress in February, 1861, shows

that the same had been as treacherously handled as the army. October 13, 1860, the "Richmond" was sent to the Mediterranean squadron; December 21 the "Vandalia" to East India, the "Saratoga" to join the African squadron, and other vessels to Vera Cruz. February 21, 1861, Dawes reports there are 28 dismantled ships with 874 guns, none of which could be repaired under several weeks, while many would require six months. No orders had been issued to put any of them in readiness. The whole Atlantic Coast was left without defense and the "Brooklyn" was too large to enter the harbor of Charleston. But for this treacherous disposition of vessels there would have been an ample force to protect the United States forts, arsenals, custom-houses and navy yards, and to prevent any possible powerful organization of the Secession forces. Resignations of navy officers were accepted after the date on which they had betrayed their trust, some by telegraph and some even made retrospective. It was reported later that when the "Star of the West" was sent with supplies to the starving garrison of Fort Sumter, Secretary Thompson betrayed her mission to the South Carolina authorities and subsequently even bragged of this treason in a speech at Oxford, Mississippi. "I sent a dispatch to Judge Longstreth that the 'Star of the West' was coming with reinforcements. The troops were then put on their guard, and when the 'Star of the West' arrived she received a warm welcome from booming cannon, and beat a hasty retreat." The report of a select committee of the House of Representatives, appointed February 21, 1861, is quoted as the authority for the above statements.

With the Secession hand in hand went the seizure of arsenals and forts, until in the course of a few weeks the arsenals of Charleston, S. C., Augusta, Ga., Fayetteville, N. C., Mobile, Ala., Baton Rouge, La., and the forts in South Carolina, Pulaski and Jackson in Georgia, Fort Mason and others in North Carolina, Forts Jackson, St. Philip and Pike in Louisiana, Fort Barancas and the navy yard in Pensacola, Fla., were seized. To complete this spoliation, about the end of February, 1861, Brigadier General Twiggs surrendered nearly one-half of the United States army, with all forts and war material, to the State authorities of Texas. A number of revenue cutters were lost in this way. Of the Southern fortified defenses all that was left to the United States were Fortress Monroe, Fort Sumter, Fort Pickens, the fortresses on Key West, the Tortugas, and the Arsenal at St. Louis, Mo. It was estimated that 5000 cannon, over 200,000 stand of arms and an immense war material amounting in all to over forty

millions of dollars were taken from the United States even before President Buchanan's term expired. Towards the end the Cabinet of that most ill-advised of all Presidents went to pieces; some members resigned because he admitted interference in the South; others because he did not interfere enough, and some left to avoid the consequences of their criminal acts.

CHAPTER IV.

MISSOURI EVENTS.

THE SOUTHWEST CAMPAIGN.

North of Texas and west of the Mississippi River to the Rocky Mountains extended the Department of the West, to whose command General Harney was assigned, who arrived at St. Louis November 18, 1860. Harney, born in Louisiana, was a slaveholder, though credited to be a Union man. Although he had a national reputation as a great Indian fighter, his assignment to St. Louis was made for political reasons. Having married a Mullanphy heiress, he was intimately connected with the largest landed estate and its many representatives in St. Louis, and could be expected to harmonize with the leading political party of the State. The Kansas-Nebraska difficulty was not yet finally adjusted, and a strong disciplinarian might have awed the Jayhawker (Free State man) and the Border Ruffian (Proslavery Democrat). Harney was barely three days in command when news came that Montgomery and his band had invaded Fort Scott. General Frost's Brigade of Missouri Militia, 550 men, was called out to march to Fort Scott, and military companies were organized all over the State to assist Frost. General Harney left St. Louis November 24 and hastened to the somewhat indefinite seat of war. The Governor of Kansas also issued a proclamation against mob law, and an armed band under the leadership of "one James Montgomery." The trouble seems to have originated by Free State men settling upon what was claimed to be Cherokee neutral land. These settlers were forcibly ejected by an agent of the Indian Bureau and some fifteen of their shanties burned, upon which their owners banded together and retaliated upon Proslavery men. Some kidnapers of Negroes in the Territory were killed, in keeping with Montgomery's "higher law" notions, which enjoined that "any man convicted of kidnaping a human being in the Territory shall die." According to the "Missouri Democrat," Montgomery took up arms to avenge the quarrel of parties who had been expelled from lands re-

served for the use of Indian tribes. Even Leavenworth Republicans passed resolutions condemning Montgomery's raid, although the charge that the invasion was made to liberate slaves in Missouri was false. Sixteen of Montgomery's men approached Fort Scott, but no one was molested, least of all the United States Court. The lynching of three men hung and two shot was done in the Territory, and, although frankly owned up by Montgomery's men, was as much to be condemned as all lynch outrages. But for the exaggerated reports from Fort Scott, Frost's Brigade would never have been ordered out, and as the whole difficulty occurred in the Territory, the resort to Missouri Militia was as impolitic as it was improper.[1] Frost's Brigade returned to St. Louis already on December 18. Its being called out for this service, however, has this peculiar bearing on the St. Louis events of 1861, that this Brigade formed the bulk of the State Militia force which the next May was concentrated at Camp Jackson. It was mooted that this excursion was made with the design of a later resistance to Federal authority. State-right badges were worn by troopers in this campaign, and a detachment of all three arms was left on the border under the command of a determined Secessionist. Robert Stewart, the outgoing Governor, was not wittingly a party to such a scheme, which might be readily credited to the incoming officers of Secession proclivities.

THE ST. LOUIS TURNVEREIN.

The last days of 1860 found the State of Missouri with a heterogeneous population of 1,200,000 people, with 100,000 slaves, while St. Louis had then 200,000 inhabitants and 120 slaves. The State was Democratic, the city Republican. In detail the city voters were: Republicans, Conservatives and Secessionists; the State voters, Conservatives, Secessionists, Republicans, approximating in strength the order in which they are here named. The citizens of foreign extraction, mostly Germans, were, with few exceptions, decided Union men, and even the Irishmen, though leaning politically strongly towards the Democratic South, wheeled into the Union ranks after

[1] Of this South West expedition, Uriel Wright, a very able attorney, State-Rights man, and later on officer in the Confederate Army, made the statement in the Missouri State Convention: "The only reason why an army was sent to the frontier to put down a Montgomery raid, was that there was no Montgomery raid to put down."

the first few months of 1861 and formed some excellent Regiments. The convivial habits of the Germans, their common interests, tastes, progressive views upon human rights, spread through numerous singing and other societies a strong spirit of fellowship, which found its most advanced expression in the St. Louis Turnverein. The immigrants of 1830, with more academic views, had become somewhat conservative and habituated to existing institutions and relations, while those of 1848 were more radical and uncompromising; still, when it came to questions of leading humanitarian principles, both immigrations stood shoulder to shoulder for all progressive measures. The St. Louis Turn Society was a branch of the national organization; it became a center of social amusement and rational development, seeking to verify the time-honored adage, "A healthy mind in a healthy body." The society was organized May 12, 1850, by Charles Speck, Fred Roever, C. B. Dickriede, W. Moll, George Meyer, Theodore Hildenbrandt, John Bolland, William Grahl, L. A. Bennet, Louis Barthels and William Meyer. It was incorporated on February 24, 1855, with the aid of Attorney D. M. Frost, who on the day of the capture of Camp Jackson may have felt remorse for this act of courtesy. The "St. Louis Turnverein" soon united several hundred able-bodied and clear-headed young men, who without interfering with others claimed the privilege of living up to their own convictions. Soon after the organization of the society a rifle section was formed with about fifty members, who were pledged to military obedience when in service; they elected their officers and instructors and bought their own rifles; took up regular weekly drills, arranged target practices and trial marches to neighboring cities. Already in February, 1860, General Francis Sigel lectured before this section. At that time the Prussian tactics, published by the Cincinnati Turner Society, were in practice. Among the instructors were Louis Duestrow, Theodore Fischbach, Hugo Gollmer, Francis Sigel, Constantin Blandovski. April 4, 1860, a keg of powder was bought, and in May a new target practice place selected and drill twice a week ordered; in July target practice was held every week; in September, upon the advice of General Sigel, Scott's tactics were adopted. On November 8 the rifles and armament were transferred to the mother society, which, pursuant to its new constitution, ordered all members to regular military drill as part of the gymnastic exercises. This was certainly a quick and significant answer to all threats of Secession, uttered on account of Lincoln's election. The rifles were to be kept at Turner Hall, on

ST. LOUIS TURNER HALL.

10th and Walnut Streets.
Where the first companies of the First Regiment, Missouri Volunteers were organized in 1861.

Tenth and Walnut, and their price was credited to their owners on their dues maturing. January 10 ,1861, bayonet fencing was taken up under Captain Blandovski, and those who wished to join the rifle company after February 7 had to report to J. Tiemeyer, who would furnish them with rifles. Among the three to four hundred members of the society were many prominent business men, merchants, manufacturers, lawyers, doctors; in fact, the St. Louis Turnverein was a good representation of the solid Teutonic element in the community.

Threats by the ultra Southern press were so frequent and violent that towards the end of 1860, even a local conflict was anticipated by many, and they deemed it advisable to prepare for it. A considerable portion of the people of St. Louis came from Southern States, shared in the fiery spirit of that section, was leaning to Know Nothingism and had national and religious prejudices. All these sources of antagonism were unfortunately fostered by the circumstance that the different elements of population occupied also different and pretty well defined sections of the city. The Americans lived nearly all in the central and western part of town, the foreign-born citizens, mainly Germans and their descendants, lived mostly south of Market street, with a strong colony on Franklin avenue and also an even stronger contingent north of Cass avenue. Between these last two localities, on Wash, Carr, Biddle, Mullanphy and Cass avenue, were the habitations of most Irishmen. While all men of common sense or culture vindicate the liberty of conscience to everybody, those who are unfortunately limited when born and those whose education is neglected often cherish sentiments of jealousy and even of hatred towards people who differ from them. In this sense there was considerable animosity felt in St. Louis between different elements of the population. It does not improve matters that the latter disposition was often nursed for selfish purposes.

THE ST. LOUIS PRESS.

The German newspapers of St. Louis were ably edited in the past by Theodore Olshausen, Emil Preetorius, Henry Boernstein, George Hillgaertner, Charles L. Bernays, D. Hertel, with most valuable contributions from Fred Muench, Gustave Koerner, Fred Hecker, Carl Schurz, Carl Luedeking and others, who animated their readers to aid with their votes and actions the country of their adoption. The

publications in the German language were able exponents of the views of the readers and of their progressive disposition. While not extreme on the Slavery question, they were firm and uncompromising with regard to the inalienable rights of men and most determined for the maintenance of the Union of all States. The Missouri Democrat, the leading Republican paper of the West, exercised a great influence during the past decades and fearlessly spread the gospel of human liberty. It was the medium of information between Congress and the West, and its editors, proprietors and coworkers formed the center of Western American liberalism. Robinson, in his "Kansas Conflict," writes of the "Missouri Democrat": "It is doubtful if Kansas could have been saved from the grasp of the invaders but for the hot shot poured into Atchison, Stringfellow & Co. by this paper. James Ridpath was its regular correspondent. The leading Democratic paper, the "St. Louis Republic," did not permit its conservative proclivities to drag it into the disunion camp. In fact, it seemed at times as if the spirit of its founder, Joseph Charless, the Irish patriot, the man who opposed the brutal lynching of the negro McIntosh and who befriended E. P. Lovejoy, was still permeating the columns of that paper. Editorially and by correspondents the paper contended for the legality of Lincoln's election and was opposed to the folly of Secession.

On November 10 Henry Clay Dean, an Iowa Democrat, published through the columns of the "St. Louis Republic" these words: "Mr. Lincoln is elected. He is the constitutional President. Every Northern State has voted for him. We have no discretion but to yield obedience. Resistance is revolution, and civil war must follow revolution." A couple days later C. R. Wickliffe writes in the same paper: "Let us all unite upon this one question, that the disunionists may know they have no allies or sympathizers among the citizens of Kentucky." The same paper quotes on November 12 the proceedings of a former Mississippi State Convention which condemned Secession. Its columns, however, were open to the following advertisement:

"Runaway Slave. Was committed to the jail of Cape Girardeau County, in the State of Missouri, on the 15th of September, 1860, as a runaway slave, a negro man who calls himself Henry Williams, and says he is free, and lived on the island of Hayti; he is of copper color, 5 feet 4½ inches high, weighs about 150 pounds, supposed to be 22 years old, has three upper jaw teeth out, whiskers on his chin, heavy head of hair, no scars about his person, except his ears have been pierced; says he got off a steamboat at Mound City about the 10th inst; had on when taken a pair of new pants of

dark grey cashmere, red flannel drawers, black color frock coat, striped cashmere vest, a brown hat, three white shirts with linen bosoms, and an old pair of gaiter shoes.

"The owner of said negro is hereby notified to come forward and prove said Slave and pay charges, otherwise said Slave will be sold at public auction to the highest bidder, for cash on hand, at the Court House door, in the town of Jackson, in Cape Girardeau County, Mo., on Tuesday, the 1st day of January, A. D. 1861."

What right did the Sheriff have to sell that man, when he did not even know that he was a slave and had an owner?

Other slave sale advertisements were made for January 1, 1861, to take place at the east door of the St. Louis Courthouse, and B. M. Lynch advertised his large, airy, new quarters, No. 57 South Fifth (now Broadway), corner of Myrtle, and will pay highest price for Negroes suited to the Southern market. "Negroes on hand and for sale at all times." From this it would appear that the Negro breeding for the Southern market was not restricted to the Eastern Border States.

On the 14th of November the "St. Louis Republic" deemed a stronger dose of Unionism necessary to the failing patriots, and it published in full President Jackson's proclamation against the Secessionists of South Carolina, issued December 11, 1832. The intention was good and locally had a wholesome effect, as later on the vote for the members of the Missouri State Convention proved. As to the Cotton States, they were then already past redemption; to their sentimental disposition the words of Schiller fully applied:

"Man fears the lion's kingly tread,
Man fears the tiger's fangs of terror,
But Man himself is most to dread
When mad with social error!"

Carlyle's translation of:

"Gefaehrlich ists den Leu zu wecken,
Verderblich ist des Tigers Zahn,
Doch ach der schreklichste der Schreken
Das ist der Mensch in seinem Wahn."

On the other hand, there were powerful influences which made St. Louis a veritable commonwealth for both sections. The Northern and Southern trade of the Mississippi Valley centered here, it was

the distributing point for the Eastern wholesale trade. Large mills, foundries, machine shops and factories combined the interests of the capitalist, the engineer, the laborer, and with a hostile South and a hostile immediate West all this was doomed to destruction. Although the directive capital was chiefly in the hands of Southerners, their very great possessions pleaded most eloquently for the maintenance of peace. These considerations guided the conservative element of the city and State and remained a powerful factor until the furies of war stamped out every peaceful disposition in the Union. Events strongly pointed in that direction when on December 13, 1860, Southern members of Congress recommended to their constituencies speedy Secession.

THE LAST DAYS OF 1860.

The Commissioners of the seceded State of South Carolina called on President Buchanan December 28, 1860, and proposed to treat with him as with the representative of a foreign power, which he declined, referring them to Congress. This was useless, for December 31 the committee of thirteen Republican and thirteen Senators from all other parties, forming two classes with equal rights, reported that, after considering many propositions, they could not agree upon any general plan of adjustment. So far only South Carolina had seceded, but Conventions for that purpose had been called by Georgia, Mississippi, Florida, Louisiana and Alabama; the Governors of Missouri, Tennessee, Arkansas and Virginia favored Secession, and the calling of a Convention, while Governor Hicks of Maryland and Sam Houston of Texas were opposed to any such measure. Houston even said he would hang every Secessionist as a traitor if he had the power.

End of November, 1860, a company of Constitutional Guards was formed under Colonel Thornton Grimsley, a declaration of principles was issued for them by which they claimed fealty to the Union and to the State of Missouri; also claimed that the Republican party and the Personal Liberty laws should be put down as well as all traitors to the supreme Federal Government, as long as the latter acts within the sphere of its constitutional duties. They enjoined that every State should "contend for its right and equality within the Union so long as its protective powers remain unexhausted, and any one Department of that government is able to uphold its true spirit and integrity," and "that all should rally behind the remaining bulwarks of the Constitution."

Verbose and confused in its original text as this declaration was, it shows that there must have existed a strong Union feeling among those who were expected to join the organization. Still, the many conditions ornamenting this Unionism were so many loopholes to slip from it to outright Secessionism. Far less moderate was the antagonism against the incoming Federal administration further South. In New Orleans men were beaten and almost lynched for selling medals of Lincoln and shouting "Hurrah for Lincoln!" In South Carolina the President elect was burned in effigy, and the Southern army and navy officers were called upon "to renounce at once the sword and rations of the vulgar oppressor and to hasten at once to the homes that gave them birth." Good many could not do this, for, having emigrated to Western States, they had to shift their State Rights patriotism to the new basis of settlement. General Pillow called Lincoln's election "the death knell of the Union." More characteristic is an extract from a letter of Paul J. Semmes, a graduate of West Point, made Brigadier General in Georgia and subsequently made famous by his cruises and blockade running, which shows the bitter resentment of Southern people and the great chasm which separated them from the friends of the Union:

"Southerners have a high and sacred duty to perform; they know well how to perform that duty. He who dallies is a dastard, he who doubts is damned, and he who cries peace, peace, Union, Union, when there is no peace, no Union, and never can be, with a fanatic and infidel people, who, repudiating God and the Bible, have proclaimed themselves in favor of an Anti-Slavery Bible and an Anti-Slavery God, deserves everlasting execration." Characterizing the financial policy of the Union as a robbery, Semmes goes on: "Their votes, their hands (in our pockets) we dread, Their bayonets themselves we despise. Let a United South rally and strike down this God-forsaken Union with robbers, fanatics, incendiaries, infidels."

It is strange that a brave man like Semmes should have indulged in such blustering talk, for true heroism is generally paired with modesty. At that time there were considera'e men who had not yet given up all hope for an adjustment. Governor Johnson of Georgia answered men who consulted him that the election of Lincoln was no cause for dissolving the Union; that the majority of Congress was still Democratic, and that Lincoln cannot even organize his Cabinet without the consent of the Senate. The possible failure to execute the Fugitive Slave act Governor Johnson considered a more serious grievance.

In the meantime a wavering policy was continued at Washington, where on December 4 President Buchanan took the position that coercion is unconstitutional, and recommended:

1. An amendment to the Constitution which shall plainly acknowledge the legality of Slavery in the States.
2. Protect Slavery in all Territories until they become States.
3. Enforce the Fugitive Slave law.

Attorney General Black gave his opinion to the President that the Government had a right to defend its property and also to retake it when invaded, and further claimed that the President has a right to call out the Militia when the execution of the law is obstructed by combinations too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings. But the military must be used in support of the civil officers, and if no civil officers are found the use of the military is illegal because, as Judge Black said, it would be levying war upon such State. According to this reasoning, South Carolina was in the Union far enough to claim the protection of the Constitution, but otherwise sufficiently out of the Union to void all her obligations and connections with it. Judge Black said, further, the President must remain strictly on the defensive; if the means to collect the revenue are insufficient, Congress may make them more effective. Even under Black's opinion, the President had the right and duty to defend the forts of the United States. He should have reinforced them in time, and Robert Anderson should have broken up the batteries raised to subdue him. President Buchanan never asked Congress for additional power to aid Fort Sumter, and a fort cannot be defended without breaking up the batteries which were erected to reduce it. It seems that none of the conservative politicians understood the question of the hour, which was: Shall the Union perish, or shall the South be subdued by war?

Stephen A. Douglas spoke towards the end of 1860 at different places of the South, denying the right of Secession and strengthening the Union sentiment; but no little and no big giant could stay any more the tide of coming events, of which one able writer prophetically said: "When we see such men at the South as Stephens and Johnson of Georgia, Forsyth and Winston of Alabama, Foote of Tennessee, Soule and Wickliff of Louisiana, Houston of Texas and hosts of other distinguished statesmen of the South borne down by the resistless tide, we cannot, if we would, shut our eyes to the danger which menaces the safety and perpetuity of the Union."

Grave cares oppressed all thoughtful men, for most ominous were the forebodings of the last days of 1860.

1861.

THE MISSOURI STATE LEGISLATURE

met on the last day of 1860, and organized January 2, by electing avowed Secessionists as officers. Governor Stewart in his farewell message denied the right of Secession, as Missouri belonged to the Union by right of purchase, and said:

"So long as there is hope of success, she (Missouri) will seek for justice within the Union. She cannot be frightened from her propriety by the past unfriendly legislation from the North, nor be dragooned into Secession by the extreme South. Missouri will rather take the high position of armed neutrality." Governor Stewart also makes use of these words: "Missouri, with scarcely a disunionist per se to be found in her borders," and closes with the words: "I would here, in my last public official act as Governor of Missouri, record my solemn protest against unwise and hasty action, and my unalterable devotion to the Union, as long as it can be made the protector of equal rights."

This is strong evidence that the majority of Missourians were Union men. Governor Stewart's remarks of an "armed neutrality" gave probably the keynote to some subsequent threats of the same nature.

The idea of an armed neutrality was mooted in the Border States and Indian Territory early in the course of hostile development. Strategically it was a genial conception in favor of Secession, and if carried out would have secured to the seceded States, with the exception of their seacoast, immunity against hostile aggression from the North. Such a neutral belt, resulting from the dissolution of the Union, would have served also as a buffer zone between the Northern and Southern confederation. Under "equal rights," upon which Governor Stewart based his "unaltered devotion to the Union," he must have meant equal State Rights respecting Slavery in the Territories, for in the South at that time equal rights were on a level with the planters' conception: "This is a free country; this man is mine." Governor Clayborn F. Jackson, born in Kentucky in 1807, was a decided pro-Slavery man, who in the Missouri Legislature of 1848-49 reported the resolutions instructing Benton and his colleague in the Senate to support that tendency.

The qualifying words in these resolutions were: "Any organization of the Territorial Government excluding the citizens of any part of the Union from removing to such Territories with their property would alienate one portion of the Union from another and tend ultimately to disunion." Benton's opposition to these resolutions defeated him for re-election to the Senate and eliminated him from becoming a possible President, who, like Andrew Jackson, might have stamped out Secession in its very inception. Clayborne F. Jackson said in his inaugural: "Missouri and Kentucky should stand by the South and preserve her equilibrium;" also that he will defend the honor and interests of Missouri against all assailants whatever.

By Governor Jackson's statement that "if the Northern States have resolved to admit no more Slaveholding States into the Union" they have practically abandoned the Union, and will not expect our submission to a Government on terms of inequality and subordination," he practically announces his hostility to the Union, which by a majority of votes had decided to admit no more Slave States. Governor Jackson's demand for an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, asked for very obvious reasons, an impossibility at the time. He concluded by recommending the immediate call of a State Convention, saying: "In this way the whole subject will be brought directly before the people at large, who will determine for themselves what is to be the ultimate action of the State." It seems, however, that the Governor himself had little faith in his peaceful remedy, as at the end of his message he recommends "a thorough organization of our Militia." Governor Jackson must have seen that, while the pro-Slavery disposition was clear and emphatic in the Cotton States, the anti-Slavery disposition was by no means such in the Northern States; for the great enthusiasm for the war in the North and the great sacrifices brought later on by the Northern States were chiefly made for the preservation of the Union of States, and not for the destruction of Slavery. Even if Governor Jackson was convinced that the once-roused conscience of the Nation would not stop short of the complete extinction of Slavery, he had every reason to believe that emancipation would be gradual and with an equitable compensation. But for him and the leaders in the Secession movement the question, pure and simple, was: "Slavery in the Union or Slavery out of the Union."

Governor Jackson recommended the holding of a State Convention, for which a bill passed on January 18, in order to consider whether

Missouri should secede; also for the purpose of vindicating the sovereignty of the State and the protection of her institutions. With the exception of the St. Louis delegation nearly all members voted for this measure. The known disposition of the Governor, Lieutenant Governor and Legislators justify the supposition that the call was made under the false impression that the Convention would vote for Secession. This belief was caused by the more passionate and demonstrative nature of the ultra Southerners, which made them appear much stronger in numbers than they actually were. It was not the first time in history that appearances deceived.

It can be safely assumed that in every community the great majority of people are well-intended persons, and their differences, though intensified by prejudices, are rooted in deep elementary convictions. While in ordinary times party affiliations are formed often without much reflection, in consequence of association, derivation, local pride, self-interest and inheritance, yet when an actual recourse to the arbitrament of arms is imminent a great many people are in doubt which side to choose. The hope to influence this portion of the population dictated in the Border States that temporizing, vacillating, procrastinating policy which deferred success and caused great loss of life and treasure. Neither the Free Soil Republicans nor the Slavery and State Rights defenders in St. Louis were guilty of the above fault; they knew that war was the only alternative left, and they proceeded to organize and arm.

On the 4th of January, D. R. Russell, Commissioner of the State of Mississippi, was received by the joint session of the Legislature at Jefferson City. He came to ask the coöperation of Missouri in the common defense of the Slaveholding States. A special committee was appointed to conduct Russell to the hall, and Lieutenant Governor Reynolds, presiding, ordered: "When the Commissioner from the State of Mississippi is announced the members of the General Assembly will rise to receive him." J. D. Stevenson, from St. Louis, objected to this demand, which was qualified by Reynolds with the rather rude remark: "I will change it to a request, and I hope no member of this General Assembly will have the indecency to refuse to rise." Stevenson did not dream then that in 1863 he, as General, will command the leading attack against Vicksburg and effectually help to conquer the very State of that Commissioner. Russell spoke, as might have been expected, from a representative of a seceded State.

Lieutenant Governor Reynolds was very prominent in the Secession movement in Missouri; he claimed to be a native of South Caro-

lina, was well versed in politics and diplomacy, had a very good education and was energetic and fearless. Early in December, 1860, he sought the councils of the Southern leaders in Washington, and it is more than probable that there and then plans were adopted and measures resolved upon which should guide the Secession policy in Missouri. It was hardly in keeping with his usual sense of tact and propriety that he anticipated both the messages of the outgoing and of the incoming Governor by publishing on the first legislative day a letter indicating his personal views upon the course Missouri should pursue. He advised the General Assembly to resist all attempts at coercion or for collecting United States revenues or for enforcing Federal laws in seceded States, and urged the speedy organization of the State Militia. He also advised Missouri to call a Convention of all the States for the settlement of their differences, and held that if no such adjustment could be secured before March 4, Missouri should not permit Mr. Lincoln to exercise any functions of government within her limits. It is also more than probable that the heated political debates during the election campaign of 1860 led Governor Reynolds from step to step, as it did so many others, until sentiments of local patriotism, pride and falsely conceived honor made it impossible for him to retrace his steps. How bitter the political controversies of preceding days were may be judged by the fact that in consequence of them Reynolds fought two duels with B. Gratz Borwn, in the second of which the latter was wounded.

Measures hostile to St. Louis and the Union were now rushed through at Jefferson City. Bills were introduced for the call of a State Convention, which was to consider the relations between Missouri, the Union and the different States of the Union and for the vindication of Missouri's State sovereignty and the protection of her institutions. There were also acts introduced to arm and equip the Militia; to curtail the powers of the Mayor of St. Louis; to increase the powers of the Governor; to create a new Police Board for the city, which the Governor was to appoint. Of the tendency of these bills Thomas S. Snead, himself a Secessionist and Secretary of Governor Jackson, in his eminent work, "A Fight for Missouri," says:

"The prompt and almost unanimous favor with which the General Assembly received these measures, shows the strength of the feeling which was then forcing Missouri onward towards Secession. To the casual observer it seemed to be irresistible, and the Southern Rights People were exultant, and even defiant."

The Military bill introduced by Monroe Parsons January 5, appropriated to the disposal of the Governor $150,000; it placed the whole population of the State at his mercy; it punished disrespectful language towards Governor or Legislature and superseded the allegiance to the Federal Government. The Militia law passed, gave the Governor all power; the money of the schools, the Blind and Insane Asylum were diverted to pay the expenses of the Militia. It was prohibited to teach slaves to read or write, and running away slaves was punished by death. To popularize this last measure the same penalty was decreed for horse stealing.

In consideration of a larger fixed contribution to the Democratic campaign fund the Missouri Legislature passed a bill which made it obligatory that all legal advertisements and notices in St. Louis County (which at that time included the city of St. Louis) should be made in the "State Journal," published by Moritz Niedner. This indirect extortion of money from the public, to be passed temporarily to M. Niedner in order to be squeezed out of him for the Democratic campaign fund, was an outrage, and as all St. Louis newspapers lost through the same valuable advertisements, their ardor in denouncing the measure knew no bounds, and Niedner for a time at least was the best-abused man in St. Louis and even threatened to be lynched. His defense that he was only a printer and could not secure the publication of the Legal Record without submitting to the extortion was ignored by the local press. This indirect corruption, which was to furnish the sinews of war for the Secession campaign, greatly aided the Union cause in St. Louis, for the Legislature, known to be hostile to the Union, added injury to insult by curtailing the revenue of all newspapers.

FEARS AND DOUBTS IN ST. LOUIS.

Brigadier General Frost of the Missouri State militia, issued order No. 4 on January 8, which commanded all troops to assemble as soon as the bells of the churches sound continued peals with five-minute intermission, and to await further orders. Archbishop Kendrick, an eminent church dignitary, promptly stopped this abuse of church bells under his control. The measure of church bells was of doubtful utility, for it would have roused the Union men and organizations as well as the Secessionists.

The measure of suddenly assembling the State Militia through alarm bells was believed to be intended for the capture of the Arsenal,

of which the Confederate writer, J. C. Moore, states: "It could have been taken at any time for months with the tacit consent of its commandant if the State authorities had possessed the courage to take it." "Volunteers were ready to act at an hour's notice."

It was now deemed opportune in St. Louis to neutralize the animosity which the last presidential campaign had created between Union Democrats and Republicans. On January 11 a meeting was called at Washington Hall for the organization of Union clubs, irrespective of previous party affiliations. This helped to consolidate the Union element to some extent, and by bringing the men in different localities more in contact with each other materially aided the formation of the first ten Regiments enlisting in the United States service.

Another Union meeting was called for January 12 by N. Paschal, Hamilton R. Gamble, James E. Yeatman and Robert Campbell, asking among other things for the protection of slave property by the Federal Government and threatening that "if the Federal Government shall fail and refuse this right * * * Missouri will share the common duties and common dangers of the South." The meeting also took strong grounds against coercion, approved the Crittenden Compromise and a State Convention for Missouri.

This meeting represented conservative and conditional Union men but neither the mass of Republicans nor the active working Union men of St. Louis, who were warned by posters not to participate in this conservative move. The "St. Louis Republic" strongly advocated a similar conservative policy in its issue of January 14, stating that six States had already seceded, and one-half of the others would resist a policy of coercion, and Kentucky and Tennessee would again become the "Dark and Bloody Ground."

A Bill calling a Convention of the State of Missouri passed both houses of the Legislature, with only 20 dissenting votes, and the date for the election of members to the Convention was set for February 18. Besides this, another care beset the minds of the Union people in whose eyes General Harney's loyalty was an unknown quantity and beyond their mental computation; another circumstance greatly aggravated the situation, namely, the commander of the Arsenal, which held 60,000 stand of arms, large quantities of ammunition and war material, was at that time William H. Bell, from North Carolina, a man known to have strong Southern sympathies. Matters looked very unsafe in and around St. Louis, and induced Isaac H. Sturgeon, United States Assistant Treasurer, to write to President Buchanan

that "both parties had their eyes fixed upon those two points," meaning the Arsenal and the Subtreasury with $400,000 cash in its vaults. Sturgeon suggested to the President to concentrate troops at the Arsenal for the protection of the property in both places. In response to this General Scott wired on February 13 to Harney: "Have you in St. Louis Arsenal troops enough to defend it? Ought you not send up all the men from Jefferson Barracks?" to which Harney answered:

"The Secession party is in a minority in St. Louis, and there is every reason to suppose, that in the event of a movement from any quarter upon the Arsenal, its garrisons would be promptly succored by an overwhelming force from the city." General Scott nevertheless ordered fifty men to St. Louis to be placed by the Department Commander at the disposal of the Assistant Treasurer. The men were stationed at the Custom House, until the treasure was removed. This transaction created an immense excitement in the city and gathered great crowds on the streets: which, however, is not unusual even on very trivial occasions. Governor Jackson called the attention of the General Assembly to the event, and Senator Parsons vindicated the honor of Missouri by offering the following resolution: "That we view the act of the Administration as insulting to the dignity and patriotism of the State, and calculated to arouse suspicion and distrust on the part of her people towards the Federal Government."

"Resolved, That the Governor be requested to inquire of the President, what had induced him to place the property of the United States within the State, in charge of an armed Federal force." With due recollection and appreciation of the recent seizure of the Sub-Treasury at New Orleans, the inquiry was dropped. Strangely enough the argument was used later, that this apparent distrust of the Federal authorities advanced the Secession disposition in Missouri, while it would appear that the inducement for Secession could not possibly be increased by the removal of these funds, which lessened the opportunities to secure the sinews of war.

While these measures were carried out, the overcharged imagination of some "Fire-eaters" urged Governor Jackson to "do and dare" and take the Arsenal with its 60,000 stand of arms, great store of powder and war material. Governor Jackson wisely thought "discretion the better part of valor" and deferred an attack upon the Arsenal until he had a force to insure success, which, however, never happened. The St. Louis Arsenal could be defended against great odds;

its main strength, however, was its location, surrounded by a loyal population. The St. Louis ward lines run at that time from the river west to the city limits, the numbers commencing at the south end with the First Ward. The wards south of Market street, peopled mainly by Germans and other immigrants, were so strongly imbued by Union sentiments, that besides furnishing the bulk of the first four Volunteer Regiments, they also raised three Regiments of Reserves or Home Guards, and all of this before the sun set on the 8th of May.

In January and February, 1861, the Arsenal at St. Louis was also comparatively safe, because actual hostilities against the Union had not commenced and the Secessionists of Missouri trusted to the State Convention to give them a kind of a legal standing by passing a Secession Ordinance; besides this they relied upon the State Rights proclivities of Major Bell, the Commander of the Arsenal, as the following highly interesting letter of General D. M. Frost shows:

A TELL TALE LETTER.

"St. Louis, January 24, 1861.

"To C. T. Jackson, *Governor of Missouri*:

"Dear Sir—I have just returned from the Arsenal, where I have had an interview with Major Bell, the commanding officer of that place. I found the Major everything that you or I could desire. He assured me that he considered that Missouri had, whenever the time came, a right to claim it as being on her soil. He asserted his determination to defend it against any and all irresponsible mobs, come from whence they might, but at the same time gave me to understand that he would not attempt any defense against the proper State authorities.

"He promised me, upon the honor of an officer and a gentleman, that he would not suffer any arms to be removed from the place without first giving me timely information, and I, in return, promised him that I would use all the force at my command to prevent him being annoyed by irresponsible persons.

"I at the same time gave him notice that if affairs assumed so threatening a character as to render it unsafe, to leave the place in its comparatively unprotected condition, that I might come down and quarter a proper force there, to protect it from the assaults of any persons whatsoever, to which he assented. In a word, the Major is with us, where he ought to be, for all his worldly wealth lies here in St. Louis (and it is very large); and then, again, his sympathies are with us.

"I shall therefore rest perfectly easy and use all my influence to stop the sensationists from attracting the particular attention of the Government to this particular spot. The telegrams you received were the sheerest "canards" of persons who, without discretion, are extremely anxious to

show their zeal. I shall be thoroughly prepared with the proper force, to act as emergency may require. The use of force will only be resorted to when nothing else will avail, to prevent the shipment or removal of arms. The Major informed me that he had arms for 40,000 men, with all the appliances to manufacture munitions of almost every kind.

"This Arsenal, if properly looked after, will be everything to our State, and I intend to look after it, very quietly, however. I have every confidence in the word of honor pledged to me by the Major, and would as soon think of doubting the oath of the best man in the community.

"His idea is that it would be disgraceful to him as a military man to surrender to a mob, whilst he could do so, without compromising his dignity to the State authorities. Of course, I did not show him your order, but I informed him that you authorized me to act as I might think proper, to protect the public property. He desired that I would not divulge his peculiar views, which I promised not to do, except to yourself. I beg, therefore, that you will say nothing that might compromise him eventually with the General Government, for thereby I would be placed in an awkward position, while he probably would be removed, which would be unpleasant to our interests. . . . McLaren and George made the mistake of telegraphing a falsehood to you.

"I should be pleased to hear whether you approve of the course I have adopted, and if not, I am ready to take any other that you, as my commander, may suggest. I am, etc.,

D. M. Frost."

General D. M. Frost, born in New York in 1823, graduated at West Point in 1844; took part in the Mexican war and was breveted First Lieutenant by General Harney after the Battle of Cerro Gordo. His connections in St. Louis were with Southern families, and he resigned his commission in the army already in 1853; he was a member of the Missouri Legislature and became General of the Brigade sent to the Southwest frontier, ostensibly to protect Missourians from an invasion of Kansas people under Captain Montgomery. Frost's Brigade comprised Infantry, Cavalry and Artillery, and numbered near 600 men, which was less than one-third of its full complement, but which in case of an emergency, could have been recruited up on short notice. It is difficult to understand the whole course of General Frost. Born and educated in a Northern State, of independent fortune, his Missouri Southern connections led him to espouse the cause of Secession; no doubt that wounded pride, on account of the surrender of Camp Jackson, affected his course; after being exchanged, he immediately joined the Confederate service, but left this already in 1863 and went to Canada. His, also, was one of those cases where sentiment obliterated sound judgment. T. S. Snead states that General Frost made the necessity of seizing the

Arsenal, manifest to the Governor, "and was by him authorized to seize the Arsenal," whenever the occasion might require such decisive action; and thereby proves, that those who anticipated such a probable event, showed eminent good sense. It also proves that the State authorities, made plans for the seizure of the Arsenal as early as January, 1861.

Colonel Broadhead in a short treatise upon the war in St. Louis quotes an interview of Governor Jackson with Isaac H. Sturgeon, President of the North Missouri Railroad, at the latter's office, in which Jackson said: "That if his advice had been taken, the Arsenal would have been seized, when he could have walked in with ten armed men and taken it, as it had no protection; but to do so now would cost the lives of great many men, and the probable destruction of the city." These sentiments do not tally with the expressions of General Frost in his letter to the Governor, of January 26th, and the most charitable construction that can be placed upon this incident, is, that the Governor's mind was unsettled, for his subsequent behavior did not bear out his above quoted expressions. All subsequent professions of pacific intentions uttered by Governor Jackson or General Frost must appear in the light of being at first a veil and later on a palliation of "constructive treason" to the United States. On the same day on which General Frost wrote to Governor Jackson a telegram was sent from Washington to the New York Evening Post, stating that General Scott had information of a plot for the seizure of the St. Louis Arsenal; was this caused by General Frost's visit to the Arsenal? So much is certain, that this information and the earnest and repeated demands of Frank P. Blair and other decided Union men, at last prevailed upon the administration at Washington. Major Bell was superseded in command of the Arsenal by Major Hagner. This frustrated all chances of a peaceful occupation of the U. S. Arsenal by Secessionists in the guise of State Militia.

On January 26 Captain Sweeney was ordered from Jefferson Barracks, to take command of the troops at the Arsenal; but Major Hagner remained Commander of the Arsenal, and was his superior officer, and while Sweeney had the de facto power to assume authority, he could do so only at the risk of a court martial, for evidently the final authority vested in Major Hagner. An anecdote reveals the peculiar service relations of that period. An old fellow officer of Sweeney, named Croghan, called on him at the Arsenal, revealed his

uniform and rank as a Confederate field officer and advised Sweeney to get out of the Arsenal, because he said: "We intend to take it." Sweeney peremptorily declared he would blow up the Arsenal before surrendering it, and warned Croghan of his danger of being in a Confederate uniform at the Arsenal.

Rumor, which a Latin poet 1,900 years ago, designated, as a horrible, immense, blind monster, was now as ever busily at work. Union leaders and men were alarmed and cautioned to defend the Arsenal against secretly planned attacks by the Secessionist, for which even specific dates were designated, but no clearly formulated plan is thus far on record, no such attack was ever made and all such schemes appear to have remained in the embryo condition of mere evil intentions.

THE MISSOURI STATE CONVENTION.

Towards the end of January, a number of Union men met at the Mercantile Library and appointed a committee to propose candidates for the State Convention. An adjourned meeting at Verandah Hall adopted the following ticket: Ferd. Meyer, T. T. Gantt, Dr. M. L. Linton, H. R. Gamble, Hudson E. Bridge, John F. Long, Sol. Smith, J. H. Shakelford, Uriel Wright, Samuel Breckenridge, Robert Holmes, Jas. O. Broadhead, Isidore Bush, John How, Henry Hitchcock, which were classified as seven Douglas Democrats, four Lincoln Republicans, three Union men from the Bell and Everett following, and one was not classified. Strong Union resolutions indorsed these candidates. The names on the ticket were not selected in proportion to the Union vote in St. Louis, which was chiefly German, and in its great majority for Lincoln, but the object was to secure the undecided vote and the favorable result, fully justified the selection.

With regard to the political complexion as far as the voters of the whole State are concerned, the classification of T. L. Snead, Secretary to Governor Jackson, may be safely assumed as reliable; he states that the Governor, Lieutenant Governor, a majority of the General Assembly, both United States Senators, Jas. L. Green and Trusten Polk; also General David Atchison, were Secessionists in so far that they would have Missouri eventually side with the seceded States, which, in their opinion, would include all slaveholding States; their faction represented about 19 per cent of the voters. He classifies as conditional Union men: H. R. Gamble, A. W. Doniphan,

Jas. R. Collins, W. A. Hall, J. S. Phelps,, Robert Stewart, Sterling Price, N. Paschall, editor of the St. Louis Republic, and states that their influence was chiefly with men who sympathized with the South, but saw that the business and geographical relations made it the interest of the State to remain with the Northern States in the Union; many men of this faction had still a latent hope for a compromise. They recruited from the Douglas and Bell men and jointly cast about 71 per cent in the last election. The unconditional Union men were immigrants from Europe, chiefly Germany, with comparatively few Americans from the Middle and Eastern States and mountaineers from the border States; they were mostly inhabitants of cities and cast only 10 per cent of the votes at the last presidential election. However, that was not their real strength; for in the interior of the State, great many did not vote for prudential reasons, others voted for Douglas believing in squatter sovereignty, and again others for Bell on general principle of conservatism, indecision and doubt.

It will be remembered that Virginia had asked all States to send Commissioners to Washington for a Convention on February 4 to consider and if practicable to agree upon some suitable adjustment between the North and the South. Although Congress treated the proposition with indifference, most Northern and all border States, Tennessee and North Carolina, sent delegates. There was a hope that this Peace Convention would result in a compromise, for absolute yielding either at the North or at the South was entirely out of the question. This hope was used to great advantage by the conditional Union men during the campaign for the election of Convention members. The brilliant eloquence of James S. Rollins, himself a large slaveholder, a Union man, though opposed to coercion; the convincing logic of W. A. Hall, who pointed out the hopeless strategical position of Missouri as a Secession State, wedged in between the three energetic and blooming Free States of Illinois, Iowa and Kansas; the uselessness in case of isolation of her splendid communicational means of the greatest navigable river net of the world; the certainty of the loss of all slaves in case of Secession and the danger to the families and possessions of the seceders in the State; all these were so weighty that they largely overcame the more sentimental influence of derivation, habit and past association.

The members of the Missouri State Convention were elected on February 18, upon the presumption that they had the right to

submit a Secession Ordinance to the voters of the State. It is a memorable fact, that out of the 104 members elected for the Convention 81 were born in Slave States, 19 in Free States, 3 in Germany and 1 in Ireland. Contrary to the anticipations of the Governor, the election passed off quietly and resulted in a great Union victory. In St. Louis city and county, the Union men received over 5,000, and in the State over 80,000 majority, and not a single avowed Secessionist was elected. This was a terrible defeat for the Governor and the Secessionists in the Legislature and a damper on their military schemes.

As far as ascertained from 99 members of the Convention, only 27 were under and 72 above forty years of age; with regard to the same number, 52 were lawyers (9 of whom had been judges), 26 farmers, 11 merchants and 10 other professions; certainly a very conservative body, regarding both age and occupation, and as far as experience in life is concerned it was entitled to the highest consideration. W. L. Webb, a Confederate writer, classified the members of the Missouri State Convention as 52 unconditional Union men and 47 who believed in Secession under circumstances of sufficient provocation; but with regard to the latter number, due allowance must be made, between avowed intention and practical execution, which both are influenced by developing circumstances. Be this as it may, so much is certain, that this Convention was a very strong representative body, and while it could not quite save Missouri from the ravages of civil war, it imparted a knowledge of the true interests of the State, which kept many Missourians from unnecessary sacrifices. The thanks of the State are due to all its members, even to those whose better judgment was afterwards overcome by sentiment, local pride and chivalrous notions which had no solid foundation in facts.

LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE STATE CONVENTION OF MISSOURI, MARCH 31, 1861.

Name.	Born.	Representing.
Sterling Price, President	Virginia	Brunswick, Chariton Co.
Sam A. Lowe, Secretary	Maryland	Georgetown, Pettis Co.
R. A. Campbell, Asst. Secretary	Missouri	Bowling Green, Pike Co.
C. P. Anderson, Doorkeeper	Tennessee	California.
B. W. Grover, Sergeant-at-Arms	Ohio	Warrensburg.
And. Monroe, Chaplain	Virginia	Fayette.
Allen, J. S.	Tennessee	Bethany, Harrison Co.
Bartlet, Orson	Virginia	Bloomfield, Stoddard Co.

Name.	Born.	Representing.
Bass, L. E.	Tennessee	Ashland, Boone Co.
Bast, Geo. Y.	Kentucky	Rhineland, Montgomery Co.
Birch, Jas. H.	Virginia	Plattsburg, Clinton Co.
Bogy, Joseph	Missouri	St. Mary, St. Genevieve Co.
Breckinridge, Sam	Kentucky	St. Louis.
Broadhead, Jas. O.	Virginia	St. Louis.
Bridge, Hudson E.	New Hampshire	St. Louis.
Brown, R. A.	Tennessee	Cass County.
Bush, Isidor	Bohemia	**St. Louis.**
Calhoun, Robert	Ireland	Callaway County.
Cayce, Milton P.	Virginia	Farmington, St. Francis Co.
Chenault, Jno. R.	Kentucky	Carthage, Jasper Co.
Collier, Sam.	Missouri	Fredericktown, Madison Co.
Comingo, A.	Kentucky	Independence.
Crawford, Robt. W.	Virginia	Mt. Vernon, Lawrence Co.
Doniphan, A. W.	Kentucky	Liberty, Clay Co.
Donnell, R. W.	North Carolina	St. Joseph.
Douglass, Wm.	Virginia	Boonville.
Drake, Chas.	Kentucky	California.
Dunn, Geo. W.	Kentucky	Richmond.
Eitzen, Chas. D.	Germany	Hermann.
Frayser, Robt. B.	Virginia	St. Charles Co.
Flood, Jos.	Kentucky	Callaway County.
Foster, John D.	Kentucky	Kirksville.
Gamble, Hamilton R.	Virginia	St. Louis.
Gantt, Thos. T.	Dist. Columbia	St. Louis.
Givens, N. F.	Kentucky	Clark County.
Gorin, Hy. M.	Kentucky	Scotland County.
Gravely, J. J.	Virginia	Cedar County.
Hall, Willard P.	Virginia	St. Joseph.
Hall, William A.	Maine	Randolph County.
Harbin, A. S.	North Carolina	Barry County.
Hatcher, Robt. A.	Virginia	New Madrid.
Henderson, John B.	Virginia	Pike County.
Hendrick, Littleberry	Virginia	Springfield.
Hill, V. B.	Kentucky	Pulaski County.
Hitchcock, Hy.	Alabama	St. Louis.
Holmes, Robt.	Pennsylvania	St. Louis.
Holt, John	Kentucky	Dent County.
Hough, Harrison	Kentucky	Mississippi County.
How, John	Pennsylvania	St. Louis.
Howell, Wm. J.	Kentucky	Monroe County.
Hudgins, Prince L.	Kentucky	Andrew County.
Irwin, Jos. M.	Virginia	Shelby County.
Isbell, Z.	Virginia	Osage County.
Jackson, Wm.	Tennessee	Putnam County.
Jameson, Robt. W.	Kentucky	Webster County.
Johnson, Jas. W.	Virginia	Bolivar.

Name.	Born.	Representing.
Kidd, Christ. G.	Kentucky	Henry County.
Knott, J. Proctor	Kentucky	Jefferson City.
Leper, Wm. T.	Tennessee	Wayne County.
Linton, M. L.	Kentucky	St. Louis.
Long, John F.	Missouri	St. Louis.
Marmaduke, Vincent	Missouri	Saline County.
Marvin, Asa C.	New Hampshire	Henry County.
Matson, Jas. T.	Missouri	Ralls County.
Maupin, A. W.	Missouri	Franklin County.
McClurg, J. W.	Missouri	Linn Creek.
McCormack, Jas. R.	Missouri	Perry County.
McDowell, Nelson	Illinois	Dade County.
McFerran, Jas.	Maine	Daviess County.
Meyer, Ferdinand	Prussia	St. Louis.
Morrow, W. L.	Tennessee	Dallas County.
Moss, Jas. H.	Missouri	Clay County.
Noell, Jas. C.	Virginia	Bollinger County.
Norton, E. H.	Kentucky	Platte City.
Orr, Sample	Tennessee	Springfield.
Phillips, John F.	Missouri	Pettis County.
Pipkin, Phil	Tennessee	Iron County.
Pomeroy, Wm. G.	New York	Crawford County.
Rankin, Chas. G.	Missouri	Jefferson County.
Ray, Robt. D.	Kentucky	Carrolton.
Redd, John T.	Kentucky	Palmyra.
Ritchey, M. H.	Tennessee	Newton County.
Ross, Jas. P.	Maryland	Morgan County.
Rowland, Fred	North Carolina	Macon City.
Sawyer, Sam L.	New Hampshire	Lexington.
Sayre, E. K.	New Jersey	Lewis County.
Scott, Thomas	Kentucky	Tuscumbia.
Shackelford, Thomas	Missouri	Glasgow.
Shackelford, J. H.	Kentucky	St. Louis County.
Sheehey, Jas. K.	Kentucky	Independence.
Smith, Jacob	Kentucky	Linn County.
Smith, Sol	New York	St. Louis.
Stewart, Robt. M.	New York	St. Joseph.
Tindall, Jacob T.	Kentucky	Grundy County.
Turner, W. W.	Illinois	Lebanon.
Waller, Jos. G.	Virginia	Warren County.
Watkins, N. W.	Kentucky	Cape Girardeau County.
Welch, Aikman	Missouri	Warrensburg.
Wilson, Robt.	Virginia	St. Joseph.
Woodson, Warren	Virginia	Columbia.
Woolfolk, Alex. M.	Kentucky	Chillicothe.
Wright, Uriel	Virginia	St. Louis.
Vanbuskirk, Elery	Ohio	Holt County.
Zimmerman, Geo.	Virginia	New Hope.

The members of the Convention met at Jefferson City on February 28th and organized, by all members taking the oath of office to support the Constitution of the United States and "of the State of Missouri." They adopted the rules of a previous convention; elected, on motion of Jas. O. Broadhead, Gen. Sterling Price permanent chairman; resolved to continue their sessions at St. Louis, and made their resolutions, taken thus far final, by laying a motion for reconsideration on the table; this latter was carried by a vote of 65 to 30, showing the ruling tendency of the convention. After this, the convention adjourned to St. Louis, into an atmosphere more favorable to the Union cause. Shortly before, on Friday, February 15th, the Legislature tried to tune the convention by passing Mr. Vest's anti-coercion bill, which emphatically stated that, upon the invasion of any State, "the people of Missouri will instantly rally on the side of their Southern brethren, to resist the invaders at all hazards and to the last extremity." This resolution may to some extent have influenced public opinion, but had no binding force upon any one member of the convention, nor its decisions, which upon the questions at issue were the supreme law of the State. However, events must be related now which exercised an influence upon the transactions of the convention.

NATHANIEL LYON.

During the Kansas troubles, a military officer stationed in that Territory called at the *Missouri Democrat* office, to settle his subscription. Daniel M. Houser, one of the proprietors, met him and expressed his gratification to find among the very conservative element of the army an officer who would support the radical tendency of the *Missouri Democrat,* to which remark the officer replied with great earnestness: "Every possible means should be exhausted before another Slave State is admitted into the Union." This man was Captain Nathaniel Lyon. When it became evident that a change in the command at the St. Louis Arsenal was absolutely necessary, D. M. Houser suggested to a conference of Union men Captain Lyon, whose appointment was secured, and who arrived at the St. Louis Arsenal with eighty men, Infantry, not as a stranger, but as a well-known, resolute, uncompromising Union man and a Free Soiler, notwithstanding that he had been a Democrat, favoring free trade.

Lyon was born July 14, 1818, at Ashford, Conn.; graduated at West Point in 1841; distinguished himself in the Mexican War and was breveted Captain August, 1847, and afterwards served with distinction against the Indians in California. The picture he makes of himself at the time is highly interesting: "Growing old, but not ashamed of it; proud, perhaps, but not haughty; prudent, it may be, in worldly affairs, yet not crafty for wealth; desirous enough for fame, but not infuriated with blind ambition; and in general, taking the world as it comes, enjoying richly its many blessings, sympathizing with the unfortunate, and laughing with the indifference of cool philosophy at the sore disappointments with which selfishness and cupidity are ever torturing their victims."

In 1852 Lyon was a Democrat and a supporter of Franklin Pierce, and, while on leave, spoke in favor of his election. While at Washington he took great interest in the debates of Congress upon the Kansas-Nebraska issue, and these debates crystalized his opinion and strongly enlisted his sympathies in favor of the oppressed race. Sent to Fort Riley in 1854, during the animated discussion sprung upon Congress by the Kansas and Nebraska Act, he espoused the cause of the Free Soil party with all the fervor of an earnest soul. A few extracts from his letters will show his disposition. He writes on March 2d, 1855: "It is fully apprehended that the aggressions of the pro-Slavery men will not be checked till a lesson has been taught them in letters of fire and blood." In December of the same year Lyon writes: "I have seen so much of the overbearing domination of the pro-Slavery people in Kansas toward the Free State men, that I am persuaded that the latter have either to fight in self-defense or submit ignobly to the demands of their aggressors." . . . "I despair of living peaceably with our Southern brethren, without making disgraceful concessions, but rest assured that this will not always be, and in this view I foresee ultimate sectional strife, which I do not care to delay." In another letter he names Jefferson Davis, at the time Secretary of War, a heartless villain.

The partiality of Buchanan's administration for the pro-Slavery party in Kansas disgusted Lyon to an extent that he seriously considered his resignation from the army rather than to enforce the laws of the United States in Kansas, arguing that he "could not submit to the self-debasement and humiliation of being employed as a tool in the hands of evil rulers for the accomplishment of evil ends.

Lyon writes from Fort Scott, to which place he was sent by Gen. Harney to head off Montgomery with the aid of Frost's Missouri Militia: "January 27th, 1861.—I do not consider troops at all necessary here, and should much prefer to be employed in the legitimate and appropriate service of contributing to stay the idiotic fratricidal hands now at work to destroy our Government. . . . It is no longer useful to appeal to reason, but to the sword, and trifle no longer in senseless wrangling. I shall not hesitate to rejoice at the triumph of my principles, though this triumph may involve an issue in which I certainly expect to expose and very likely shall lose my life. I would a thousand times rather incur this than recall the result of our presidential election. We shall rejoice, though, in martyrdom if need be."

It was an "Ave libertas, moriturus te salutam" (Hail liberty! fated to die, I greet thee!"). A few days later Lyon's company was ordered to St. Louis.

Snead describes Lyon as 43 years old, less than medium height, slender and angular, with abundant sandy hair, reddish-brown beard, deep-set blue eyes, rough and homely features, and weather-beaten aspect; while Peckham describes Lyon's disposition serious, his bearing modest, stature slender and proportionally well built, with large forehead spreading above, clear deep-blue eyes, face narrow, hair and beard sandy. Both descriptions are correct. There may be added to them that Lyon's features had a thoughtful and keen cast and made the impression of a nervous disposition. He was a diligent student of classical literature and history, and an admirer of the deeds of great men. Personal experience and past events shaped Lyon's convictions, which were to serve the highest aims of humanity. For him the flag of the United States was the symbol of that tendency, and his determination was that it should wave in triumph over the North American Continent. How clear Lyon's mind was upon the great issues of the day, his own words show: "I do not see how war is to be avoided. Under quack management it may be long and bloody; yet I have no apprehension about the final triumph of Almighty Truth, though at the cost of many unnecessary sacrifices. I would rather see the country lighted up with flames, from its center to its remotest borders, than that the great rights and hopes of the human race should expire before the arrogance of the Secessionists. Of this, however, there is no danger.

NATHANIEL LYON.

Captain U. S. A., Brigadier-General of Volunteers.

They (the Secessionists) are at war with nature and the human heart, and cannot succeed."

Arrived at St. Louis Arsenal February 6th, 1861, Lyon asserted his right to command, being an older Captain than Hagner. The latter was sustained, however, by Harney and the President, because Hagner had been breveted Major. It was said that Lyon made the claim because he distrusted Hagner, who associated with Southern sympathizers, and whose wife was a slave-holder's daughter. Lyon certainly was convinced of the justice of his own claim, or he never would have made it. He established the closest relations with Blair and other influential Union men, who said that he had been sent to them, as it were, by Providence." His clear intellect and great energy mastered all phases of the local situation. A life-long officer of the regular army, with its strict discipline and punctilious system of order, it was no easy task to be called to the head of many organizations of a heterogeneous nature, which on all sides were rapidly springing into life; nor could he have done it without the efficient aid of many able, experienced and cultured men of St. Louis, nor without the devotion of the Union population, which stands without a parallel in the annals of our History.

On February 16th the garrison at the Arsenal was reinforced by 203 men, to which, a few days later, 102 were added, bringing the force stationed there to 484 men. Harney had reported East that there never was a danger of an attack upon the Arsenal, and if an attack should be made, the garrison would be promptly rescued by an overwhelming force from the city. This latter conclusion of Harney was correct, but not the premises, for the Secessionists certainly had the intention and would have improved any chance to capture the Arsenal, but great vigilance prevented such a chance, and the vote on members of the Missouri State Convention on February 18th, defeating every Secession candidate, destroyed all hope of support from the irresolute, noncommittal portion of the community, which at best was an unknown quantity. The vote on the Convention members had a depressing influence upon the Secessionists, but neither they nor the Union men did for a moment relent in their efforts to prepare by all possible means for the coming conflict.

To remedy the unsatisfactory condition of affairs at the Arsenal, F. P. Blair went to Washington, stopping off on his way at Spring-

field, Illinois, to see the incoming President. Lyon wrote to Blair on February 25th a long letter, specifying all grievances, which, among other things, is also memorable for the latitude of expression which an American officer used about his superior officer. Part of the words referred to are: "The announcement of General Scott that the command belongs to Major Hagner, is his own decision and done in his usual sordid spirit of partisanship and favoritism to pets and personal associates and toadies." Lyon states in this letter that the fine stone wall surrounding the Arsenal should be used for defense by preparing scaffoldings from which to fire, having sand bags ready to protect artillery pieces, which would sweep the outside faces of the walls; also to put up traverses inside, and place a battery to clear out intruders inside the walls; further, to mine the buildings for blowing them up if they could not be defended; to form a battery towards the Mississippi, or Arsenal Island, and the opposite shore. Major Hagner objected to all these preparations, wanted to admit the enemy unopposed inside the wall, and only to defend the main buildings. Captain Lyon in his letter designates Hagner's plan in his terse diction: "This is either imbecility or villainy." He ends the letter with the words: "If I should have command, I would have no trouble to arm any assisting party, and perhaps, by becoming responsible for the arms, etc., I might fit out the Regiment we saw in the garden the other day; but most I concern myself with a view to sustain the Government here, and trust to such measures as may be found available. Yours truly, N. Lyon."

Two days before this letter, an article appeared in the *Missouri Democrat,* representing the defenses of the Arsenal much stronger than they actually were, with the evident intention of deterring Secessionists from attacking the same.

A few days later, on March 1st, the Commissioner of Georgia, Luther J. Glenn, arrived at Jefferson City to invite Missouri into the Southern Confederacy. Notwithstanding the overwhelming Union vote of the State, Governor Jackson introduced him to a meeting, and reiterated that the honor of Missouri required her to stand with the Confederate States and to join them, should Lincoln make war on the South. Both Houses invited Mr. Glenn to address the members of the Legislature, but his speech did not elicit any specific action of that body. Glenn had the satisfaction of a serenade

and of witnessing that some members of the Legislature habitually saluted a Secession flag, which was hoisted opposite the Post Office. The St. Louis State Convention met at the St. Louis Mercantile Library hall on March 4 and organized by electing Sterling Price President, with 75 out of 99 votes. On May 3 the Minute Men raised the flag of Missouri on the Courthouse dome, which, being unauthorized, was taken down by the Custodian. The same parties raised a Secession flag on Berthold's building, Fifth and Pine, the Minute Men's Headquarters. A Union flag was raised on the opposite building by Tony Niederwieser, his brother and other Union men. Crowds gathering in the street, commenced to cheer their respective flags, and a chance shot might have precipitated a fearful street fight; but passions had not reached that fever heat, which disregards all danger and all consequences. The Union men in the street were prevailed upon to defer action to a more propitious time. Rumor brought this excitement in connection with a very improbable scheme to capture the Arsenal. On the 4th of March the spirit of the Secessionists was at its lowest ebb; their number was too small for such an enterprise, and the chances could not be improved by starting a street fight two and one-half miles away.

CHAPTER V.

THE APPROACHING STORM.

DRIFTING TOWARDS WAR.

In the meantime, seizures of United States property went on lustily in the South. On the 3d of January Fort Pulaski, near Savannah; on the 4th, the Arsenal; near Mount Vernon, Alabama; on the 5th, Fort Morgan and Gaines, guarding the approaches to Mobile; on the 6th, the Arsenal at Apalachicola; on the 7th, Fort Marion, near St. Augustin, was seized; it was also officially stated that Virginia was already then prepared to arm 25,000 troops. A day of national humiliation, fasting and prayer was proclaimed at Washington, but a less peaceful spirit prevailed next day at many places in the North, where salutes were fired in approval of Major Anderson's removal to Fort Sumter, which, in fact, was an act of the plainest military duty. Delegates from South Carolina now called upon President Buchanan, who said he could receive them only as private citizens, and also informed them that he would defend Fort Sumter. Upon this information, the delegation of private citizens left unceremoniously for home. On January 5 the "Star of the West" left New York harbor with men and munitions of war for Fort Sumter; the same day the Senators from Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas and Arkansas met at Washington and advised their States to secede, and to organize a Slave-holding Confederacy. This action was incorrectly attributed to the President's answer to the citizens of South Carolina, likewise to the sailing of the "Star of the West." The Senators, as part of the Government, were in daily and direct communication with the President, and did not need any outside information. It may be taken as a self-evident axiom in History that great events have great causes. The probability is that the South Carolina delegation was sent to Washington to hasten the call for the Slave-holding Confederation, a measure which had been preconsidered long before.

On the last of December, an anticoercion resolution was tabled in the House of Congress by a vote of 98 to 55, and later a resolution was passed, approving Major Anderson's removal to Fort Sumter and promising support to the President for all his constitutional measures for the preservation of the Union. A bill introduced by Bingham of Ohio in the House, empowering the President to transfer the Collector's office, if need be, on board of a war vessel, was supported by 103 votes against 62, which, not being the two-third vote requisite under the rules, had to lay over and was never reached. There was no use in President Buchanan's asking Congress to enact laws, which would give him power to perform his duty, when the votes of his party friends and Southern sympathizers could block such legislation. The compromise measures still pending were probably the greatest hindrance to energetic action.

In times of general excitement men may be led to odd notions. Fernando Wood, Mayor of New York, stung by some legislation which curtailed the corporate rights of New York City, recommended to the Common Council, early in January, to consider the advisability of seceding from the State and the Union. As he stated himself, this step may not be necessary if the Legislature and Congress will bring the desired relief by the repeal of objectionable laws and the restoration of corporate rights. It is not recorded whether the steel-nerved and clear-headed business men of New York only smiled at this odd suggestion or laughed outright. This exceeded even the dreams of those political visionaries that hinted at the possibility of a separate Northwestern, Pacific or Western Union, in addition to the Southern Confederacy.

When the "Star of the West" arrived before Charleston harbor it was fired upon from the Batteries of the Secessionists, which had been erected to reduce Fort Sumter and to defend Charleston. The surmise that the mission of the "Star of the West" had precipitated the war, had no foundation in fact, for the Cotton States were bent on Secession, unless the principle of Slavery extension was granted, and, besides, it was the solemn duty of the President to maintain the Arsenals and Forts of the United States in a defensible condition. Nor was it very material who commenced hostilities; for, with the disposition of the people of both sections of the Union, war was inevitable. The shot fired at the "Star of the West" was only the last drop, which made the bucket overflow. The response from the

North came quick, in accents which could not be misunderstood. Already, on the 11th of January, the Legislature of New York passed a preamble recounting all treasonable acts in the Cotton States, specifying the "firing into a Government vessel, ordered by the Government to convey troops and provisions to Fort Sumter," and stating that by this act "the Cotton States virtually declared war." The Legislature resolved to support and preserve the Union unimpaired, and closed with the emphatic words: "Renewing the pledge given and redeemed by our fathers, we are ready to devote our fortunes, our lives and our sacred honor to upholding the Union and Constitution." The Legislatures of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Minnesota passed similar resolutions, and Governor Andrews of Massachusetts ordered the enrollment of all militiamen to be ready for field service, on the call of the President.

In the meantime the disintegrating process went on in the South. January 9 Mississippi and on the 10th Florida seceded and occupied the barracks at Pensacola, while Lieutenant Slemmer transferred the United States forces from the mainland to Fort Pickens. On the 10th the Arsenal at Baton Rouge, and on the 11th Fort St. Philip and Fort Jackson, in Louisiana, were seized, and the same day Alabama seceded and invited all Slave-holding States to send delegates, to meet in convention February 4 at Montgomery, in order to consider measures for their common peace and security. On January 19 the Legislature of Virginia voted one million dollars for arming and equipping the Militia, and resolved: "That if all efforts to reconcile the differences between the two sections of the country should prove abortive, then every consideration of honor and interest demanded that Virginia should unite her destinies with those of her sister Slave-holding States." About the same time both the Legislatures of Tennessee and Kentucky passed anti-coercion resolutions and threatened to resist every invasion of their territory made by the Federal Army for the purpose of keeping the seceded States in the Union.

ALEXANDER STEPHENS' GREAT EFFORT.

In Georgia the example of the seceding States was sorely felt. Its leading Statesman, Alexander Stephens, was opposed to all hasty action, and stated that Secession should be conditioned on President Lincoln's actions, or on the repeal of the Fugitive Slave law, which could not take place before the new Congress assembled. Stephens

held civil war the greatest curse that can befall a free people, and pointed at improper motives, saying: "Some of our public men have failed in their aspirations, that is true, and from that comes a great part of our trouble, but, for all that, he would say, Georgia first and the Union next." About the middle of January he made the effort of his life before the Georgia State Convention, and the strongest and ablest argument that ever was made against Secession. This speech, more than any other circumstance, proves how strong State rights patriotism, and love for accustomed home associations, must have been in the South, that, notwithstanding his views of the madness of Secession, Stephens could cling to his native State, even in its folly, and dignify what he knew to be a lost cause by accepting the Vice-Presidency of the Confederate States. Shortly before Stephens had said: "Our institutions constitute the basis, the matrix from which spring all our characteristics," and he knew that the institution of Slavery had so shaped Southern pride, passion and domineering ambition; knew that the excitement of the recent political campaign had so inflamed Southern sentiment that the people there would not even listen to, far less consider, the wisest counsel. And, still, Alexander H. Stephens, known as the clearest head of the South, thought it his duty to make a final appeal to prevent the Secession of Georgia, and thus addressed the Convention:

"This step (Secession) once taken, can never be recalled; and all the baleful and withering consequences that must follow, will rest on the Convention for all coming time. When we and our posterity shall see our lovely South, desolated by the demon of war, which this act of yours will inevitably invite and call forth; when our green fields of waving harvest shall be trodden down by the murderous soldiery and fiery car of war sweeping over our land; our temples of justice laid in ashes; all the horrors and desolations of war upon us; who but this Convention will be held responsible for it? and who but him who shall have given his vote for this unwise and ill-timed measure, as I honestly think and believe, shall be held to strict account for this suicidal act by the present generation, and probably cursed and execrated by posterity for all coming time, for the wide and desolating ruin that will inevitably follow this act you now propose to perpetrate? Pause, I entreat you, and consider for a moment what reason you can give that will even satisfy yourself in calmer moments, what reasons you can give to your fellow sufferers, in the calamity that it will bring upon us. What reasons can you give to the nations of the earth to justify it? They will be the calm and deliberate judges in the case; and what cause or one overt act can you name or print on which to rest the plea of justification? What right has the North assailed? What interest of the South has been invaded? What justice has been denied? and what claim

founded in justice and right has been withheld? Can either of you today name one governmental act of wrong, deliberately and purposely done by the Government of Washington of which the South has a right to complain? I challenge the answer. While on the other hand, let me show the facts (and believe me, gentlemen, I am not here the advocate of the North, but I am here the friend, the firm friend and lover of the South and her institutions, and for this reason I speak thus plainly and faithfully for yours, mine and every other man's interest, the words of truth and soberness) of which I wish you to judge, and I will only state facts which are clear and undeniable and which now stand as records, authentic, in the History of our country. When we of the South demanded the Slave trade, or the importation of Africans for the cultivation of our lands, did they not yield the right for twenty years? When we asked a three-fifths representation in Congress for our slaves, was it not granted? When we asked and demanded the return of any fugitive from justice, or the recovery of those persons owing labor or allegiance, was it not incorporated in the Constitution, and again ratified and strengthened by the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850? But do you reply that in many instances they have violated this compact, and have not been faithful to their engagements? As individual and local communities they have done so, but not by the sanction of Government; for that has always been true to Southern interests. Again, gentlemen, look at another act: when we have asked that more territory should be added that we might spread the institution of Slavery, have they not yielded to our demands in giving us Louisiana, Florida and Texas, out of which four States have been carved, and ample territory for four more to be added in due time, if you by this unwise and impolitic act do not destroy this hope, and, perhaps, by it lose all, and have your last slave wrenched from you by stern military rule, as South America and Mexico, or by the vindictive decree of a universal emancipation, which may reasonably be expected to follow?

"But again, gentlemen, what have we to gain by this proposed change of our relation to the General Government? We have always had the control of it, and can yet, if we remain in it, and are as united as we have been. We have had a majority of the Presidents chosen from the South, as well as the control and management of most of those chosen from the North. We have had sixty years of Southern Presidents to their twenty-four, thus controlling the executive department. So of the judges of the Supreme Court, we have had eighteen from the South, and but eleven from the North; although nearly three-fifths of the judicial business has arisen in the Free States, yet a majority of the Court had always been from the South. This we have required so as to guard against any interpretation of the Constitution unfavorable to us. In like manner, we have been equally watchful to guard our interests in the Legislative branch of Government. In choosing the presiding Presidents (pro tem) of the Senate, we have had twenty-four to their eleven. Speakers of the House, we have had twenty-three and they twelve. While the majority of the Representatives, from their greater population, have always been from the North, yet we have so generally secured the Speaker, because he, to a great extent, shapes and controls the legislation of the country. Nor have we had less control in every other

department of the General Government. Attorney-Generals we have had fourteen, while the North had but five. Foreign Ministers we had eighty-six, and they but fifty-four. While three-fourths of the business which demands diplomatic agents abroad is clearly from the Free States, from their greater commercial interests, yet we have had the principal embassies, so as to secure the world markets for our cotton, tobacco and sugar, on the best possible terms. We have had a vast majority of the higher offices of both army and navy, while a larger proportion of the soldiers and sailors were drawn from the North. Equally so of clerks, auditors and comptrollers, filling the executive department, the records show for the last fifty years that of the 3,000 thus employed we have had more than two-thirds of the same, while we have but one-third of the white population of the Republic.

"Again, look at another item, and one, be assured, in which we have a great and vital interest; it is that of revenue, or means of supporting Government. From official documents, we learn that a fraction over three-fourths of the revenue collected for the support of Government has uniformly been raised from the North.

"Pause now while you can, gentlemen, and contemplate carefully and candidly these important items. Look at another necessary branch of the Government and learn from stern statistical facts how matters stand in that department. I mean the mail and post-office privileges that we now enjoy under the General Government, as it has been for years past. The expense for the transportation of the mail in the Free States was, by the report of the Postmaster General for the year 1860, a little over $13,000,000, while the income was $19,000,000. But in the Slave States, the transportation of the mail was $14,716,000, while the revenue from the same was $8,001,026, leaving a deficit of $6,704,974 to be supplied by the North, for our accommodation, and without it we must have been entirely cut off from this most essential branch of Government.

"Leaving out of view for the present the countless millions of dollars you must expend in a war with the North, with tens of thousands of your sons and brothers slain in battle and offered up as sacrifices upon the altar of your ambition—and for what? we ask again. Is it for the overthrow of the American Government, established by our common ancestry, cemented and built up by their sweat and blood, and founded on the broad principles of Right, Justice and Humanity? And as such I must declare here, as I have often done before, and which has been repeated by the greatest and wises of statesmen and patriots in this and other lands, that it is the best and freest Government—the most equal in its rights, the most just in its decisions, the most lenient in its measures, and the most aspiring in its principles, to elevate the race of men that the sun of heaven ever shone upon. Now, for you to attempt to overthrow such a Government as this, under which we have lived for more than three-quarters of a century—in which we have gained our wealth, our standing as a nation, our domestic safety while the elements of peril are around us, with peace and tranquility accompanied with unbounded prosperity and rights unassailed—is the height of madness, folly, and wickedness, to which I can neither lend my sanction nor my vote."

It was all in vain. Georgia seceded January 19, 1861.

Of the means used to bring this about Colonel T. T. Gantt, a State Rights man and Democrat, stated in the Missouri State Convention: "Most infamous falsehoods were sent over the telegraph in order to precipitate the passage of the act of Secession by the Convention. It was reported, through the telegraph, that the Federal Government had sent an army to Charleston; that operations were commenced by the bombardment of that city; that old men, helpless children and women were being slaughtered by the hundreds; that the city was in flames—all by an act of a tyrannous Federal executive."

Had Georgia voted down Secession, probably no more States would have followed in the wake of South Carolina, and the leaves of History would have recorded less heroism and more compromises.

Frail man must bow to the wisdom which governs the Universe, though he often may not comprehend it.

As early as January 11, Governor Pickens demanded from Major Anderson the surrender of Fort Sumter. The Major reported this to Washington, where Southern Senators requested the President not to reinforce Fort Sumter. To these Senators the President intimated, through the Secretary of War, J. Holt, that no hostile action is intended by him towards the State of South Carolina, and that the transfer of Major Anderson's Command to Fort Sumter was for protection of United States property, and purely a defensive measure, and that, when needed, Fort Sumter will be reinforced.

On the last day of January Colonel Hayne, pursuant instructions from Charleston, demanded the surrender of Fort Sumter. President Buchanan refused to comply with this demand, stating that he had no constitutional warrant for such action, and closed his reply with the words: "If the authorities of that State (South Carolina) shall assault Fort Sumter . . . and thus plunge our common country into the horrors of civil war, then, upon them and those they represent, must rest the responsibility." It seems President Buchanan could have made short work of the civil war had he acted with the same decision as President Jackson did under similar circumstances.

THE PEACE CONFERENCE AND SCHEMES.

The same day on which the Peace Conference called by the State of Virginia met at Washington, namely, February 4, the delegates

of the seceded States also met at Montgomery, Alabama, adopted a few days later a provisional Constitution, and elected Jefferson Davis President and Alexander Stephens Vice-President of the Confederate States of America. The coincidence of these dates sounds almost like a mockery of fate at the exertions of men. Commissioners appeared to the Peace Conference from the Governors or Legislatures of thirteen Northern and five Border States, and from Tennessee and North Carolina, but none from the States further South. John Tyler, ex-President of the United States, was made Chairman. The Conference lasted thirteen days; its recommendations, similar to the Crittenden resolutions, were of little practical value, for both the House of Representatives and the Senate rejected them.

The Commissioners which the Confederate States had sent to Washington in February, to treat with the Federal Government upon the establishment of friendly relations, met a similar fate. Shortly afterwards, Jefferson Davis was inaugurated, and called out 100,000 Volunteers for military service; anticipating the first Union call by two months and exceeding it by 25,000 men. The same time, General Twiggs, at San Antonio, Texas, was surrounded by General McCulloch and compelled to surrender, also in Arkansas, which had not yet seceded, the Arsenal and Totten's Battery were seized, notwithstanding the protest of the citizens of Little Rock. All over the South, military organization was energetically pushed, and on March 1 General Beauregard took command of the troops at Charleston.

While all this was going on at the South some of their representatives in the United States Congress and Cabinet held to their offices with the avowed purpose of crippling the United States Government. Senator D. L. Yulee of Florida wrote in a letter dated January 7, 1861: "By remaining in our places until the 4th of March, it is thought we can keep Mr. Buchanan's hands tied and disable the Republicans from effecting any legislation which will strengthen the hands of the incoming Administration." Among such measures was one by Jefferson Davis, who stayed in the United States Senate till January 21, obliging the President to withdraw all United States forces, upon the request of a State Legislature or Convention; also one to authorize a State to keep troops and a navy. Hunter of Virginia offered a resolution directing the President, upon the request of a State, to retrocede jurisdiction. The same offered a resolution to suspend the laws for the collection of Revenue in South Carolina

or any other seceding State; he also offered principles of adjustment, without being able to state that they would be acceptable to his own people. The most characteristic was a resolution offered February 11 by B. Craigs of North Carolina, proposing that as "South Carolina, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi and Louisiana have seceded and established a Government under the name of the Confederacy of the United States South," that "the President of the United States is required to acknowledge the independence of said Government and to receive Ambassadors or Commissioners appointed by it, for the purpose of amicably adjusting the matters." This was not reported back from the Committee.

Less dangerous than these machinations were some meetings of conservative people at New York and Boston; at the meeting held at Faneuil Hall even Edward Everett advocated a peaceful separation. These meetings had hardly any effect locally, and none whatever in the Union.

In the last days of the session a substitute to a resolution of the Committee of Thirty-Three was offered by T. Corwin: Article XII. "No amendment shall be made to the Constitution which will authorize Congress to interfere with Slavery." This passed the House, and on March 2 passed the Senate, but did not change matters in the least. All these compromise measures were supported by the conservative Democrats North and South; they were at best a makeshift for a short period. Republicans were opposed to concessions by which the Secessionists were to be bribed to remain loyal to the Union. Lincoln himself condemned such a policy, as his own language, quoted in the New York *Tribune*, January 30, 1861, proves: "I will suffer death before I will consent or advise my friends to consent to any concession or compromise which looks like buying the privilege of taking possession of the Government to which we have a constitutional right."

LINCOLN'S JOURNEY TO WASHINGTON.

Such were the grave circumstances under which Lincoln left Springfield, Ill., on February 11, after taking a pathetic leave from his fellow-citizens. On his journey eastward he met the greatest enthusiasm everywhere; at Indianapolis the Legislature adjourned to greet him at the depot. He made short addresses which struck sympathetic chords of the people at Cincinnati, Columbus, Cleveland,

Buffalo, Albany, New York and Harrisburg. At Philadelphia, Lincoln hoisted, with his own hands, the United States flag over Independence Hall and said, as if his spirit was dimmed with regard to the immediate, yet prophetically clear in the distant future:

"I have often inquired of myself, what great principle or idea it was that kept this Confederacy so long together. It was not the mere matter of the separation of the colonies from the mother land: but that sentiment in the Declaration of Independence, which gave liberty, not only to the people of this country, but I hope to the world, for all future time. It was that which gave promise, that in due time the weight would be lifted from the shoulders of all men. This was a sentiment embodied in the Declaration of Independence. Now, my friends, can this country be saved on this basis? If it can, I shall consider myself one of the happiest men in the world if I can help save it. If it can not be saved on that principle, it will be truly awful. But if this country can not be saved without giving up that principle, I was about to say, I would rather be assassinated on this spot than surrender it. Now, in my view of the present aspect of affairs, there need be no bloodshed or war. There is no necessity for it. I am not in favor of such a course, and I may say, in advance, that there will be no bloodshed unless it be forced upon the Government, and then it will be compelled to act in self-defense."

Could Lincoln hope that there would be no war? Seven States had already separated and more were on the threshold of Secession. The peal of hostile cannon which drove the United States boat "Star of the West" from Charleston harbor reverberated all over the Union, and men were marshaling in military array at the North and at the South. The offers for peace and compromise, emanating mainly from the Border States, were not heeded at all in the Cotton States, and rejected with a sullen determination by the great majority of the people at the North.

At Philadelphia the President-elect was warned that there was a scheme laid to start a riot while he was passing through Baltimore, and that he was to be assassinated during the confusion. The programme of the journey was therefore changed, and he passed through Baltimore one day earlier and arrived in Washington on the morning of February 23. A Committee of the House of Representatives had reported in January that Militia companies were organized from former political clubs in Maryland, to hinder the passage of military companies through that State. A few days before Lincoln's arrival at Washington, Secretary of War J. Holt reported, in answer to Congressional inquiry, that, while troops at Washington were few, they can preserve the peace at the Capital.

Early in January the seizure of the Capital was planned; the statement made in the Senate that the Union was already dissolved aided such schemes.

Rumors that were coming from different sources and statements made in Congress that Lincoln should not, or could not, be inaugurated at Washington, also indicated maturing plans for its capture, which Southern journals openly advocated. Residents became disquieted and members of Congress insisted upon precautionary measures. Consequently sufficient military force was concentrated to meet any emergency that might arise, particularly as it was the duty of the outgoing President to secure his successor a peaceful inauguration. The presence of troops for securing this object could only be offensive to those who desired to destroy the Government.

LINCOLN'S INAUGURATION.

In keeping with the above views, Secretary Holt and General Winfield Scott, the Commander of the United States Armies, assembled a larger force at Washington. By the 4th of March the city was crowded with strangers from all parts of the country. An imposing escort led and followed the carriage in which President Buchanan and Lincoln were conveyed to the East Front of the Capitol. Surrounded by the Senators, Judges of the Supreme Court, Members of the House of Representatives, foreign Ambassadors and an immense concourse of people, the President-elect took his position upon the platform, greeted by the enthusiastic cheers of the masses. At his side stood Senator Stephen A. Douglas, holding his hat, giving by his presence and attitude an ominous warning to the South that the Northern Democracy will stand by the Union.

In his address Lincoln again uttered words of kindness and conciliation, but also defined his firm purpose, that the laws of the country must be obeyed. With reference to Secession he said:

"We cannot separate, we cannot remove our respective sections from each other, nor build an impassable wall between them. The different parts of our country cannot but remain face to face, and intercourse either amicable or hostile must continue between them. Is it possible then to make that intercourse more advantageous, or more satisfactory after separation than before? Can aliens make treaties easier than friends can make laws? Can treaties be more faithfully enforced between aliens than laws can among friends? Suppose you go to war, you can not fight always, and when after much loss on both sides and no gain on either, you cease fighting, the identical questions as to terms of intercourse are again upon you."

"I shall take care that the laws of the Union be faithfully executed in all the States. The power confided to me will be used to hold, occupy and possess the property and places belonging to the Government and collect the duties and imports; but beyond what may be necessary for this, there will be no invasion, no using of force against or among the people anywhere."

With a pathetic appeal to the memory of common battlefields and patriot graves, the President-elect closed. The oath of office was administered by the Chief Justice, and, with the same imposing escort, Abraham Lincoln drove to the White House, while the people cheered and the cannon boomed. Did any one dream then that, for four long years, storming Battalions and rushing Squadrons would re-echo those cheers on more than a hundred battlefields, that the boom of the destructive cannon would for years resound over the fertile fields of this Union, intended by Providence to be an Eden of Liberty, and that half a million of graves would soon mark the strife and over a million of orphans and widows would soon weep in consequence of the omissions and commissions of their ancestors?

THE SECESSION CONSTITUTION,

adopted March 11, 1861, by the Convention of the Confederate States of America, was substantially the United States Constitution with some changes, such as the "One-ferm" principle and six years' term of President and Vice-President; African Slavery in old and new States; no protective Tariff; no bounties; the privilege of Heads of Departments to discuss questions in Congress; separate items Veto in appropriation bills, and some special provisions securing property in slaves. Jefferson Davis was elected President and Alexander Stephens Vice-President. The latter in addressing a large meeting at Savannah, came out squarely and acknowledged the cause of Secession. He said, with reference to Slavery:

"This was the immediate cause of the late rupture and the present revolution. Jefferson, in his forecast, had anticipated this as the rock upon which the old Union would split." He was right. What was conjecture with him is now a realized fact. But whether he comprehended the great truth upon which the rock stood and stands may be doubted. The prevailing ideas entertained by him and most of the leading statesmen at the time of the formation of the old Constitution were, that the enslavement of the African was in violation of the laws of nature, that it was wrong in principle, socially, morally and politically. It was an evil they knew not well how to deal with; but the general opinion of the men of that day was, that somehow or other, in the order of Providence, the institution would be

evanescent and pass away. . . . Those ideas, however, were fundamentally wrong. They rested upon the assumption of the equality of the races. . . . Our new Government is founded upon exactly the opposite ideas; its foundations are laid, its cornerstone rests upon the great truth that the Negro is not equal to the white man; that Slavery, subordination to the superior race, is his natural and normal condition. This, our new Government, is the first in the history of the world, based upon this great, physical, philosophical and moral truth."

These candid expressions of Alexander H. Stephens, Vice-President of the Confederacy, frankly show the drift of mind peculiar to Southern Statesmen. Denying equal rights, the only possible basis of a democratic republic, they hide their aristocratic tendency behind the screen of race prejudice. It was, however, of late, no doubt, not only the first, but also the last attempt, to found a State on Slavery. In the light of latter days, there was a bitter irony in the words of Stephens, possibly unbeknown to himself.

LOYALTY OF THE MISSOURI STATE CONVENTION.

President Lincoln's peaceful inauguration at Washington reacted upon the Missouri Legislature, which, after a spirited debate, refused to pass the bill for arming the State.

In going to the Missouri State Convention, which assembled in the Mercantile Library the day of Lincoln's inauguration, the eyes of many of its members while passing were directed to a Secession flag on the Minute Men's Headquarters, which the eloquent Uriel Wright described as having only one star and one crescent in a blue field, and which was not his flag, and in his enthusiasm for the Star Spangled Banner made the following beautiful quotation:

"When freedom from her mountain height
Unfurled her standard to the air,
She tore the azure robe of night,
And set the stars of glory there,
She mingled with its gorgeous dies,
The milky girdle of the skies,
And striped its pure celestial white
With streaking of the morning light.
Then from his mansion in the skies,
She called her eagle-bearer down,
And gave into his mighty hand
The symbol of her chosen land."

ISIDOR BUSH.

Private 2d U. S. Reserve Corps, Missouri Volunteers.

Nevertheless, very soon afterwards, Major Wright did some tall fighting in the Confederate Army.

Shortly after reassembling, Luther J. Glenn, Commissioner of the seceded State of Georgia, addressed the Convention, urging the Secession of Missouri. His proposition was referred to a Committee with John B. Henderson as Chairman. At this session H. R. Gamble called for a Committee on Federal Relations now existing between the Government "of the United States, the Government and people of the different States, and the Government and people of this State. Great many resolutions introduced by members were referred to th' Committee; they covered a wide range: for the Union; against coercion; for State Rights; for the Crittenden resolutions; for a Western policy; for withdrawing Federal garrisons from forts in seceded States; denying the right of Secession; for a Border States policy, and others.

With regard to the mental complexion of this Convention, it must be acknowledged that, while it was a brilliant assembly in experience, capacity and activity, very few of its members were in sympathy with the Free Soil principles, indorsed by the majority of the nation at the recent election; most of the members were still under the influence of their Southern education, shaped by the school, the pulpit, the bench and the rostrum, and only few men among them had emancipated themselves from the thraldom of habit and custom, and were resolved to face the issues upon their absolute merits. These few were considerate, tempered their expressions with patience and forbearance, acknowledged by vote the patriotism of Douglas and Crittenden, though not believing in the latter's proposition; they followed their chief aim with perseverance and moderation, and eventually secured from the Convention an unqualified expression for the Union and against Secession. Broadhead, Hitchcock, Breckinridge from the city, Henderson, Hall and Birch from the country, used uncontrovertible arguments and gave correct interpretations of the United States Constitution, and thus formed a solid basis to build upon, while considerations of safety, possession, progress and development, powerfully aided to bring about a correct solution. Judge Gamble's legal authority, great circumspection and personal popularity most happily guided the policy of the Convention, and even his anti-Free Soil position, advanced his influence with the members. General Sterling Price, the Chairman of the Con-

vention, was not in accord with the majority of the members. His selection was no doubt made to influence the Secession element in the State, but, although he said in taking the chair, "It may require a lifetime to retrace one false step," the example he set later was rather encouraging in the wrong direction. His rulings as Chairman were prompt and fair, but his usual voting with the "very conditional Union" minority in the Convention, left the impression that he abided his time to become a very unconditional Secessionist. His great popularity in the State, his military capacity and resolute character would have saved Missouri and the Union a great many sacrifices had he espoused the Union cause. This disposition of the Chairman had the effect that, towards the end of the Convention, the important committees were elected by the members.

Statistical information also greatly aided the Union argument. The Census of 1850 gave Missouri 90,000 Slaves and 500,000 free white inhabitants; ten years later, in 1860, the number of Slaves was only 112,000, while that of free white inhabitants more than doubled, reaching 1,100,000, comparatively speaking, very few of whom were Slave owners. The taxable property in Missouri in 1850 was 136 millions and in 1860 360 millions. Such a development would have ended Slavery in Missouri in a few decades. The historian, John C. Moore, bitterly characterizes a large fraction of the Convention and of Missouri's political men: "The conditional Union men were an unknown quantity. They sometimes acted with the Secessionists, and sometimes with the unconditional Union men, but were not true to either for any considerable length of time. They represented the wealth and the commercial and manufacturing interests of St. Louis and the larger towns of the State, and changed their tactics constantly to suit their interests. On account of the wealth and high character of their leaders, their Southern birth and association, and the weak and hesitating policy of the Southern leaders, they had great influence." The partial truth of this opinion does not detract from the great merits of the Convention. On March 9 Judge Gamble, on behalf of the Committee on Federal Relations, made the following statement upon the cause of Secession:

"The origin of the difficulty is rather in the alienated feelings existing between Northern and Southern sections of the country, than in the actual injury suffered by either; rather in the anticipation of future evils than in the pressure of any now actually endured. . . . It is true that a sec-

tional political party has been organized at the North, based upon the idea that the institution of Southern Slavery is not to be allowed to extend itself into the Territories of the United States. . . . The fact that a sectional party, avowing opposition to the admission of Slavery into the Territories of the United States has been organized and has for the present obtained possession of the Government, is to be deeply regretted."

Notwithstanding these ultra conservative views, which partly were not on a level with the progressive political development in the Union, Judge Gamble and his Committee, loyal to the instructions of the great majority of the people of Missouri, after sketching the condition of the country, continued as follows:

"To involve Missouri in revolution under the present circumstances is certainly not demanded by the magnitude of the grievances of which we complain nor by the certainty that they cannot be otherwise and more peacefully remedied, or even diminished by such revolution.

"The position of Missouri in relation to the adjacent States, which would continue in the Union, would necessarily expose her, if she became a member of a new Confederacy, to utter destruction, whenever any rupture might take place between the different republics. In a military aspect Secession and connection with a Southern Confederacy is annihilation of Missouri.

"The true position for Missouri to assume is that of a State whose interests are bound up in the maintenance of the Union, and whose kind feelings and strong sympathies are with the people of the Southern States, with whom we are connected by the ties of friendship and blood. . . . To go with those States—to leave the Government our fathers builded—to blot out the star of Missouri from the constellation of the Union, is to ruin ourselves, without doing them any good. We cannot follow them, we cannot give up the Union, but will do all in our power to induce them to again take their places with us in the family from which they have attempted to separate themselves.

"For this purpose we will not only recommend a compromise with which they ought to be satisfied, but we will endeavor to procure an assemblage of the whole family of States, in order that, in a General Convention, such amendments to the Constitution may be agreed upon as shall permanently restore harmony in the whole nation.

The resolutions recommended by the Committee on Federal Relations and adopted by the Convention held:

1. There is at present no adequate cause to secede.
2. The Union shall be perpetuated and harmony restored.
3. The Crittenden amendments are recommended.
4. A convention of all States shall propose amendments to the United States Constitution.

5. Coercion will cause civil war; therefore the military power of the United States and of the Seceded States should be withheld and stayed.

6. The Convention should adjourn to December 3, 1861, or be subject to a call of an appointed Committee.

A minority report from the Committee on Federal Relations presented a more partisan Southern view, but justly held that amending the Constitution of the United States would require at least 18 months, while remedies sought must be immediate. It opposed coercion, favored the Crittenden resolutions and advocated a Border State Convention. Judge Gamble's majority report prevailed, with the anti-coercion clause couched in the terms of a cherished desire for its prevention." Of St. Louisans Bridge, Broadhead, Busch, Eitzen, Hitchcock and How voted against even this mild objection to coercion.

The Convention was fully informed how matters stood in St. Louis, for on the 20th of March Isidore Bush stated, on behalf of "the thousands of German citizens whom I have the honor to represent," that "should a conflict be inevitable, your German fellow-citizens will stand by the Government and by the Union."

Unusual pressure must have been brought on the majority of the Committee for Federal Relations, for on March 18 Judge Gamble reported a resolution to send seven delegates to the Border State Convention called by Virginia. This concession to the conditional Union men was a most dangerous measure, which might have created a Border States combination, hostile to the Free Soil policy, the expressed will of the nation. The danger was imminent that a Border States combination might lead to a neutrality declaration fatal to the Union. There was, however, in this last resolution a very material divergence from the recommendations of the minority report; the latter proposed a Border Slave State Convention, to frame a collective proposition, which was to be presented to the Northern States for their acceptance or rejection, which, in its very nature, implied a threat; while Judge Gamble's proposition also sent delegates to a Border Slave State Convention, but with the limitation to consult only about measures to be taken to pacify the country, and to report the conclusions back to the Missouri Convention for approval.

A powerful lever aided the Union cause in the Convention, through the report of J. B. Henderson's Committee on Luther J. Glenn's Secession proposition from Georgia. This report, clear, concise, logical, took up the phases of Secession in their ethical, political, commercial and strategical relations, and proved beyond all doubt that the interests of Missouri are and must be with the Union. This report exercised a great influence upon the wavering and undecided in and out of the Convention.

Defeated amendments proposed to Judge Gamble's report bore evidence that at least two-thirds of the members of the Convention were now unconditional Union men, who, although desirous of using all possible means to pacify the seceded States, did not favor the Secession of Missouri under any conditions. After an animated debate, the report and resolutions presented by Judge Gamble's Committee were adopted by a very decided majority, and the Convention adjourned, subject to the call of a majority of the Committee selected for that purpose.

If an armed neutrality could have been established by the Border States it would have aided the seceded States far more than the actual Secession of all or of either of those States. The threat of their Secession in case coercion was attempted, was only a threat, for the cooler and more considered men in those States knew very well that the moment any of the Border States declared for Secession it would be treated as an enemy, overrun from all but one side by Union Armies, and could even be made to bear the expense of the war necessary for its reconquest. The real defeat of the Secession cause in the Missouri Convention lay in the circumstance of that body's refusal of an armed neutrality or conditional resistance.

Undaunted by this check, the Secessionists of Missouri proceeded with their organizations, under various names and pretexts, but all with the one purpose, of joining the Secession Armies of the Southern Confederation. The unconditional Union element of St. Louis was likewise convinced that war was inevitable, and diligently proceeded with perfecting military organizations. An unfavorable decision by the Convention would have only inflamed their ardor and precipitated local events.

As the Secession measures in the Legislature and the State at large were chiefly urged by Price, Jackson, Reynolds, Rains, Vest, Frost, Churchill, Freeman, Clayborne and Harris, all of whom were soon

prominent leaders in the Secession Armies, notwithstanding that the State, by a very large vote, had declared against Secession, the St. Louis Union men were certainly warranted to anticipate their hostile organizations and to disarm as many of them as they could. The spirit which dictated the oath of the Missouri State Militia prescribed by the new military bill can be best judged by Governor Jackson's declining to issue a commission to Captain George L. Andrews of an Engineer Company of the National Guards, because Andrews had added to that oath a declaration of his paramount allegiance to the Government of the United States in case of any conflict with the State of Missouri. It is evident that the oath of the Missouri State Militia was already a stepping stone to Secession.

LEGISLATURE TRIES TO CURB ST. LOUIS.

The General Assembly of Missouri defeated at this time James S. Green for United States Senator, because he was considered an avowed Secessionist, and elected Waldo P. Johnson as a Union man: Green took no part in the war, while Johnson resigned his seat in the Senate and joined the Secession Army. Upon St. Louis affairs, Snead, the Governor's Secretary, writes: "The powerful semi-military organization of Home Guards" (nearly all Germans) "sustained the Republican Mayor, it had therefore become a matter of supreme importance to the Secessionists to take this great power from the Mayor, and accordingly a law was now enacted for creating a Board of Police Commissioners." This bill passed the Senate March 2, the House March 23. By it four Commissioners were appointed by the Governor, with the consent of the Senate, who, with the Mayor, formed a Commission, having absolute control of the police, the Volunteer Militia of St. Louis, of the sheriff and all other conservators of the peace. Snead says: "It had other and more important purposes, which were carefully concealed." When the resolution of the State Convention for calling a Convention of all the States to frame amendments to the United States Constitution came up before the Missouri Legislature, Vest, as Chairman of a Committee, reported upon it adversely, abusing the Convention in strong terms and very illogically remembered the blood of his two grandfathers, who, during the war for independence, fought for our liberties and the establishment of the Federal Union, and not its

destruction. Vest at the time exclaimed, "I will never, never, never submit to Northern rule and dictation." Vest's subsequent long and useful career as United States Senator from Missouri proved beyond doubt that he was mistaken in his youthful ardor of 1861, notwithstanding that the General Assembly indorsed his sentiment and adopted his report, declining to call a Convention of all the States.

On March 28 the Missouri Legislature adjourned, the members sought their homes and constituencies, many with a purpose of organizing troops and the intention of transferring their activity from the rostrum to the tented field. In St. Louis Daniel G. Taylor, Democrat, was elected Mayor by 2,658 majority over John How, the unconditional Union candidate. This was claimed a reaction in the sentiments of the citizens, who, on February 28, elected an unconditional Union ticket by over 5,000 majority, but Taylor was deservedly popular, as his considerate administration under trying circumstances proved; besides this, the issue in April was purely local; the know-nothing element voted against the Republican foreigners, and the clearest heads lost interest in local politics when it became quite sure that the bullet would supplant the ballot. The police were then under the control of the Secessionists, Basil Duke, James H. Carlisle and Charles McLaren, and the Anti-Coercionist, John A. Brownlee. One of the first acts of the Police Commissioners was an attempt to induce Captain Lyon to withdraw his sentinels from outside the Arsenal walls. This proved to be an idle bluff; for Captain Lyon informed them politely that he would not withdraw his sentinels, but, on the contrary, he would reinforce them. The feeling of the people towards this "exparte" police was shown at a meeting of Union men at Flora Garden, where an officer on duty was peremptorily ordered to leave the hall. Captain Lyon was not in the least intimidated by the hostile police, and said that in case of need he would issue arms to Union men, law or no law, and if Hagner interfered he would pitch him into the river. Thus forewarned, the Police Commissioner became active in the direction of least resistance, and issued a number of orders, chiefly regulating the colored population. Meetings of colored people were prohibited, their evening church service stopped, their saloons closed; Free Negroes and Mulattoes had to leave the city by April 24; Slaves were not permitted to assemble or hire out their own time, and policemen had to be present during their church service. This looks odd, con-

sidering that the Slaves in St. Louis could barely muster 200 able-bodied men. All mobs were as a matter of course to be suppressed; the arming and drilling of citizens should be discontinued and children and grown people were to keep off the street after dark; but the two Citizen Companies, per Ward, which should enforce these rules, were never organized.

THE DAWN OF RELIEF.

The repeated representations to Washington from F. P. Blair and other Union men had at last the effect that Captain Lyon was assigned to the command of the troops and the defenses of the Arsenal. Of this he was notified March 19 by Order 58:

"In compliance with Special Order No. 74, War Department, Adjutant General's Office, dated March 13, 1861, assigning to Captain N. Lyon, Second Infantry, the command of the troops and defenses of this post, the undersigned turns over to Captain Lyon all command and responsibility not appertaining to the commanding officer of the Arsenal and his duties as an officer of Ordnance.

By order of Major Hagner.

"M. N. Wright,
"Lieutenant and Post Adjutant."

The Special Order 74, issued at Washington, did not meet the exigencies of the case; for it left Captain Lyon dependent upon Major Hagner's opinion, and Lyon's wants, that might arise on the spur of any moment, were subject to requisitions that had to be approved by General Harney, who, right or wrong, doubted the necessity of any preparations for defense. The incongruity of the arrangements was evident to friends of the cause, and strong representations went to Washington to mend matters. Serious doubts were expressed about Mayor Hagner's capacity, even about his good will, which was freely discussed in the councils of Union men.

Captain Lyon therefore again applied to his friend in need, Frank P. Blair, who was at that time in Washington, and wrote to him under date of April 6:

"I have no control of the ordnance department and therefore cannot take a single round of ammunition nor a piece of Artillery, or any other firearm, without the direction of General Harney, and in case of an attack various means, not foreseen, might suggest themselves, but which I could not obtain, without taking them forcibly. . . . I cannot get a hammer, spade, ax

FRANCIS PRESTON BLAIR, Jr.

Colonel 1st Infantry, Missouri Volunteers.
From Painting at St. Louis Public Library.

or any needful tool, but upon Major Hagners' concession. . . . The new organization of the Metropolitan Police system seems to embolden the Secessionists so much as to fill me with deep concern to be prepared for them; and I am on this account prompted to write you. Of course in all military matters there should be one commander, and no such absurd thing as a division that shall render it liable to an entire perversion of its purpose. . . . Would it not be well for the Secretary of War to order that this Special Order No. 74, giving me command of the troops and defenses at this post, should have no exception in men and means necessary for this purpose?"

Before Lyon received an answer to the above, the United States Grand Jury called at the Arsenal Gate and claimed admission. The Guard reported to Headquarters, but before the answer came the impatient Grand Jurors left and publicly complained that they had not been admitted. Captain Lyon explained in the "Missouri Democrat" of April 12 the propriety of the Guard's action. There were also Secessionists on that Grand Jury, and rumors were ripe in town of espionage in connection with attacks on the Arsenal. The case illustrates the difficult responsibilities which officers have to meet during a civil war.

CHAPTER VI.

THE WAR COMMENCES.

FORT SUMTER.

Notwithstanding President Lincoln's very conservative attitude, matters drew rapidly to a head in the East. John Minor Botts, a Virginian Statesman and Slave-holder, but an uncompromising Union man, states in his work "The Great Rebellion," that President Lincoln informed him during a private conversation, that he had made through Colonel J. B. Baldwin, a proposition to the Union man in the Virginia Convention, that if that body will adjourn "sine die," without passing a Secession ordinance, he (the President) will withdraw the garrison from Fort Sumter. I. T. Lewis, another Virginian of high standing, corroborated this statement, as having heard it from Colonel Baldwin's own lips. Baldwin, however, later qualified this statement by saying that no specific proposition was made to him by President Lincoln. There is no doubt, however, that the subject was discussed in a spirit of extreme liberality. The news of such intention of President Lincoln spread even to St. Louis, for W. A. Hall of Buchanan stated to the Missouri Convention about the same time, "We know the President is about to abandon Fort Sumter." In the same conversation the President told that he had sent a vessel with provisions to Fort Sumter, and that on April 8 he had informed Governor Pickens of South Carolina of this mission. Upon this information the Secessionists closed the harbor of Charleston by sinking in its channel vessels loaded with stones, and their President, Jefferson Davis, gave orders to General Beauregard to demand from Major Anderson the evacuation of the Fort, to which the Major replied that the garrison would be starved out by the 15th, and unless the United States Government sends supplies before that date, would then leave the Fort. This answer, whose propriety may be seriously doubted, was not deemed satisfactory, and on April 12, 1861, Beauregard notified Anderson that

his Batteries would open fire in an hour, which was actually done from 19 Confederate Batteries. Major Anderson did not answer with his guns until next morning. The bombardment lasted for thirty hours, and over three thousand shots and shells were fired, but, owing to the casemated condition of the Fort's defenses, no one was hurt. The military honors granted to the garrison were a poor consolation for the surrender.

LINCOLN'S CALL FOR 75,000 MEN.

The news of the fall of Fort Sumter was telegraphed from Washington to all loyal States, together with the call for 75,000 men, by the following

PROCLAMATION.

"Whereas, the laws of the United States have been for some time past and now are opposed and the execution thereof obstructed in the States of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas, by combinations too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings or by the powers vested in the marshals by law;

"Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, in virtue of the power in me vested by the Constitution and the laws, have thought fit to call forth, and hereby do call forth, the Militia of the several States of the Union, to the aggregate number of 75,000, in order to suppress said combinations and to cause the laws to be duly executed.

"The details of this object will be immediately communicated to the State authorities through the War Department.

"I appeal to all loyal citizens to favor, facilitate, and aid this effort to maintain the honor, the integrity, and the existence of our national Union and the perpetuity of popular government, and to redress wrongs, already long enough endured.

"I deem it proper to say that the first service assigned to the forces hereby called forth, will probably be to repossess the forts, places and property which have been seized from the Union, and in every event the utmost care will be observed consistently with the objects aforesaid, to avoid any devastation, any destruction of or interference with property, or any disturbance of peaceful citizens in any part of the country.

"And I hereby command the persons composing the combinations aforesaid to disperse and retire peaceably to their respective abodes within 20 days from date.

"Deeming that the present condition of public affairs presents an extraordinary occasion, I do hereby, in virtue of the power in me vested by the Constitution, convene both Houses of Congress.

"Senators and Representatives are, therefore, summoned to assemble at their respective Chambers at 12 o'clock noon on Thursday, the 4th day of July next, then and there to consider and determine such measures as in their wisdom the public safety and interest may seem to demand."

"In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

"Done at the City of Washington, this 15th day of April in the year of our Lord 1861, and of the Independence of the United States the eighty-fifth.

"ABRAHAM LINCOLN,

"By the President.

"WILLIAM H. SEWARD,
"Secretary of State."

Under the same date the Secretary of War sent to the Governors of twenty-four States—inclusive of Missouri, the following communication:

"WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, April 15, 1861.

"SIR: Under Act of Congress 'for calling forth the Militia, to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, repel invasions,' etc., approved Feb. 28, 1795, I have the honor to request your Excellency to cause to be immediately detached from the Militia of your State the quota designated in the table below, to serve as Infantry or Riflemen for the period of three months unless sooner discharged.

"Your Excellency will please communicate to me the time at or about which your quota will be expected at its rendezvous, as it will be met as soon as practicable by an officer or officers to muster it into the service and pay of the United States. At the same time the oath of fidelity to the United States will be administered to every officer and man. The mustering officer will be instructed to receive no man under the rank of commissioned officer who is in years apparently over 45 or under 18 or who is not in physical strength and vigor.

"SIMON CAMERON,
"Secretary of War."

The quota of the State of Missouri, designated in the table which accompanied this letter was four regiments of infantry, being an aggregate of 3,123 officers and enlisted men, including one Brigadier General.

GOVERNOR JACKSON'S TREASON.

To this the Governor of Missouri replied by telegraph:

"EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, JEFFERSON CITY, MO., April 17, 1861.

"HON. SIMON CAMERON, Secretary of War.

"Sir: Your dispatch of the 15th instant, making a call on Missouri for four Regiments of men for immediate service has been received. There can be, I apprehend, no doubt but the men are intended to form a part of the President's army to make war upon the people of the seceded States.

"Your requisition, in my judgment, is illegal, unconstitutional and revolutionary in its object, inhuman and diabolical and cannot be complied with. Not one man will the State of Missouri furnish to carry on any such unholy crusade.

"C. F. JACKSON, Governor of Missouri."

In giving this answer, Governor Jackson disregarded the following provision of the Constitution of the United States:

"Article 1, Section 10. No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance or Confederation.

"Article 6, Section 2. This Constitution and the laws of the United States, which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land, and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding."

"Article 1, Section 8. The Congress shall have power to . . . provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States."

"Article 1, Section 15. To provide for calling forth the Militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions.

"Section 16. To provide for organizing, arming and disciplining the Militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States."

"Article 4, Section 5. The Governor shall be Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy of this State, except when they shall be called into the service of the United States."

It is evident from the above quotations that the Governor of Missouri, by refusing to furnish troops legally called out, violated his oath of office to support the Constitution of the United States and of the State of Missouri, and also the laws made pursuant thereof. While the Governors of other Border States, with more directness than dignity, also refused to comply with the President's call, it was only policy and not law which prevented their impeachment and trial for treason. As a matter of fact, all Border States furnished subsequently large numbers of troops, both to the Northern and the Southern armies, Missouri standing at the head of them and St. Louis leading the State.

It should be remembered in this connection that when Jefferson Davis asked Jackson to furnish one Regiment for the Confederate service in the East, the Missouri Governor's answer, given on May 6, was couched in very polite language, and a conditional compliance promised by Governor Jackson, who stated that as yet he has to move with great caution. Governor Jackson, however, was far from exercising that great caution, for two days after his refusal to furnish troops for the Union service, namely, on April 19, he wrote to David Walker, President of the Arkansas State Convention, "Missouri will be ready for Secession in less than thirty days" (that would have

been within ten days after the capture of Camp Jackson) "and will secede if Arkansas will only get out of the way and give her a free passage."

GENERAL FROST'S ADVICE.

In this emergency, Governor Jackson went to St. Louis to consult General Frost and others. Of this, Thomas L. Snead, Confederate historian, writes:

"At the conference which they held, some of the most active Secessionists of the city were present. Among them were John A. Brownlee, President of the Police Board; Judge Wm. A. Cooke, Captain Greene and Duke. They all agreed that the most important and first thing to be done was to seize the Arsenal, so as to obtain means for at once arming and equipping the State Militia."

General Frost was to draw a memorial, how this was to be done.

The strongest evidence that Camp Jackson, which was formed later, was only the marshaling of Secession forces under the disguise of the name of State troops is contained in a letter of General Frost to Governor Jackson, dated April 15, 1861, in which he recommends to the Governor, among other things:

1. To call the Legislature together at once, for the purpose of placing the State in condition to enable you to suppress insurrection or repel invasion.

2. To send an agent to the Governor of Louisiana (which had already seceded, January 26), or further if necessary, to ascertain if mortar or siege guns could be obtained from Baton Rouge, or other points.

3. To send an agent to Liberty, Missouri, to see what is there and to put the people of that vicinity on their guard; to prevent its being garrisoned, as several United States troops will be at Fort Leavenworth from Kearney, in ten or fifteen days from this time.

4. Publish a proclamation to the people of the State, warning them that the President has acted illegally in calling out troops, thus arrogating to himself the war-making power; that he has illegally ordered the issue of the public arms to the number of 5,000 to societies of the State who have declared their intention to resist the constituted authorities, whenever these authorities may adopt a course distasteful to them, and that they[1] are, therefore, by no means bound to give him aid and comfort in his attempts to subjugate by force of arms a people who are still free; but, on the contrary, that they should prepare themselves to maintain all their rights as citizens of Missouri.

5. Authorize or order the commanding officer of the present military district to form a military camp of instruction (Camp Jackson) at or near the City of St. Louis, to muster military companies into the service of the State, to erect batteries and to do all things necessary and proper to be done, to maintain the peace, dignity and sovereignty of the State.

[1] The people of Missouri.

Regarding this subject, T. L. Snead, the Governor's Secretary, writes:

"On the same day that the Governor refused to comply with the requisition for troops, he sent Captains Greene and Duke to Montgomery, with an autograph letter to the President of the Confederate States, requesting him to furnish those officers with the siege guns and mortars which General Frost wanted for the proposed attack upon the Arsenal; and Judge William M. Cooke was sent to Virginia upon a similar errand."

Every one of these measures shows the plain intention of defeating the Union cause and of aiding the seceded States. It does not alter the case that on May 10, when General Frost saw that he was in the jaws of the lion, averred that no hostility to the United States was intended. To "repel invasion" of United States troops coming to Missouri; to ask for mortars and siege guns from a seceded State at war with the Union; to forestall the protection of the Arsenal at Liberty, Mo., by United States troops, by putting "the people of that vicinity on their guard" and instigate them to plunder it beforehand; to charge the President of the United States that he has acted illegally in calling out troops "for the protection of United States property and United States citizens," could have only the meaning of hostility to the United States and an affiliation with Secession.

The St. Louis press reflected the impression which the capture of Fort Sumter made. The "St. Louis Republic," after denouncing coercion, said: "The seceding States can never be conquered." . . . " No one doubts, we apprehend, the ability of the Confederate States to defend themselves against any force which Mr. Lincoln may send to attack them."

On the 16th of April the same paper wrote: "We make, no doubt, that there are fanatics, and fools and vagabonds enough in the North who, collected together, might make a good-sized army in point of numbers."

What a prophetic foresight, considering the 500,000 men of the Union Army and the circumstance, that one of the vehement proprietors of the St. Louis Republic wore the Federal uniform as a Colonel of a Regiment before the war ended. Even as conservative a man as Colonel William F. Switzler of the "Columbia Statesman" was carried away by the impulse of the moment, and urged the Border States: "Let them stand as a wall of fire between the belligerent extremes. . . . Let them stand pledged as they now

are, to resist any attempt at coercion, . . . and if the war shall actually occur, we shall stand by Virginia and Kentucky, and our Southern sisters." Sound policy may dictate to a public man or to the press, care, moderation or at times even silence, but it does not warrant the use of threats, which are not intended to be carried out.

The proclamation of the President calling out 75,000 men was received at the North with the greatest enthusiasm; hundreds of meetings were held from East to West, and patriotic telegrams approving the course of the Administration poured in from all sides. The leader of the Northern Democracy, Stephen A. Douglas, called on President Lincoln and offered his services in the gigantic task of restoring the Union. Mr. Blaine said the assault on Fort Sumter consolidated public sentiment at the North and brought the whole people to the determination to re-establish the authority of the Union. It is said within fifteen days of the call for 75,000 men fully 350,000 offered their services. So much is certain that within 25 days St. Louis alone had 10,000 Union men under arms.

Fort Sumter was heralded as the strongest fortress in the seceded States, and its surrender filled the Secessionists with undue confidence in their own military capabilities, and they never reflected that this success was secured with war material seized from the Union, and that the South had very scant means to reproduce that material.

HARNEY SEES DANGER.

By the 16th of April General Harney revised his views regarding the Arsenal, for he writes to General Scott:

"The Arsenal buildings and grounds are completely commanded by the hills immediately in their rear, and within easy range, and I learn from sources which I consider reliable, that it is the intention of the executive of the State to cause Batteries to be erected on these hills, and also upon the island opposite the Arsenal. I am further informed that should such Batteries be erected, it is contemplated by the State authorities, in the event of Secession of the State from the Union, to demand the surrender of the Arsenal."

"The command of the Arsenal at present consist of nine officers and about four hundred and thirty enlisted men. While this force would probably be able to resist successfully an assaulting party greatly superior to itself in numbers, it could not withstand the fire of Batteries situated as above indicated. Under these circumstances I respectfully ask instructions for my guidance."

Lyon must have doubted the reliability of aid from that quarter, for he writes under the same date to Governor Yates of Illinois to secure the service of the six Regiments, the Illinois Quota, and asks Yates to make from him (Lyon) a requisition for arms. In consequence of this Lyon was ordered to deliver to Governor Yates 10,000 stand of arms with accoutrements and ammunition. About this same time the Union men in Frost's Brigade held a consultation and withdrew from that organization. In fact, some left it already a second time, like Captains Tony Niederwieser and Fred Schaefer, who were prevailed upon by General D. M. Frost to rejoin the command with their Companies of Jagers on foot and mounted. This circumstance adds to the difficulty of comprehending the actions of General D. M. Frost, for he must have known that the two officers mentioned above were decided Union men who would not likely be subservient to his aims, as professed in his letters to Governor Jackson.

But the keenest apprehensions were felt on account of an order by General Scott that Captain Lyon should appear before a court of inquiry at Leavenworth on the 15th of April. In time of civic commotion every untoward measure is readily laid at the door of jealousy, evil intention, scheme, intrigue or even treason; and so was this move attributed by some to ultra conservatives by others to outright Secession machinations. The legal axiom, "cui prodest?" (whom will it benefit?) found here also a broad application. Fortunately, General Scott was prevailed upon to revoke the order, General Harney now directed Major Hagner to provide Captain Lyon with everything he may need for a thorough defense of the Arsenal. Consequently loopholes were cut in walls, banquettes raised, batteries prepared, buildings undermined, and the communication between Union men in the city and the Arsenal perfected. There was free and frequent intercourse between the members of the Union organizations in the city and Captain Lyon, who assured them that in case of necessity he would furnish arms to the Union men upon his own responsibility.

CHAPTER VII.

ORGANIZATION.

ON TO WASHINGTON.

The President's call for men roused the entire North and was a step in the right direction, which ended all pusillanimous compromises. True, the 75,000 men were considered inadequate to the emergency. This was voiced by Governor Koerner of Illinois, who pointed to the example of small Switzerland calling out 150,000 men and squelching with the same its Secessionist Cantons within a few weeks.

While the Secessionists shouted "On to Washington," the Virginia State Convention passed on April 17 a Secession Ordinance. This was done in secret session in order to seize Fortress Monroe, the Navy Yard at Norfolk and Harper's Ferry before proper means for their defense could be secured by the Federal Government. With 3,000 men of previously organized troops, the Virginians approached Harper's Ferry. Lieutenant Jones of the United States Army burned its stores and with his 43 men retreated to Carlisle. Nearly ten million dollars' worth of war material was at the Norfolk Navy Yards. The United States steamer Pawnee with 700 men landed at Gosport, removed large quantities, spiked the heavy guns, of which there was a very large number, and destroyed by fire all that could be reached. Soon after the Confederate General Taliafero occupied Norfolk and closed the harbor by sinking vessels laden with stones. Fortress Monroe, being well fortified and guarded, was beyond the reach of the Secessionists; but at Washington a feeling of unsafety prevailed and Cassius M. Clay organized a militia force to control rowdies and incendiaries. The sentiments at the South at this period are best characterized by the words of Secretary Walker of the Confederates, who was cheered by an immense crowd at Montgomery, Alabama, when he said, pointing to the Secession bunting: "The flag which now flounts the breeze

here will float over the dome of the Capitol at Washington before the first of May, and it may eventually float on Faneuil Hall itself." Events, however, that happened at the same time in the North and near Faneuil Hall were apt to disappoint such sanguine expectations.

When on April 15 a telegram reached Boston from Washington calling for help, Governor Andrews of Massachusetts dispatched orders to the neighboring towns, and already on the 16th three companies from Marble Head arrived and marched to Faneuil Hall. Troops now poured in from all sides and as early as the 18th of April, the Sixth Massachusetts Volunteers left Boston for Washington and the Third and Fourth Regiments left by steamer for Fortress Monroe, while the same evening 400 Pennsylvania Volunteers and three Companies of Regulars occupied the Washington Capitol. Next day, the 19th of April, the last hundred men of the Eighth Massachusetts, passing Baltimore in cars, were attacked by a mob. The Bay State men got out, formed on the sidewalk, fixed bayonets and forced their way to the Washington Depot. After several of their number had been killed and wounded, they fired and dispersed the mob. It was on the anniversary of the battles of Lexington and Concord in 1776 that the first blood was also shed in the Civil War of 1861. The same day General Butler left Boston for Washington with the Eighth Massachusetts, and the next day the Fifth and a Company of Light Artillery starts for the same place. On the 21st the Sixth Massachusetts arrives at Washington, and on the 22d the Seventh New York and the Eighth Massachusetts at Annapolis. The latter Regiment, numbering a great many mechanics, repaired the railroad to Washington and enabled the Seventh New York to reach that city on the 25th. The next day, the Twelfth and Seventy-first New York passes to Washington, and the Fifth, Eighth and Sixty-ninth gets to Annapolis. May 2 the Rhode Island Flying Artillery is received by Rhode Island Infantry on Pennsylvania avenue, and the day after Elsworth's Fire Zouaves enter the city. These rapid moves show the energetic spirit of the Northeasterns, but more than all, they show the immense value of a well appointed Militia. Similar enthusiasm and energy prevailed in all Northern States, though not with the same chances of offering immediate aid to Washington; but the above facts prove the sagacity of the Missouri Governor, who energetically organized the State Militia, to be used in the cause of Secession.

UNION MILITARY ORGANIZATION IN ST. LOUIS.

The political campaign of 1856, and still more that of 1860, consolidated the anti-Slavery elements in St. Louis with the Republican party. These elements in their main constituent parts were a limited number of Americans from Eastern and Northern States, who came here already with strong ethical convictions of the wrong of Slavery; also Americans who came to Missouri from the Mountain Districts of Border and Southern States and who never had an interest in the peculiar institution, likewise the more cultured or political immigrants of Ireland and the overwhelming mass of the other European immigration, by far the largest number of which came from Germany. These last, by their great numbers and very able leaders, really formed the chief ingredient of the Republican party in St. Louis. At that time most of this European immigration sought the hospitable shores of America from a love of free institutions, and looked at the Federal Union as the embodiment of the most perfect Government on earth. Fleeing themselves from the oppression of privileged classes and hereditary possessive prerogatives, they were natural foes to any kind of similar relations on this continent. Liberty was for them a religion, and the very name of Slavery was sufficient cause in their eyes to condemn everything and everybody connected with it.

St. Louis had grown from the small hunter and trapper colony of the year 1785 from 500 inhabitants to double that number in 1800; in 1810 to 1,400; 1820 to 4,000; 1830 to 5,000; 1840 to 16,000; 1850 to 78,000; 1860 to 185,000. It will be noted that the decades after 1830 and 1840, which included the two great political immigrations, show the relative greatest increase in this heterogeneous population. Political Ward Clubs, campaign companies, nominating conventions brought these elements into closer contact, and the desire to guard the freedom of speech at public meetings led to strong marching organizations, such as the "Wide-Awakes," under Colonel Jas. Peckham on the Republican, and the "Broom Rangers" and other companies, on the Democratic side. These companies, neatly uniformed, marched in good order to their respective meetings, added dignity by their appearance and increased the audiences and the safety of the speakers. Although these companies were not armed, their lampsticks and

broomsticks might have been readily exchanged for muskets. In this sense they fostered a military spirit and prepared the inhabitants for the latter organizations. To stop party jealousy, a meeting on January 11 at Washington Hall, called for the formation of Union Clubs all over town. It was quite natural that the great majority of their members were Republicans. In February Union Guards were enrolled at Washington Hall, Third and Elm, Darby's building, Fifth and Olive, and in more or less private meetings at Turner Hall, Filley's foundry, Farrar's house Seventh and St. Charles, on Twelfth and Olive, Winkelmeyer's Brewery, Ruedi's and Flora Garden and a number of other places. There are lists published of about 750 names, but no organic connection between the separate clubs is in evidence, and a legal foundation, system, order, and a central direction came only into the movement when the Volunteer and Home Guard Regiments organized and were mustered into the United States service at the St. Louis Arsenal after the 20th of April and at the commencement of May, 1861. The St. Louis Turners, with a few other citizens and some members of the old Missouri Turn Society, formed the first three Companies, A, B and C, of the First Volunteer Regiment; John S. Cavender, from the Missouri State Militia; Robert B. Beck, John McFall, Francis Manter, from the first Union Club; David Murphy from Franklin County, were prominently active in the organization of the other Companies of the same Regiment, which latter elected Francis P. Blair Colonel. Governor Yates of Illinois had previously sent 200 muskets, which were taken to St. Louis Turner Hall; Blair and the Filleys bought seventy muskets with their own means, and sixty Sharp's rifles were stored at Filley's foundry. The Filleys took a memorable part in the Union movement from its very inception. Descended from the original settlers near Plymouth Rock, they became leaders of industrial pursuits and maintained the inherited spirit of free institutions, when sorely pressed to a test in 1861. Besides O. D. Filley, Mayor of St. Louis at the time, mentioned later as President of the Safety Committee, there was Giles F. Filley, who came to the city in 1834; he was the first to establish in St. Louis a pottery plant and later the Excelsior Stove Works and the Charter Oak Range and Iron Company. He helped to organize the Free Soil or Liberty party of 1848, and a newspaper

called the "Union," said to be the ancestor of the "Dispatch"; he aided materially the construction of the Eads bridge and the Kansas Pacific Railroad, and made good his endorsement for nearly one and a half million dollars with which he had accommodated a business friend. Samuel and Edward Filley came to St. Louis in 1844 and 1845, and Chauncey Ives Filley in 1850. All these men aided the Union cause with their advice, means and active service. The last named was a member of the Third Reserve Regiment, later on Mayor of St. Louis and for forty years a leader in political affairs.

THE SAFETY COMMITTEE.

Money had to be collected for the most pressing expenses, as in the inception of the Union movement the United States officers and officeholders of Buchanan's administration permitted themselves to be tied hand and foot by Army regulations and a worse than Gordian Knot of red tape, which tauntingly braved the sword of a second Alexander. At one of the meetings of a Union Club, Frank P. Blair suggested that as he would be absent at Washington City as member of Congress, O. D. Filley as President, John How, Samuel Glover, James O. Broadhead and J. J. Witzig, with Frank Blair, should act as a Safety Committee to direct matters. The suggestion was agreed to and the men named thereafter exercised a more or less directive influence, which was based on their standing in the community and their well known Union fealty. There is an inherent contradiction in the name of a Safety Committee, for it is always raised in the hour of great public danger and has been known under different names in all revolutions. A Safety Committee is an informal trust, established by the confidence of many citizens, in whose opinion the regular constituted authorities do no more represent the true interests of the commonwealth. The authority of such a Committee is mainly advisory, its tenure indefinite and transitory. During popular uprisings such a Safety Committee forms a central medium of advice, information and direction; but the St. Louis Safety Committee, through President Lincoln's order at the end of April also became the trusted representative of the Federal Government. The men of the Safety Committee risked fortune, station and life, and will be kept in grateful memory of this and future generations.

The members of this Committee in 1861 were prominent citizens, some of very large means, and all had a well established reputation among their fellow citizens. The President, O. D. Filley, was Mayor of the city at the time, a descendant of a Puritan family; he became a friend of Senator Benton, was in the tinware, crockery and stove business. John How was born and raised in Philadelphia; established in St. Louis an extensive leather business and tannery, acquired a fortune from which he made a princely gift to the Washington University; he was twice Mayor of St. Louis, in 1853 and 1856. Samuel T. Glover was born in Kentucky in 1813, admitted to the Bar in Palmyra, Missouri, came to St. Louis in 1849, had been member of the Legislature, ranked among the best lawyers of the State, and although born in a Slave State, was in favor of emancipation. James Overton Broadhead, born in Virginia in 1819, admitted to the Bar in Pike County, Missouri, in 1842, read law in Edward Bates' office, made a memorable argument in the Missouri State Convention of 1861 in support of the right of the Federal Government to call out the State Militia to suppress insurrection, and used the diction, "The Union at any cost"; he also was a leading lawyer in the State and was in politics a Democrat. J. J. Witzig, of German descent, a mechanical engineer, a strong Union man, plain, outspoken and uncompromising. Frank P. Blair was the most prominent, active and resolute man of the Committee; born in Lexington, Kentucky, in 1821, a son to Francis P. Blair, Sr., who had been called to Washington, D. C., by President Jackson to combat John C. Calhoun's nullification wing of the Democracy. Frank P. Blair, Jr., came to St Louis a graduate of Princeton College in 1843; practiced law, served as a private in the Mexican War, was elected to the Legislature in 1852 and re-elected in 1854, and favored free labor and emancipation and the colonization of the colored race, a measure which, even if practicable, would beggar the South. In 1856 Blair was elected to Congress and was re-elected later; after Lincoln's election he considered war inevitable. Blair rendered the Union cause and the Union movement in St. Louis invaluable services in Washington, and by his great personal acquaintance in Missouri, was the most trusted and valuable advisor of Nathaniel Lyon, though his Congressional duties removed him to a degree from the immediate local organization. It will be seen from the above short sketch of the Safety Committee that three of its members

hailed from the South, two from the North and one from Europe, also that all its members were among the best respected men of the community.

A Union author styles the Club in which Blair was the leader the "Parent Company," a claim which can not be substantiated, for although many members of this and other Union Club organizations joined the Regiments which later went into active military service, with the exception of Blair and a few officers of the First Missouri Volunteers, the active organizers of Regiments were not members of the so-called "Parent Club"; in fact organizations and preparations for an armed activity went on in various parts of the city, as at Flora Garden, Soulard Market, White Beer Brewery, Yaeger's Garden, Tyrolean Hall, Fourth and Poplar; Ruedi's Garden, Turner Hall, Franklin avenue, and Stifel's Brewery. Best appointed and led was the movement at Turner Hall, where over three hundred members of the St. Louis Turner Society took an active part, and were joined by a number of men outside of the Society. This body was diligently drilled by Captain Learned, a former United States officer; by General Sigel and others. At a meeting of a Union Club on March 10 at Turner Hall, the President of the Club, said to have been a son or relative of Governor Gamble, made a speech, in which he claimed that Missouri should fight for the flag but under no circumstances against Missourians. This qualification of Union fealty was energetically opposed, and as a result of the debate a pledge was drawn up by E. W. Decker and signed by G. A. Finkelnburg, R. T. and R. G. Rombauer, J. H. Tiemeyer, Hugo Gollmer and nearly all St. Louis Turners present, declaring that the undersigned will stand by the Union unconditionally, against all its foes in Missouri or out of Missouri. In consequence of this controversy the members separated from the Club and formed three Companies, namely, the first under G. A. Finkelnburg, the second under Hugo Gollmer and the third under J. H. Tiemeyer.

On the 15th of March, three boxes of arms were brought to Turner Hall from Woodward & Co., in a manner to obviate suspicion. They had been sent via Alton by Governor Yates of Illinois.

The great unsafety of political relations at St. Louis and the evident hostile disposition of different portions of the inhabitants

GUSTAV A. FINKELNBURG.

Lieutenant 1st Infantry, Missouri Volunteers.

and sections of the city brought about a feeling of unrest, general distrust and reduction in business; collections and payments were poor, purchases nominal, manufactures at a standstill; the number of destitute persons was daily increasing. Benevolent, Turner, Singing and private Societies arranged concerts, theatrical and other exhibitions to support with the proceeds public soup houses, often frequented by persons who never lived on charity before. There was a surplus of energy, capacity and labor in all industrial channels. This to some extent accounts for the phenomenal filling up of Union and Secession ranks.

ST. LOUIS MINUTE MEN.

Secessionists organized in squads, even before the old year expired, and were drilling at the Tobacco Warehouse. On January 7 Minute Men Companies were organized at a meeting presided over by Chas. McLaren at Washington Hall; they were armed with the latest and best arms and later they established headquarters at Berthold's mansion, northwest corner Broadway and Pine, numbering early in February about 300 and rapidly increasing. Estimates of their numbers soon went as high as 1,500, which in all probability represented more or less loosely canvassed and registered Southern sympathizers of a military disposition. Five Companies of these Minute Men, though flying the Secession flag and engaged to stand by the South, were still mustered into the State service by General Frost; their Captains were Basil Duke, James R. Shaler, Colton Greene, O. H. Barrett and G. F. Hubbard. They formed a Battalion, elected Shaler Major and later joined Bowen's Regiment. Although greatly outnumbered by the Union organizations, it was surmised that early in the year they "might have taken the Arsenal or perished in the attempt," but for the advice of the Governor and other leaders, who were in hopes that the people of Missouri would declare for Secession. Thus morally supported, the Minute Men, with General Frost's Militia and thousands who were expected to flock to their aid, could afterwards easily take the Arsenal. Failing in this hope and expectation, Governor Jackson and his party viewed the growing Union strength with apprehensions: he therefore had the Legislature insert a clause in the Militia bill which ordered the commanding officer of the District to disarm every Company

which was not regularly organized and mustered into the service of the State. Snead in his work, "A Fight for Missouri," claims that the Secessionists, few in number, but young, full of zeal and well organized, did not care whether they were constitutionally right or not, "for the God-given right of revolution is a higher and more sacred right than any which is based upon the bargaining and concessions of men." But Snead did not seem to have considered that this highsounding proposition is subject to some unavoidable conditions. In the first instance, a revolution which is bound to fail in its object is always wrong. The disproportion of the North and South in men, in wealth, in communicational means, in industrial outfit, in the education of the masses, was so great that only the genius of the military leaders of the South, the self-sacrificing devotion of its armies and the immense distances of sparsely populated regions could stave off the sure defeat for the period of a few years; and secondly, the right of revolution is only considered a right when it is in line with some ethical principle: it must be resorted to for an idea which elevates humanity to a higher plane of perfection and which adds to human happiness. Is there any one so blind to all logic to assert that a revolution for the perpetuation of the curse of Slavery had an object which was elevating humanity? For it must not be lost sight of that it is the deteriorating effect upon the owner which every Slavery entails, which forms the chief cause for its condemnation. The unavoidable conditions of a free commonwealth are equal rights and duties of its citizens. These are incompatible with black or white, feudal or hierarchical, political or industrial Slavery, all of which in their continuance must become fatal to liberty. Snead also holds that few Secessionists organized until "Sturgeon's folly" set fire to the passions of men and lit the flames of civil war on the soil of Missouri. This is a serious misconception of facts: for Union men and Secessionists had made up their mind long ago what they will do, and a military escort for the removal of funds which were endangered by actual seizures of United States funds in other parts of the country could excite no sensible man. Crowds will gather on the streets when two newspaper boys fight or a pocket thief is arrested, and before 1861 soldiers were an unusual sight. Mr. Sturgeon, as United States Assistant Treasurer, showed only proper discretion and care for the safety of Government funds in his hands.

THE THREE MONTHS VOLUNTEERS.

In the meantime the work of aggregation and formation went on all over town, chiefly by the younger men who formed the Volunteer Regiments, and when President Lincoln made the call for 75,000 men, St. Louis was thoroughly prepared for it, even though the Governor and the State Militia were on the other side. The three Turner Companies were long ready, and the energy and popularity of Francis T. Blair made him the natural leader of the First Volunteer Regiment, which listed originally nearly 50 per cent German, over 42 per cent American and French and about 8 per cent Irish names. It is characteristic how some of these Companies were formed. The aggregation of the first Companies of the First Volunteer Regiment was accomplished in and by the St. Louis Turn Verein, with some members from kindred Societies and sympathetic associates. Members of the Union Clubs, former State Militia officers and men, with a large proportion of Americans, formed the other Companies, of which one was manned almost entirely by loyal Irishmen.

The origin of one Company of the First Missouri Volunteers is so characteristic of the conditions that prevailed in Missouri at the time that it may be related more in detail. David Murphy was teaching at the quiet country town of Union, Missouri, and his sympathies were enlisted in the Union cause. The political excitement grew until the surrender of Fort Sumter April 14, and President Lincoln's call for 75,000 men, April 15, capped the climax. When the children assembled in school next day, Murphy addressed them briefly, stating that he deems it his duty to follow the call of his country and join the Union forces. Bidding the children "Good-Bye," he dismissed school, boarded a train of the Missouri Pacific and came to St. Louis. Frank Blair met him on the street and asked, "What are you doing in the city, Murphy?" to which he answered, "I am going to Illinois to join the Union troops, as Governor Jackson of Missouri has refused to furnish any," and Blair said, "Why, we have nearly four Regiments ready enlisted; go back to Union, form a Company and come to my Regiment at the Arsenal." Murphy considered a moment and answered, "It will not be an easy matter, but I will do it." Returning to Union he quickly organized a Company, though surrounded by Southern

sympathizers who were also recruiting for their side. To avoid a useless fight with questionable result, the members of the Union Company were ordered to assemble individually on train time at Washington, Missouri. When the train arrived Murphy's Company stood ready on the platform. There were two Companies of State troops on the train already who lustily cheered for "Jefferson Davis," fired pistols at random and damned the "Abolitionists."

The Sheriff of the County warned Murphy that it was dangerous to board that train, but the Captain answered coolly, "I am in command here. Attention! Forward! Take the first car," and ordered the men to sit facing the rear cars, where the hostile Companies were. Murphy heard that at the station of Gray's Summit a meeting was held with the avowed purpose of stopping and mobbing his Company. He called on the conductor and warned him he must not stop at Gray's Summit at the peril of his life. The conductor referred him to the engineer, to whom Murphy, after crawling over to the engine, repeated the warning in a manner which could not be misunderstood. The train flew past Gray's Summit, not heeding the signals and shouts of a large number of armed men. Captain Kelly of the Camp Jackson song[1] fame, asked Murphy what the meaning of that organized troop was and received the answer: "This is a Company of Union men going to the St. Louis Arsenal to defend it against all attacks. Have you any objections?" To which Kelly said, "None whatever; you are safe on this train to St. Louis." To which Murphy retorted: "We are able to take care of ourselves." The Company arrived safely at the Arsenal and joined the Rifle Battalion.

The First Regiment Volunteer Infantry of Missouri organized April 27, 1861, by electing Francis P. Blair Colonel.

The leading spirit in the Second Missouri Volunteer Regiment was Henry Boernstein, editor of the "Anzeiger des Westerns," an energetic, able man of radical views and a gifted writer. Being a leader in political, social and theatrical enterprises he became popular and influential, chiefly among citizens of German descent. Henry Boernstein was born November 4, 1805, in Hamburg, educated at the University of Lemberg in Galicia, joined the Austrian

[1] "It was on the tenth of May,
Kelly's men were all away,
When the Dutch went out
To take Camp Jackson."

army and married in Buda, Hungary. He followed theatrical and journalistic pursuits at Paris, France, where he took an active part in the revolution of 1848. Emigrating to this country, he first practiced medicine, afterwards became editor and proprietor of the "Anzeiger des Westens," at that time a radical Republican paper. Boernstein was the founder of the "Free Mens' Rationalistic Society," promoted theatre enterprises and progressive institutions and took a very active part in politics. Peter J. Osterhaus, who became one of the best Generals of the Union Army, and Colonel Fred Schaefer, who fell at the battle of Murfreesboro, were members of this Regiment. Drilling was going on long before the President's call, among other places, at the house of Professor A. Hammer, an eminent surgeon, where the students of the Humboldt Institute assembled and were instructed by P. J. Osterhaus in anticipation of coming events. At one such evening an alarm was heard and Dr. Hammer excitedly rushed for his revolver, which the cool-headed Osterhaus quietly took from him. The house of Dr. Hammer stood on the ground of the present Anheuser-Busch Brewery, then in embryo state, and as that was almost within pistol shot of the Arsenal gate, the Doctor's excitement could be readily explained. A squad of about twenty students, to whom Lyon furnished muskets, held here an advanced guard. Osterhaus afterward aided to form the Second Volunteers, whose Rifle Battalion he commanded, which rendered eminent service at the battle of Wilson's Creek. Dr. A. Hammer aided the formation of the Fourth Volunteers, whose Lieutenant-Colonel he was; Dr. Joseph Spiegelhalter that of the Fifth Volunteers and other squads and their members, aided similarly in different organizations, according to the immediate need and convenience, as the spontaneous and elementary nature of the Union movement demanded. Rank and advancement was gained quick. The Private of one day was made Captain the next, and the Commander of a Battalion or Regiment the third or fourth day.

Francis Sigel, the most prominent organizer of the Third Regiment Volunteers, had an established reputation as a military man. As second in command of the revolutionary army at Baden in 1848, he gained the appreciation of his countrymen in a high degree; as a man of decided progressive republican views, possessed of a good military education, it was obvious that he should become a leader in military affairs. Sigel was Superintendent of the German

Institute of Education, which enjoyed a very good reputation. The Second and Third Regiments were manned almost entirely by Germans.

The "Schwarze Jaeger," or Fourth Regiment Missouri Volunteers, had its origin in a hunting and rifle club of many years' standing. Its members were chiefly German immigrants, their leader in 1861 was Nicolaus Schuettner, a carpenter by trade, who made up for his lack of education by a most resolute patriotism and the earnestness of deep conviction. There were a few Americans in some of their Companies, and in one a great many Bohemians. The "Schwarze Jaeger" were always armed and being accustomed to the handling of rifles, having the practice and outfit of hunters, were in the first four months of 1861, up to April 21, of more consequence than most other Union organizations, as they could be counted upon in the defense of the Arsenal for immediate armed resistance. The original Schwarze Jaeger Society was largely composed of men who had been in military service in Europe. They assembled for gun and rifle practice and had social gatherings. They commenced to organize military Companies for field service early in 1861 at several points, such as Ruedi's Garden, South Third, Broadway near Park and Arsenal and Broadway, Jaegers' Garden and Wild Hunters.

When Captain Anthony Niederwieser planted the Union flag on the southeast corner of Broadway and Pine, right opposite the Minute Men's Secession ensign, Captain Schuettner, with a Company of about forty men from the original "Schwarze Jaeger," mounted guard for its protection.

The Fifth Regiment Missouri Volunteers was organized by electing C. E. Solomon Colonel. The first meetings of men for its organization were held on Park avenue and Seventh street and at Flora Garden. The members came chiefly from the Southern part of town, Carondelet and from St. Louis County. The first five Companies were mustered in by the 4th of May, two more by the 10th and two more by the 15th of May. The Regiment organized on May 18. C. E. Solomon, the Commander of the Regiment, was a civil engineer and as such particularly apt to take advantage of topographical conditions for tactical problems.

The slower organization of this Regiment was owing to the fact that the first four Regiments had filled the Missouri quota under

the President's call for 75,000 men, and the Fifth Volunteers muster in was only made legal after the President increased the Missouri quota to 10,000 men.

The political excitement carried its partisan fire also into the churches; the Catholic houses of worship were least affected because they were governed in the main by their highest capacities. The German churches were on the Union side, the majority of the American favored Secession; some had a divided congregation, while others had a decided Union membership and eminent preachers. Eliot and Galusha Anderson were animated apostles of truth and liberty, and did much to develop the Union cause among American religious people. The latter wrote a very interesting book, "The Story of a Border City During the Civil War," which sketches the contest in St. Louis from the ethical standpoint and casts a lurid light upon the unchristian features of Slavery in the home community, also upon the obligated subserviency to it by public officers. Conservative members of Rev. Galusha Anderson's congregation objected to his usual prayer for the welfare of the President. After an inward struggle between his interests and his duty, Anderson said from the pulpit on April 21, 1861: "I wish to bear my own individual testimony to express the feelings of my heart. I love my country—I love the freedom of my country. It was purchased by the blood of our fathers, and when I become so base, so cowardly, so besotted that I dare not speak out in behalf of that for which they so bravely fought, I pray that my tongue may cleave to the roof of my mouth." At the end of the service the congregation on Sixth and Locust sung with great fervor, "My Country 'Tis of Thee," in which a large number of people passing on the street joined. On that very day the Turner Companies illustrated the sentiment by marching for the defense of the Union into the Arsenal.

How different are the conceptions of the moral worth of man: while many were elated over words which recalled the manliness of Elijah Lovejoy, a Deacon of a neighboring church said editorially: "The devil preaches on the corner of Sixth and Locust street."

May 6 an appeal was sent by the Colonels of the first four Volunteer Regiments to prominent loyal men in other States, stating that no aid can be expected from Governor Jackson, who is hostile

to the Union, therefore they seek aid for the equipment and uniforming of their men from parties outside, trusting to share in the liberality shown to Union troops in other States. They promise "to strain every nerve to uphold the authority of our Federal Government in this remote and important post of the great West, etc."

"Governor Gustavus Koerner of Belleville, Illinois, has kindly consented to act for us as receiver and disburser, and patriotic men in New York, Philadelphia and Boston were asked to act as collectors." Many patriotic responses were made to this appeal, the collections amounting to over $30,000. The armed organization of the

ST. LOUIS HOME GUARD OR UNITED STATES RESERVE CORPS, MO. VOLUNTEERS,

whose first Regiments were sworn in May 7, took no part in this petition or its results, as they lived at their family homes and provided for their own wants; their organization differed materially from that of the Volunteers and deserves special notice.

As usual in times of public commotion, the young men and those who had no immediate family obligations first entered the Volunteer service. But the news from the South, even from the Border States, went from bad to worse. With a Legislature and police administration hostile to the Union and a militia organization under the control of the Secessionists, even the rapidly filling Volunteer organizations were not deemed to be a guarantee for the safety of the city. These threatening conditions induced a number of citizens to organize as near as possible among neighbors a military body of men for the protection of the home and family, for the free exercise of the franchise and the supremacy of the Union. The leading idea was to make this body strong enough in numbers to prevent even the chance of a fight within the limits of the city. For this purpose Anselm Albert, Robert J. and Roderick E. Rombauer of the First Ward met early in January to form such an organization. As all three had taken part in the war of 1848 in Hungary, they knew the value of an early movement. The start for getting the list headed by native citizens was not encouraging: among others a prominent jurist remarked: "When it comes to a fight I will take my revolver and step into the street." A couple months later, the same party joined a Reserve Regiment. After this the movement was followed up in the First Ward of St. Louis,

RODERICK E. ROMBAUER.

Private 1st Infantry; Captain 1st U. S. Reserve Corps,
Missouri Volunteers.

and discussed in private as well as public meetings. Drilling was commenced at Flora Garden by a squad of fourteen men, which by the 8th of February increased to fifty. Chas. A. Hammerstein was first drillmaster, according to the Prussian Company tactics, which were familiar to several of those present. Meetings animating the Union sentiments of citizens were held at Lafayette Hall on Broadway and later on at Flora Garden. The movement spread rapidly over the Ward, bounded north by Soulard, east by the river, south and west by the city limits. As the object was the protection of home, the name of Home Guard was adopted. Its members did not seek nor expect pay, and at first did not expect to be enlisted into the service of the United States, though they had hopes of receiving arms from that source. By dint of several meetings and committees, the organization rapidly gained system and shape. An executive committee of seven members was elected, namely: Gustav Hammerstein, Hy. Almstedt, Frank Pollack, N. Frank, Carl Walther, August Leussler and Robert J. Rombauer, to attend to the organization of the Ward. This committee recommended the subdivision of the Ward into eight districts, as follows:

First District—River to Jackson street, Soulard to Picot street.

Second District—Jackson to Seventh street, Soulard to Picot street and Russell avenue.

Third District—River to Jackson street, Picot to Victor street.

Fourth District—Jackson to Seventh street, Picot and Russell to Victor street.

Fifth District—River to Seventh street, Victor to Arsenal street.

Sixth District—Seventh to Menard street, Soulard to Sidney street.

Seventh District—Menard to Jefferson avenue, Soulard to Sidney street.

Eighth District—Sidney to southern limits, Seventh to western limits.

For each District its own meeting place was designated and a committee appointed to canvass the District for one hundred members and send a representative to the executive committee on or before April 27, failing in which the committee should appoint such representative and notify the respective District of the appointment. All members had to comply with the orders of the executive committee, otherwise they were stricken from the rolls. The proceed-

ings were not to be divulged to outsiders, and none but members were admitted to the meetings. On gathering the reports from the Districts it was found that over 1,200 persons were listed, and instead of eight, twelve Companies were organized, whose members elected their own officers, who again in meeting assembled elected the field officers. The men were not equipped by the United States with uniforms, but furnished themselves and received no rations except when on duty; they stayed at their own residence, being able, when needed, to assemble on short notice, for listed per Company from close neighborhoods and subdivided by sections to the four Sergeants they could be convened with little loss of time. The headquarters and place of assembly for the First Home Guard Regiment was Jaeger's Garden, on Sidney and Tenth streets, with gun racks for 1,200 muskets. Colonel Hy. Almstedt had seen service in Mexico; Lieutenant-Colonel Robert J. Rombauer in the war of 1848 in Hungary. The latter attended to the tactical development of the Regiment.

The members of the Home Guard Regiments were the substantial business men of their respective localities, the manufacturers, merchants, doctors, lawyers, bankers, contractors, laborers, brewers, teachers, clerks and travelers were equally represented. The largest number of these were Germans; there were many Americans, entire Companies of Bohemians and French, and a sprinkling of other nationalities. The five Regiments of Home Guards were in a true sense a Reserve Corps, which, with the 5,000 Volunteers, exhibited such an uprising of an entire population as has hardly ever been witnessed before.

Whatever has been said here of the First Home Guard or Reserve Regiment is in a general sense equally true of the Second, Third, Fourth and Fifth Reserve Regiments. Some features were more apparent in the First Ward, because its population was more homogenous. While the service of all these Regiments was for the protection of the Union element and the United States property in the city, these troops often volunteered to go to other parts of the State, which they were not obliged to do by their exceptional terms of enlistment, as Colonel Chester Harding, General Lyons' Adjutant testified before the committee on the conduct of war, saying the "United States Reserve Corps, which could not be moved from there (St. Louis) without their consent."

Similar conditions prevailed in the organization of the other Home Guard or Reserve Regiments, only with some local variations. There was no organic connection between these Regiments, except that one profited by the example of the other through meetings, consultations and a press devoted to the cause.

In the course of the narration it will be seen that the discipline of the new levies was seriously doubted by the conditional Union men and the Southern sympathizers. While the relation between officers and privates in the new organizations was not influenced so much by shoulder strap, starched collar and red tape considerations, the Volunteers and Reserves had more the regard of citizens towards the civilians, as they entered the military service only for an emergency and a short period. It is true that discipline cannot possibly be the same in a Volunteer or Militia organization as in the ranks of the Regular Army. The reasons are obvious. In the latter the difference between officer and private is very great: for while the one is an educated man, who mastered the military art and had an excellent education, the men of the rank and file almost invariably lack these advantages, and their ambition and patriotism is aided by the desire of a comfortable and careless life. The Volunteer or Militia man joins the army for the vindication of a principle, for law and the public interest and as a matter of duty as he understands it. He enters the service from civil life, where he had been an independent, if not a directive factor. Men and officers in these voluntary organizations are generally of one cast; wherever possible officers are selected for their past experience and acknowledged worth, but often privates stand in the ranks fit for any position in or above a Regiment. Companies, even entire Regiments, are raised from the same neighborhood; men and officers know each other and are on friendly terms with each other. While apparently too free and easy in the eyes of a martinet, they will stand by each other in the hour of danger and will yield to their officers an implicit obedience, because they know that the object of the service and their own existence is dependent upon it. There is hardly ever ground of complaint about discipline before the enemy, and the officers' more arduous duties, greater exposure and responsibility will enlist the esteem and cheerful support of the troops. Of course, raw levies will rue a Capua as much as Hannibal's veterans.

The Second Home Guard or Reserve Regiment represented the Second Ward. Its members came chiefly from Soulard to Chouteau

avenue and from the river to Jefferson avenue, beyond which there was little population at that time. Although started in different parts of the Ward, the first larger gatherings were in Milentz White Beer Brewery on Broadway, south of Marion. Later on, Soulard Market Hall was made the official headquarters and place of assembly. Hermann Kallmann, a contractor, was elected Colonel. The tactical development was attended to by Lieutenant-Colonel John T. Fiala, who served as Major in the war of 1848 in Hungary.

The Third Regiment Home Guard or Reserve drew its members from the territory north of Chouteau to Market and west to Rock Spring and Cheltenham, taking also members from the American residence district in the center of town. Meetings were held at different places as Turner Hall, which was the assembly place of the First Battalion and headquarters of the Regiment; Ruedi's Garden assembly place for the Second Battalion, Fourth and Poplar; Tivoli, Washington Hall, Winkelmeier's Brewery, Cooper shop Twenty-second street and Chouteau avenue, where the members drilled with hoop-poles. The First Company, "A," was termed Turner Zouaves. Its members were St. Louis Turners, who originally drilled under Larned with the three Companies of the First Regiment. Other Companies were formed from the overflow of Volunteer organizations and such persons whose family relations prompted service near home. John McNeil, a hatter, was elected Colonel. He became General of Volunteers in the three years service.

The Fourth Regiment Home Guard gathered its members chiefly from Franklin avenue and immediate neighborhood. Its recruiting ground was bounded on the south by the American, on the north by the Irish residence district, and as their inhabitants in the spring of 1861 were largely hostile or conditional and non-committal Union men, the Franklin avenue contingent was somewhat isolated. At the head of this Regiment was B. Gratz Brown, a most genial political writer and editor of the "Missouri Democrat," to whose capacity and animated patriotism the intellectual victory of Unionism among the Americans of St. Louis and Missouri is largely due. This Regiment assembled first on Fifth and Morgan, and later on made Uhrig's Cave, on Jefferson and Washington avenues, its headquarters.

B. Gratz Brown was born in Lexington, Ky., in 1826; admitted to the St. Louis Bar in 1852. As member of the Legislature in 1857 he made a remarkable anti-Slavery speech, proving that the emanci-

pation of the Slaves is the best measure for the material development of the State. This speech gave a great impetus to the Free Soil movement in the State and Brown came within five hundred votes of being elected Governor as candidate of that party. Later on in 1871 he was elected Governor of Missouri, and in 1872 became candidate for the Vice-Presidency of the United States on the Liberal Republican ticket.

The old Tenth Ward of St. Louis formed the Fifth Home Guard Regiment, which found in Chas. G. Stifel an excellent leader.

The political situation was warmly discussed in this Ward in societies and social circles and a general Union movement was started when the news from the lower Wards revealed the full earnestness of the situation. The North Germans, who mostly settled in North St. Louis, are not as easily moved as their Southern brethren, but when the time came they acted with great precision. A preliminary meeting at Ninth and North Market streets adjourned over to Stifel's Brewery, where the Union men from the whole Ward congregated on the 9th of May, formed Companies and immediately organized into the Fifth Reserve or Home Guard Regiment, but could not be mustered in on the 10th of May into the United States service for the lack of mustering officers, who were all engaged in the capture of Camp Jackson.

With regard to occupation, the First and Fifth Regiments Reserve, located on the southern and northern ends of the city, held the greatest number of laborers, the Second and Fourth mostly the representatives of the retail trade, while the Third, being in the center of town, held most professional men and persons from the wholesale, manufacturing and central business trades.

THE MUSTER FOR ARMS.

In the spring of 1861, Lt. John M. Schofield, a graduate of West Point, at the time 46 years of age, was on furlough at St. Louis and teaching at the Washington University. Born in New York and raised in Illinois, his Union faith was strengthened by his loyal fellow teachers and directors. Upon Lincoln's call for 75,000 men, Schofield reported for duty and received the usual instructions for mustering-in the contingent of the State of Missouri. He wrote to Governor Jackson to designate the troops and places of muster but received no reply, as might have been anticipated from the

Governor's treasonable answer to President Lincoln. General Harney, then in command, would not consent to a muster-in of troops under such circumstances without special orders from Washington. While Schofield urged the necessity of prompt measures to protect the Arsenal, pointing to the Secessionist force under the guise of State Militia, General Harney characterized any such contemplated attack upon the Arsenal as a "damnable outrage," saying: "Why the State has not yet passed an ordinance of Secession; she has not gone out of the Union." These words left the inference open that a seceded State had a claim upon the United States Arsenals, and it certainly justified the conclusion that General Harney was not the proper man to protect the Union cause in St. Louis.

On the 17th of April Francis T. Blair returned to St. Louis from Washington where he had been since the latter part of February, aiding the Union cause and urging necessary measures for St. Louis, while during his absence the listing of five Union Volunteer Regiments was nearly completed, but the most important measure of mustering them into the service of the United States and of arming and equipping them for actual use was still unsettled. On the day of his arrived (4-17) F. P. Blair telegraphed from East St. Louis to S. Cameron, Secretary of War:

"Our Governor will not meet your requisition for Volunteers. Will you accept independent Companies and Regiments from Missouri? If so, please order Captain Lyon to muster them into service," and he repeated this request on the 19th of April, assuring Cameron that the requisition for men will be filled "in two days." The same day Blair wrote to his brother Montgomery and urged the removal of Harney, who at the instance of Secessionists obstructs the orders of the Government and refuses the guns which the Government had ordered, and adds: "We also want an order to Captain Lyon to swear in the four Regiments assigned to Missouri. If you will send General Wool, or some one who is not to be doubted, to take command of this district and designate an officer to swear in our Volunteers and arm the rest of our people who are willing to act as a Civil or Home Guard, I think that we shall be able to hold our ground here." The charges against Harney were fully justified for upon the complaint of the Police Commissioners he had ordered Lyon to withdraw his patrols to the Arsenal, nor issue any arms without Harney's sanction.

Matters were now drawing to a head. On the 20th news reached St. Louis of the capture of the Liberty Arsenal and were forwarded to Simon Cameron, Secretary of War, by the following telegram:

"East St. Louis, April 21, 1861.

"Liberty Arsenal in Missouri was taken possession of by Secessionists yesterday and 1,500 arms with a few cannon distributed to citizens of Clay County. The Missouri River is blockaded at Independence. All quiet here at present. "BENJAMIN FARRAR."

Nevertheless rumors were rife in St. Louis that the Secessionists were planning to capture the Arsenal. Mayor Taylor called at midnight at their headquarters at Berthold's mansion and found a large number of armed men. Acting upon the above presumption, the Mayor warned those present of their peril. Though the attack was not made, Lyons' apprehensions became more serious. He sent an urgent note to Harney and notified Blair of that fact, with the significant words: "I have just sent a note to the General asking him to allow me to accept Volunteers, but if he does so I expect it will be so noised about that they will have to fight their way through."

To the above mentioned strong official representation, Harney sent the following characteristic answer:

"HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE WEST.

"ST. LOUIS, MO., April 21, 1861.

"Captain N. Lyon, Second Infantry, Commanding Troops, St. Louis Arsenal, Missouri—

SIR: Your two communications of this date, one asking for authority to accept the services of Volunteers in the defense of the St. Louis Arsenal. . . have been laid before the commanding General, who deems it inexpedient to approve the recommendations contained in your communications."

"I am, sir, very respectfully your obedient servant,

"S. WILLIAMS.
"Assistant Adjutant General."

When the news spread that Harney had declined to admit Volunteers to the Arsenal for muster, a large number of the first organized St. Louis Turners and friends assembled at Flora Garden on Seventh and Geyer avenue and, contrary to the advice of older friends, got ready to cross the Mississippi at night and take service in Illinois, but late in the evening Blair came in and satisfied them that they would be admitted to the Arsenal, as a telegram had been received by him from the Secretary of War, stating that the

Government will accept the services of the four Volunteer Regiments from Missouri. Before the members separated each man received a small white card with the name of "Saxton" upon it, which he was to present to the sentinels at the Arsenal, all being cautioned at the same time not to assemble in larger groups on the outside.

Thus the members of the three Turner Companies entered the St. Louis Arsenal on the evening of April 21 as the first organized Union force and became the first Companies of the first Volunteer Regiment of Missouri and were immediately put on duty on the walls of the Arsenal. Matters had taken a different turn in the East. The news of the seizure of the Arsenal at Liberty, Missouri, by Secessionists on the 18th of April had reached Washington, together with the urgent representations of St. Louis' unconditional Union men, and for a short, but very important period, the conservative procrastinators lost their hold upon the Federal Administration. The difficulties which Harney had placed in the path of Union organizations at last exhausted the patience of the authorities at Washington, and the command at St. Louis was changed at a most opportune time.

Informed of the telegram to Blair, Broadhead, Filley and How started out in quest of Lieutenant Schofield, mustering officer, at the time Professor at the Washington University, and found him at church, corner Seventeenth and Olive, and returned with him to Blair's residence. After exchanging views, Schofield proceeded to the Arsenal, but found there General Harney's order prohibiting the entrance of Volunteers into the Arsenal, also their arming and subsistence. Lyon explained the situation in the following note, which Schofield and Saxton took back to Blair's mansion:

"St. Louis Arsenal, April 21, 1861.

"Dear Sir: Mr. Schofield has no authority to arm and equip these men, if he enrolls them, nor are any instructions given about the location and disposal of them, and without the sanction of General Harney to this matter, we are liable to serious difficulty, as the General may, on hearing what is transpiring, order my arrest, even while trying to arm the men, for violating his orders about issuing arms, and as he has the rank and authority, he may direct the Volunteer force away or to disperse. We do not seem to be starting out right with the instruction Mr. Schofield now has. Lieutenants Saxton and Schofield will explain more fully what I have not time to write.

"Yours truly,

"N. Lyon."

JOHN M. SCHOFIELD.

Lieutenant U. S. A.; Major 1st Infantry, Missouri Volunteers, in 1861.

To remedy this difficulty Blair and Schofield called on General Harney, but their representations had no effect; the General declined to change his orders. In the meantime Filley, How, Broadhead and Lyon consulted at the Arsenal, and after the return of Blair came to the conclusion that the Arsenal must be reinforced. With regard to the detail of the arrangement, Lyon wrote to Blair:

"St. Louis, April 21, 1861.

"HON. F. P. BLAIR, JR.

"Dear Sir: I have your note of this day per Mr. Bayless, and I have agreed with him that it will be well to have the companies come in at the gate at the middle of the board fence on the river, and from half past seven to half past eight o'clock this evening. This, of course, is with the understanding that Lieutenant Schofield will at once accept them, and be prepared to arm and equip them. I suppose he has this authority, though, if not, I must see them armed at any rate."

"The Company officers must be admitted quietly beforehand at the main gate on Carondelet avenue, and be ready to recognize their own men on admittance. All should bring a little something to eat, so as not to suffer before we get ready to feed them. "Yours truly,

"N. LYON."

It will be seen from the above that under the pressure of circumstances Lyon was determined to arm the Union men of St. Louis, even before the positive orders so to do reached him from Washington, which, however, came and read:

"ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE, April 21, 1861.

CAPTAIN N. LYON, Second Infantry, East St. Louis.

"General Harney has this day been relieved from his command.

"The Secretary of War directs that you immediately execute the order previously given to arm the loyal citizens, to protect the public property and execute the laws. Muster four Regiments into the service.

"L. THOMAS, Adjutant General."

Schofield in his book, "Forty-Six Years in the Army," describes this interesting episode as follows:

"The loyal secret organizations were instructed to enter the Arsenal at night, individually, each member being furnished with a pass for that purpose. The mustering officer employed himself all night and the following day in distributing arms and ammunition to the men as they arrived, and in stationing them along the Arsenal walls. Thus the successful defense of the Arsenal was secured, though its garrison was neither mustered into service nor organized into Regiments nor even enrolled. The organization of Volunteers now began, the mustering officer superintending the election of officers, enrolling the men, and perfecting the organization, in conformity to the Militia laws of the State."

No doubt many things had to be settled upon the spur of the moment, which entailed speedy and frequent changes. This was nowhere more evident than in the First Regiment. In the first Company, Gustave Finkelnburg, Wm. Andrae, John Winters, R. Guido Rombauer were elected Sergeants. The Company could not agree upon a Captain and they applied to Lyon. He had the Company fall in and made them a speech, nearly to this effect: Gentlemen, if you accept my advice it will be the last time I address you by that name. Many labor under the impression that a soldier in the army retains all his rights; there is no such thing as equality in the army; a Corporal is better than a Private, a Duty Sergeant is better than a Corporal, and the First Sergeant is the best enlisted man in the Company. I advise you to enlist (under officers he probably named) because only in that way can you render good service to your country. He said further that all those who wish to follow his advice should step to the front when he commands. "Forward, March!" Upon his command the whole Company stepped to the front. The three Turner Companies mustered into the service with Rufus Saxton, M. L. Lathrop and Geo. Harry Stone as Captains, of which the first two named were regular officers, not previously identified with these Companies, although their first organization at Turner Hall recognized G. A. Finkelnburg, Hugo Gollmer and John C. Tiemeyer as Captains.

About this time S. D. Sturgis evacuated Fort Smith; Totten, Little Rock, Arkansas, and the United States troops left the Indian Territory, concentrating with some loss of outfit towards Leavenworth. From St. Louis urgent requisitions for troops had previously gone to Governor Yates of Illinois, but none arrived.

The patriotism was shared by the ladies in the Union families, who animated their brothers and friends to sustain the cause of their country. Among others, several young ladies prepared a fine flag and soon after the first Company entered the Arsenal presented the same through a committee, for which Miss Mary Haeusler made the delivering address. Captain Lyon received the flag for the Company and answered to her eloquent remarks: "I accept this flag on behalf of these patriotic young men, and I feel confident that they always will do honor to it." This flag presentation was followed by numerous others as tokens of the devotion to the Union and Liberty by the loyal ladies of St. Louis. In fact, the enthusiasm of the men was shared in a higher degree by the women, who frequently animated their sons, husbands and brothers to noble

deeds. There are instances were family obligations were relieved by the generous offer of an old man[1] saying to a young employee: "Go on, John,"[2] I will take care of your family," or where a resolute mother told her wavering husband: "It is your duty; go, I will take care of the children."[3] Nor will any one doubt that a similar spirit also existed in the opposite camp.

How promptly Lyon responded to the orders received is shown by his telegram of April 22, still sent from East St. Louis in order to insure safety of transmission. It read:

"Colonel L. Thomas, Adjutant-General:

"Dispatch to muster troops received at twelve (12) o'clock last night. I have today received seven hundred (700) men and armed six hundred (600).

N. Lyon,
"Captain, Second Infantry."

No words can describe the events in these days more concisely than those taken from Lyon's report to Thomas on April 27:

"Sir: Since receiving the authority to receive and muster-in Missouri troops at this place, it has been a physical impossibility to write for the purpose of informing the Department of what is transpiring here. The first telegraphic dispatch of the 21st instant, from Major Porter, was received about 12 o'clock of that night, and the Volunteer companies commenced arriving early next morning. About 700 arrived that day and 600 were armed. On the next day (Tuesday 23d) nearly the same number arrived and 400 were armed. Through Wednesday and Thursday the arrivals continued about the same, and on Thursday 2,100 had been received, armed and sworn into the United States service. Through yesterday and to-day about 200 men per day have been received, and all except one Company armed. One Regiment is full, two others are nearly full and about half a Regiment more is formed. Offers to the extent of several thousands more will doubtless be made, and if it is the wish of the Government to accept them I shall need to be so informed, as my orders now limit me to four Regiments. As there is Artillery enough of light and heavy pieces for about three companies, and as there are many excellent Artillerists who are exceedingly anxious to organize as Artillery companies, I have started a Battalion of three companies (Backoff), for the purpose of working our pieces, and to be ready for active service with them in the field in case of moving. I also have an application to accept a company of Sappers and Miners, who have had experience in Europe, and I propose to do so." (Voerster.)

On April 30, Lyon reports to Thomas: "No doubt ten thousand men can be raised here, and indications are that they will be needed sooner or later to meet the determined purpose of the State authorities to overturn the authority of the General Government."

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[1] Jacob S. Merrell. [2] John McFall. [3] Mrs. Wm. Hahn.

SECESSION SCHEMES.

A brief survey of the events that developed in the Secession camp of Missouri proves plainly that Lyon's apprehensions were only too well founded. It was rumored about the middle of April that the Secessionists sent Marmaduke with a delegation to bribe the Commander of Fort Leavenworth to betray his trust, and that large sums of money were drawn for this purpose from banks in the State. Union people in St. Louis learned of the scheme and Mr. Giles F. Filley gave a timely warning through the aid of business friends. Nothing more was heard of the delegation and it is left open to conjecture whether this was a ruse, "an abandoned plan or a defeated attempt." Either might be possible in a time when the nation was mustering in two hostile camps and actual war would soon lead to far more disastrous acts.

In the meantime the excitement in the center of St. Louis increased. Yelling, obscene language and occasional stone-throwing was practiced by a vulgar mob, and this induced Blair, who lived on Washington avenue, to send his family out of town. Union men were attacked in the center of the city, on the streets and in the cars.

The State of Kentucky had 600 arms repaired at the St. Louis Arsenal, which Major Hagner desired to forward per steamer "Pocahontas" to Louisville. The Captain of the boat, being intimidated by Minute Men, refused to accept them, and they were left on the Levee. At 11 o'clock p. m. of April 26, the guns were seized by Minute Men and loaded on a dray, but were recovered on Pine and Main streets by the police and shipped per steamer "Julius H. Smith" to Governor Harris of Tennessee. Captains Duke and Green, the agents sent to Jefferson Davis for arms, were successful in their mission. Davis was acquainted with the locality of the St. Louis Arsenal, he approved the plan of its capture and gave Captains Duke and Green an order for the needed guns on the Baton Rouge Arsenal, and in a letter of April 23 wrote to Governor Jackson:

"After learning as well as I could, from the gentlemen accredited to me, what was needful for the attack on the Arsenal, I have directed that Captains Greene and Duke should be furnished with two twelve pounder howitzers and two thirty-two pounder guns, with the proper ammunition for each. These, from the commanding hills, will be effective against the garrison and break the enclosing walls of the place. I concur with you as to the great importance

of capturing the Arsenal and securing its supplies, rendered doubly important, by the means taken to obstruct your commerce, and render you unarmed victims of a hostile invasion. We look anxiously and hopefully for the day when the star of Missouri shall be added to the constellation of the Confederate States of America.

"With the best wishes, I am,

"Very respectfully yours,

"JEFFERSON DAVIS."

There were a number of Union men in the old Militia Companies marching with General Frost to the Southwest. They saw the growing disloyalty of the State troops, threw up their commissions and abandoned that service. Major Schaeffer resigned on April 17, stating: "I can not reconcile it with my ideas of military fealty that a part of your command has hoisted another flag than the only true flag of the United States." General Frost ordered the Major before a court martial, which Schaeffer disregarded. A few days later he was elected Lieutenant-Colonel of the Second Regiment Missouri Volunteers. Colonel J. N. Pritchard, Surgeon F. M. Cornyn, Adjutant John S. Cavender also left the State service and many men from the ranks followed their lead.

The muster of numerous troops at the Arsenal prompted the Governor to call the Legislature for the 2d of May and to assemble the Missouri Militia in their respective districts on the 3d of May. The Governor also asked the banks immediately to advance the $50,000 which they had promised for the July interest. State Quartermaster-General James Harding's report revealed that outside of the arms already in the hands of the militiamen, the State owned only 1,000 muskets, two cannon and a few swords. James Harding purchased at St. Louis 70 tons of gunpowder, a couple hundred rifles and some camp equipage and sent it under guard of Captain Kelly's Company to Jefferson City.

Towards the end of April, General Price gave the St. Louis "Republic" some information relative the Governor's intentions, which the latter disavowed in the following letter, thereby plainly proving his Secession proclivities:

"EXECUTIVE CHAMBER, Jefferson City, April 28, 1861.

"J. W. TUCKER, Esq.

"My Dear Sir: I write this in confidence and under a state of mind very peculiar. . . . Governor Price called on me a few days since. . . . asked me what I thought as to the time of calling the Convention. I told him not to be in a hurry, but wait until the Legislature met, and to be here

at that time, so that we could consult with the members from all parts of the State, and fix upon a proper time; that in my judgment we should not go out of the Union until the Legislature had time to arm the State to some extent and place it in a proper position of defense. If it be the purpose of Paschall and Price to make me endorse the position of the *Republic* and the miserably base and cowardly conduct of Governor Price's submission convention, then they are woefully mistaken. Lashed and driven, as they have been, by an indignant and outraged constituency, from their position of unconditional Union, they are now seeking shelter under the miserable absurdity of armed neutrality.

"About the only truth in Paschall's article is that in which he states my policy to be a peace policy. This is true. I am for peace, and so is everybody except Lincoln and Frank Blair . . . I do not think Missouri should secede today or tomorrow, but I do not think good policy that I should so disclose. I want a little time to arm the State, and I am assuming every responsibility to do it, with all possible despatch. Missouri should act in concert with Tennessee and Kentucky. They are all bound to go out and should go together if possible.

"My judgment is that North Carolina, Tennessee and Arkansas will be out in a few days, and when they go Missouri should follow. Let us then prepare to make our exit. We should keep our own counsel. Every man in the State is in favor of arming the State. Then let it be done. All are opposed to furnishing Mr. Lincoln with soldiers. Time will settle the balance.

"Nothing should be said about the time or the manner in which Missouri should go out. That she ought to go, and will go at the proper time, I have no doubt. She ought to have gone out last winter, when she could have seized the public arms and public property and defended herself. . . .

"Call on every country paper to defend me, and assure them, I am fighting under the true flag. Who does not know that every sympathy of my heart is with the South?

"The Legislature, in my view, should sit in secret session, and touch nothing but the measures of defense. Let the measures of Messrs. Sturgeon, Paschall, Taylor & Co., in regard to their railroads, all go by the board; I have not the patience or the time, to talk of such matters now. Let us first preserve our liberties and attend to business affairs afterward. Let all our energies and all our means be applied to our defense and safety.

"Yours truly,
"C. F. Jackson,
"Governor of Missouri."

Though the State had decided against Secession, M. Jeff Thompson, Inspector Fourth Military District Missouri, offered Jeff Davis several Companies for the Confederate service, while the latter wrote to Governor Jackson April 26: "Can you arm and equip one Regiment Infantry for service in Virginia?" in answer to which the

Governor states: "Our Legislature has just met and I doubt not will give me all necessary authority over the matter. Missouri can and will put 100,000 men in the field. We are using every means to arm our people and until we are prepared must move cautiously." The partisans of Governor Jackson were less imbued with the necessity of caution, as the following report shows:

"KANSAS CITY, May 4, 1861.

"The storehouse at this place was forcibly entered last night at half past one o'clock by about fifty armed men, who carried off one hundred and two carabines, thirty-seven muskets, nine pistols, eighty-six sabres and thirty-four thousand cartridges. L. C. EASTON, Asst. Q.-M. (U. S.)

And on May 6 the above mentioned Jeff Thompson, Inspector of Missouri Militia, writes to President Jeff Davis from the neighborhood of St. Joseph: "I have eight Companies here in camp of instruction by order of our Governor," etc. This admits the inference that the camp of instruction at Camp Jackson was also reported to Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederate States.

The Missouri Legislature met at Jefferson City on May 2 and re-elected McAffee, of Secession proclivities, Speaker. The Governor asked the Assembly to "place the State at the earliest practicable moment, in a complete state of defense," because she must unite her destinies with those of the other Slave-holding States. He also recommended for this purpose secret sessions, to which the Legislature acceded by initiating the same after the 3d of May. The presence of a few staunch and fearless Union men, like John D. Stevenson, James Peckham * * * put a restraint upon the Secessionists and delegated their most important consultations to special committees and private rooms. The military bill was the all-important measure before the Legislature, but its progress was considerably checked by parliamentary tactics. At the same time there were three Confederate flags flying at Jefferson City, and each flag-raising was made the occasion for firing the Southern heart. It was stated about the same time that General James S. Rains, of subsequent Confederate fame, had received a letter from Sarcoxie, stating that the Indian Chief Ross was willing to furnish 15,000 armed men in support of the State of Missouri, also that Rains sent the letter to Governor Jackson with the endorsement, "I would advise your opening correspondence at once with Ross." Whether true or not, this appears to be only another flagging stone for an undesirable locality, for although these Indians were Slave-holders their avowed policy

was to maintain neutrality, which makes the above offer very improbable.

CAMP JACKSON ESTABLISHED.

Pursuant to the Governor's instruction and the order of Brigadier-General D. M. Frost, the old and new State Militia organizations assembled at Lindell Grove, situated east of Grand avenue, between Olive and Laclede, and the grounds were named in honor of the Governor, Camp Jackson. The oath which the new troops and the recruits for the depleted Militia Companies took, enjoined only fealty to the State of Missouri and its head, Governor Jackson. Agreeably to the professed sentiments of the latter and to the predilections of its officers and troops, camp streets were named after the President of the Seceded States, "Jefferson Davis," and after the man who directed the attack on Fort Sumter, "Beauregard." While this was not done officially, but only by a portion of the troopers, it indicated their tendency, and General Frost was justly held responsible for it.

According to Colonel Peckham's work, "Lyon and 1861," the following State troops went into camp at Lindell Grove:

D. M. Frost, Brigadier-General, commanding; Hy. W. Williams, Quartermaster; R. S. Voorhies, Lieutenant-Colonel, Adjutant-General; Jos. Scott, Surgeon; N. Wall, Major Commissary; Wm. D. Wood, Aide-de-Camp.

FIRST REGIMENT.

John Knapp, Lieutenant-Colonel, commanding; Wm. C. Buchanan, Adjutant; N. Hatch, A. Q. M. and A. C. S.; A. J. P. Gareshe, Judge Advocate; John B. Drew, Paymaster; Louis T. Pimm, Surgeon.

Company A, St. Louis Grays, Martin Burke, Captain, 51.
Company B, Sarsfield Guards, Chas. W. Rogers, Captain, 46.
Company C, Washington Guards, Robert Tucker, Captain, 48.
Company D, Emmet Guards, Phil W. Coyne, Captain.
Company E, Washington Blues, Jos. Kelly, Captain, 45.
Company F, Laclede Guards, Fraser, Captain.
Company G, Missouri Guards, Geo. W. West, Captain.
Company H, Jackson Guards, Geo. W. Fletcher, Captain, 46.
Company I, Grimsley Guards, R. N. Hart, Captain, 48.
Company K, Davis Guards, Jas. Longuemare, Captain, 65.
Squadron of Dragoons, Emmet McDonald, Captain.

JOHN T. FIALA.

Lieutenant-Colonel 2d U. S. Reserve Corps, Missouri Volunteers.
From Photograph by Gustav Cramer.

SECOND REGIMENT.

John S. Bowen, Colonel.

A. E. Steen, Lieutenant-Colonel.

J. R. Shaler, Major.

Engineer Corps, Wm. H. Finney, First Lieutenant, 40.

Company A, Independent Guards, Charles Fredericks, Captain, 45.

Company B, Missouri Videttes, O. H. Barrett, Captain, 45.

Company C, Minute Men, Basil W. Duke, Captain.

Company D, Minute Men, McLaren Guards, Sanford, Captain, 61.

Company E, Minute Men, Colton Green, Captain.

Company F, Minute Men, Jackson Grays, Garland, Captain, 65.

Company G, Minute Men, Dixie Guards, Campbell, Captain, 48.

Company H, Minute Men, Southern Guards, J. H. Shackelford, Captain, 45.

Company I, Minute Men, Carondelet Rangers, Jas. M. Loughborough, Captain, 50.

About 750 men with six Companies not reported.

Besides the above, Lieutenant-Colonel Bowen was ordered to report to General Frost at St. Louis with one Company Mounted Rifles and a Battery of Light Artillery.

The camp, as all military camps, soon became very popular with all those who admire incipient heroes, and as the wealthiest families in St. Louis came mostly from the South, the camp was soon the resort of what is usually termed "the best society," a term which deservedly should be applied only to those who are most useful to the community.

It would be wrong to estimate the Secession strength according to the roster of the Companies entering the camp on May 6, for there was a continual accession of young men from all parts of the State who were willing to aid Frost in any movement he might make; besides a very large portion of the American population of the city were Southern sympathizers, and in the first days of May, 1861, even a great many Irishmen would have followed their old Democratic and Southern leaders in a fight against Union Republicans. With a bold, aggressive policy, inaugurated at an earlier date, General Frost could have commanded thousands of men, who soon afterwards became passive and resigned "lookers on," or even quite active Union men.

The time allotted by the State law for the duration of a militia camp was six days, but under the terms of the new militia law then before the Legislature, a legal continuance was expected. With the new men arriving from the State, a third Regiment was to be formed. A change of the camp to the heights southwest of the Arsenal was contemplated: as this would have greatly endangered the Arsenal, Captain Lyon emphatically stated that he could not permit this, nay, even that if attempted he would destroy such camp, which ended the scheme.

On the 8th of May the steamer "J. C. Swon" landed a cargo of war material on the Levee, consigned to Greeley & Gale, a Union firm, and marked "Tamaroa Marble." The goods were part of those seized by the Secessionists at the Baton Rouge Arsenal and sent by Jefferson Davis at the request of Governor Jackson, and were transferred the same night in over fifty dray loads to Camp Jackson and turned over to Major Shaler. A portion of these goods was forwarded to Jefferson City, under the escort of a Company from the camp. Colton Green acted as the Governor's agent in this transaction. It is said that a seizure of these goods was discussed by the Union authorities, but that this was deferred in order that the same should serve as evidence of the treasonable nature of Camp Jackson. The probability is that General Prentiss at Cairo was advised too late, for he certainly could have stopped any vessel passing that point. Conflicting reports indicate that it was the original intention to seize that war material, and that the plea of using it as evidence against Camp Jackson was only an excuse for the failure of its detention. The facility of transportation by river was at all events great. Already April 27, or fully ten days before this invoice of Secession arms arrived, the steamer "City of Alton" quietly dropped down to the Arsenal and received 30,000 stand of arms, which were conveyed to Alton and thence to Springfield, Illinois. Captain Harry Stone, Company "C," First Missouri; Company "A," Second Missouri, and a section of Backhoff's Battery forming the escort. The bitterness of feeling about the removal of arms is shown in an editorial of the St. Louis "Republic," calling it a "gross outrage," and threatening Captain Harry Stone that it would not be safe to show himself on Fourth street. The "City of Alton" also carried May 1, five tons of powder to the same destination. In the meantime, Lyon had occupied more buildings and positions for troops in the immediate neighborhood of the Arsenal and fortified the place itself to best advantage.

It was fortunate for his purpose that the expenses not strictly warranted by the Army Regulations could be met by the energetic assistance of the Committee of Safety: for excellent as the Army Regulations may have proved for ordinary times, they certainly did not fit such an emergency as that of 1861.

The First Regiment Missouri Volunteers was completed on April 27, and the officers elected Francis P. Blair, Colonel; George L. Andrews, Lieutenant-Colonel, and John M. Schofield, Major. The latter divided his time between the duties of a mustering officer and those of an instructor of officers in tactics and military administration. The other Volunteer Regiments were mustered in about the same time, namely, the Second: Colonel, Henry Boernstein; Lieutenant-Colonel, Fred Schaeffer; Major, B. Laibold. The Third: Colonel, Francis Sigel; Lieutenant-Colonel, A. Albert; Major, Henry Bischoff. The Fourth: Colonel, Nicolas Schuettner; Lieutenant-Colonel A. Hammer; Major, F. Niggemann. The Fifth, Colonel, Chas. E. Salomon; Lieutenant-Colonel, Ch. D. Wolff; Major, F. W. Cronenbold; the Field and Staff of the Fifth was only mustered in May 18. The dating of commissions of Regimental Commanders did not all coincide with the actual completion of the Regiments; in fact, a strict regularity in the organizations could not be observed on account of the great need of troops for immediate service.

ARMING THE HOME GUARD OR UNITED STATES RESERVE CORPS, MISSOURI VOLUNTEERS.

Upon the repeated representations of the perilous situation of the St. Louis Arsenal and the Union element in the city of St. Louis and the State of Missouri, President Lincoln authorized the Secretary of War to issue the following order:

WASHINGTON CITY, D. C., April 30, 1861.

"Sir: The President of the United States directs that you enroll in the military service of the United States the loyal citizens of St. Louis and vicinity, not exceeding with those heretofore enlisted, ten thousand in number, for the purpose of maintaining the authority of the United States, and for the protection of the peaceable inhabitants of Missouri, and you will, if deemed necessary for that purpose by yourself and by Messrs. Oliver D. Filley, John How, James O. Broadhead, Samuel T. Glover, J. J. Witzig and Francis P. Blair, Jr., proclaim martial law in St. Louis. The additional force hereby authorized shall be discharged in part or in whole, if enlisted, as soon as it appears to you and the gentlemen above named, that there is no danger of an attempt on the part of the enemies of the Government to

take military possession of the City of St. Louis, or put the city in the control of a combination against the Government of the United States; and whilst such additional force remains in the service, the same shall be governed by the Rules and Articles of War, and such special regulations as you may prescribe, and shall like the force heretofore directed to be enrolled be under your command.

"I am, etc., "L. THOMAS,
"Adjutant General.

"Captain Nathaniel Lyon,
"Second Infantry, commanding at St. Louis."

This order was indorsed:

"It is revolutionary times, and, therefore, I do not object to the irregularity of this. "W. S." (for Winfield Scott.)

Also:

"Approved, April 30, 1861. A. LINCOLN."

When this order reached St. Louis in the first days of May, the Home Guard or Reserve Regiments and Companies, for which it was intended, were nearly completely organized, and several members of the Safety Committee invited the representatives of these troops on the evening of May 3 to the St. Louis Turner Hall in order to be informed about them, and were most agreeably surprised and almost incredulous when reports were made that all was ready for the organization in the .

First Ward of the first Regiment of.....	1200 men
Second Ward of the second Regiment of.....	900 men
Third and Fourth Wards of the third Regiment of..	1000 men
Franklin Ave., etc., of the fourth Regiment of.....	1000 men
Tenth Ward of the fifth Regiment of.....	1000 men
The last nearly complete; a total of.....	5100 men

Next day the following order was issued:

ST. LOUIS ARSENAL, May 4, 1861.

"Colonel Chester Harding has authority to proceed with the organization of Regiments, to be enrolled in the United States service, for the defense of the loyal citizens of St. Louis, and protecting the property and enforcing the laws of the United States. N. LYON,"
"Captain Second Infantry, Commanding."

To "proceed with the organization" meant in this instance only the making out of muster rolls, the election of field officers and the appointment of the commissioned and non-commissioned staff. This

work was completed on May 5 and 6 and on the 7th of May the First Regiment United States Reserve Corps, Missouri Volunteers, Colonel Henry Almstedt, marched into the Arsenal and was mustered into service with twelve Companies, aggregating near 1,200 men. A few hours later the Second Regiment United States Reserve Corps, Missouri Volunteers, Colonel Hermann Kallmann, with nine Companies, or 900 men, took the oath at the Arsenal. Next day, the 8th of May, the Third Regiment United States Reserve Corps, Missouri Volunteers, Colonel John McNeil, with twelve Companies, nearly 1,200 men, swore in and was followed the same day by the Fourth Regiment United States Reserve Corps, Missouri Volunteers, Colonel B. Gratz Brown, with twelve Companies. The Fifth Regiment United States Reserve Corps, Missouri Volunteers, Colonel Charles G. Stifel, was completed and mustered-in the 11th day of May.

The men of the Home Guard or Reserve Regiments stayed at their own residences. Their muskets were kept on gun racks at their respective headquarters. There were daily roll calls with occasional dress parades, which were not very "dressy," as every one paid for his own uniform of jeans or other cheap material. Frequent drills started at first in a variegated manner, but soon took shape and became systematic when Hardee's Tactics were adopted and officers and sergeants ordered to attend drilling school by sunrise. Every one was studying the little book, which was a faithful pocket companion of men ambitious to perfect themselves. This diligence soon told: for all that was learned in the morning at the officers' school was already practically applied during the exercises of the Company in the evening, imparting a precision in the manual, as well as the most necessary evolutions, which alone could render these large bodies of men serviceable.

It will remain forever a memorable fact that within ten days from April 21, when the order authorizing the muster-in of troops was issued to Captain Lyon, to the first day of May, five Regiments, not of previously organized militia, but of actual Volunteers, one Battalion of Artillery and one Company of Pioneers, and within ten days more to May 11, five more Regiments of Reserves did enter the United States service in a Slave State. Such results were only possible under the favorable circumstances which shaped the disposition of the Union men of St. Louis. For this reason the causes which resulted in the spirit of our population were given, as well as the events which step by step led to the final issue.

About this time new ideas matured in St. Louis which very soon should materially aid the success of the Union armies. Years back, a boy came to St. Louis from Indiana, whose family, on account of sickness of the father, got into very straightened circumstances, which the enterprising lad helped to relieve by selling apples on the streets. This boy was James B. Eads, a mechanical genius and in 1861 a successful merchant, boatbuilder and leading spirit in the St. Louis Wrecking Company. Captain Eads suggested the arming of vessels for military service on the Mississippi and its tributaries. Missouri's great lawyer, Edward C. Bates, of Lincoln's Cabinet, became a most energetic supporter of the proposition, and with Eads and John Rodgers of the navy, laid the plans for the Mosquito fleet and the gunboats. The steamers "Conestoga," "Taylor" and "Lexington" were put in "commission," at first with a protection for musket balls only, but seven better protected vessels were to be constructed at the Marine Railway in Carondelet and at Mound City, Ill. These vessels should soon carry their thunder to Fort Donelson, Shiloh and Memphis, and light up the darkening shades of Vicksburg while passing its water batteries in the gloom of night. They were a most forcible argument in favor of free labor.

The bold conception of these gunboats was only surpassed by the skill and promptness of their construction. Nearly all of them were built within a hundred days and delivered near contract time. They were 175 feet long, 50 feet beam, 6 feet depth of hold in the clear, and drew 5 feet of water, and their speed was nine miles an hour. The sides were slanting outward from the bottom of the boat to the water line at an angle of 45 degrees, and from the water line the sides receded back at the same angle, forming a casemate of twelve feet above deck. The hulls were made of wood, bottom five-inch plank, sides four-inch plank and sheathed with two and one-half-inch iron. The boats were bulkheaded into compartments to prevent their sinking when pierced by cannon balls. The gundeck was about one foot above water and the vessels were pierced to carry thirteen heavy guns, namely, three nine-inch guns in the bow, four small ones on each side, and two smaller ones astern. The slanting casemate extended across the hull near the bow and stern, forming a quadrilateral.

The first gunboat was launched October 12 from the Eads yards and was called "St. Louis," but the name was changed to "De Kalb" by the War Department, as there was another commissioned ves-

sel called "St. Louis." The other vessels were called "Carondelet," "Cincinnati," "Louisville," "Mound City," "Cairo" and "Pittsburgh."

WAR DEMOCRATS.

After the first days of May, 1861, events in the East and near Washington, had a less direct influence on the Department of the West. It was of the greatest importance that almost the entire Northern Democracy wheeled into the Union Camp, animated by the words of their ablest leader, Stephen A. Douglas, who at the Wigwam in Chicago, before a meeting of ten thousand people, declared the injustice of the Southern demands and designated the action of the Secessionists as a conspiracy. He said in the course of his remarks:

"Every man must be for the United States or against it. There can be no neutrals in this war, only patriots or traitors. . . . They (the Secessionists) expected to present a United South against a divided North. They hoped in the Northern States party questions would bring civil war between Democrats and Republicans. . . . Their scheme was carnage and civil war in the North. There is only one way to defeat this, by closing up the ranks. It is a sad task to discuss questions so fearful as civil war; but sad as it is, bloody and disastrous as I expect it will be, I express it my conviction before God that it is the duty of every American citizen to rally around the flag of his country."

Within a few weeks later Douglas died, leaving a last message to his sons: to be true to the Union. About the same time another staunch leader of Democracy, Ben Butler, planted a Battery of Howitzers on a viaduct to keep the wavering city of Baltimore within the proper limits of its public duties, while the Democratic Slave State of Kentucky mustered without delay fourteen Companies for the Union service. It is a noteworthy fact that the Slave-holding Border States furnished to the Union armies during the war over 300,000 men, Missouri heading the column with over 106,000.

Facts like these weigh heavily in shaping convictions, and many a doubtful mind was stopped short by their consideration from making a fatal plunge in the wrong direction.

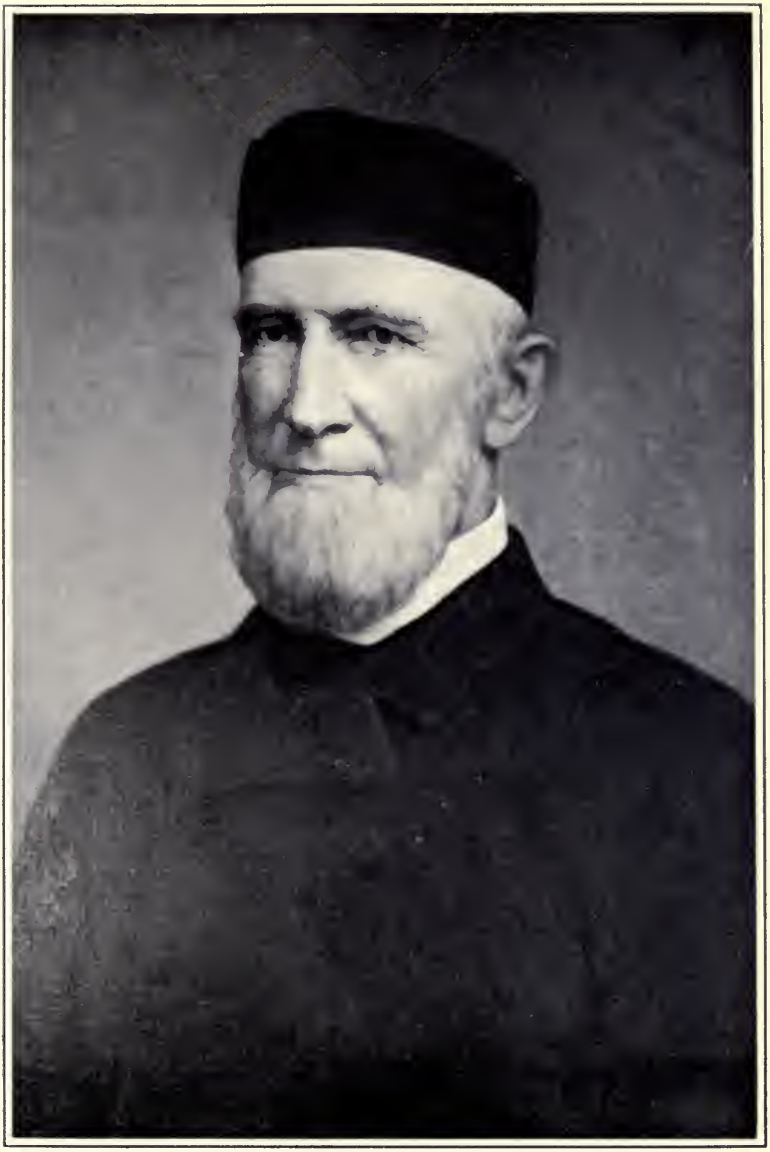
CHAPTER VIII.

THE WAR IN MISSOURI.

UNION SCHEMES.

Colonel Peckham relates that on May 7, the day when the First and Second Regiment of Reserves were sworn in, Lyon stated in presence of L. A. Dick, Lieutenant-Colonel Chester Harding and Colonel F. P. Blair, in a confidential manner, "Mr. Dick, we must take Camp Jackson, and we must take it at once," explaining the menacing nature of that camp, and the rapidly increasing danger of delay, and also pointing to the non-committal portion of the community, whom actual power may sway either way. The parties present acceded to his views, still it was deemed best to consult the Committee of Safety before taking a step fraught with great consequences.

There is a widely spread and generally believed story out that on the 8th or 9th of May, in the afternoon, Lyon drove through Camp Jackson in disguise of a lady, heavily veiled, etc., armed with two Colts revolvers; some more detail was given, namely, that this happened in the disguise of Mrs. Alexander, Blair's mother-in-law's dresses, and in Colonel Dick's buggy. Another version stated the dress belonged to a Miss Graham. The adventure appears useless on the face of it: because a military man of Lyon's capacity and education could secure, and no doubt had, all possible information, without exposing himself to a street row and possible mob violence, and what good would the two revolvers have done him in a camp of 1,400 men? Although the story had been repeated by reliable men, it must be considered that Lindell Grove, which held Camp Jackson, was a well known locality, stretching eastward from the present Grand avenue, between Olive and Laclede avenue; its highest elevations were on its western and eastern boundary; Olive street crossed the central depression of the ground on a dike and the general slope of the territory was towards the south, while the comparaitvely few trees offered very little shelter. These very poor conditions



JAMES B. EADS.
Captain of Steamboats.
From Painting of St. Louis Engineers' Club.

for defense could readily be observed from the public streets by the large number of persons who visited the camp or passed by it. Plats of the locality, with measurements to the very inch, could be obtained in several public and private offices. Under such circumstances, it will require very positive and direct evidence to admit the fact of the above adventure. A surviving member of Colonel Dick's family at Washington, D. C., knows nothing about it.

Captain Lyon convened the members of the Committee of Safety on the afternoon of May 9 at the Arsenal and strongly argued for the immediate necessity of capturing the troops and seizing the war material at Camp Jackson. Frank Blair, O. D. Filley, J. J. Witzig and Jas. O. Broadhead, the eminent Democratic lawyer, fully acceded to Lyon's views; John How hesitated, while Sam Glover, an eminent Republican lawyer, strongly advocated legal proceedings by having the United States Marshal to serve first a "Writ of Replevin" on General Frost for the United States arms and war material illegally in his possession, and if this should be denied, then the United States Marshal should call upon Captain Lyon for armed support. The imminent passage of the "Military Act" by the Legislature at Jefferson City, and General Harney's prospective return on the 11th day of May, strongly supported immediate action. Although the idea of having the United States Marshal with his Writ of Replevin was still insisted upon, Captain Lyon himself was clear in his mind that no chance should be given to the commander of Camp Jackson to avoid the breaking up of his camp and the disarming of his troops by an ostensibly yielding course. It was not a point of law that was in question: but the supremacy of the Union or Secession authority. The United States flag did not shield loyal Union troops at Fort Sumter, why should the name of the State shield disloyal Militia in St. Louis. The proofs of disloyalty were overwhelming, the power to put an end to this menace to the Union cause was in Lyon's hand and Harney was on the road.

With that singleness of purpose which characterized the whole life of Lyon and which secured him a glorious success, he determined to use no subterfuge, but to take the camp, which harbored the avowed enemies of the Union. The decision once reached, Lyon gave prompt orders to the commanders of all Regiments and Batteries to have their troops in readiness at their respective headquarters on the morning of May 10, and then and there await further orders. By the aid of Giles F. and O. D. Filley a sufficient number of horses were bought and secured to complete the teams for the Artillery.

There was little commotion on the 9th, though Wm. T. Sherman, at the time Superintendent of the Fifth Street Railway, who was that day casually at the Arsenal, noticed that sharp cartridges were distributed among the troops. Sherman had not long before resigned the directorship of a military school in Louisiana, had been to Washington, where he was not immediately appreciated, left there in disgust, and when approached in April by Frank P. Blair, in the presence of Henry T. Blow, to assume the command of the Department of the West, had declined the offer on account of having recently assumed a civil position. Still his interest in military affairs remained unabated. He offered his services to the Government at Washington on May 8 and was appointed Colonel of the Thirteenth Regiment of Regular Infantry on May 14, to start a career of great usefulness to his country and great renown to himself.

CAPTURE OF CAMP JACKSON.

Early morning on May 10, a horseman was seen galloping southward on the Carondelet Road to Jefferson Barracks. He took orders to the First Volunteers, which camped there, to march without delay and with forty rounds of cartridges to the Arsenal, fully eight miles distant. They started about eight o'clock, were headed at the Arsenal by two Companies of Regulars under Lieutenant Sweeney, and followed their Colonel, Frank P. Blair, and the commander of all the troops, Captain Nathaniel Lyon. This column moved north on Seventh street to Chouteau avenue and westward on the latter until coming in full view of Lindell Grove, they saw the Secessionists run to their cannons and rally to arms. From here this column advanced across the commons in a diagonal line, alternating the "quick step" with "double quick," to a narrow lane west of the camp, and marched on same northward to Olive, passing Frost's sentinels within twenty yards. A part of the First Volunteers was still in the western lane when the head of its column, marching eastward on Olive, met the Union troops coming westward from the city.

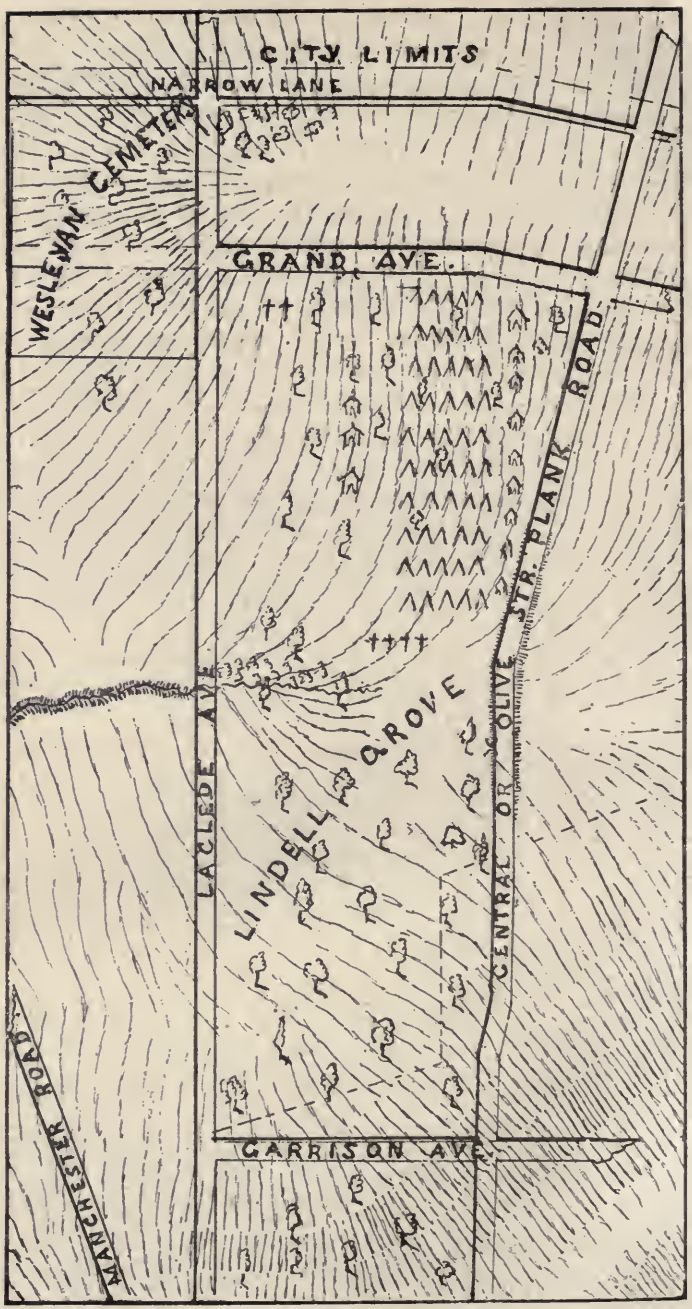
The Second Volunteers, Colonel Boernstein, started from Marine Hospital, marched on Broadway to Chouteau avenue and followed that avenue and the route taken by Lyon and Blair; the distance was near six miles. Six pieces of artillery and the Third Volunteers under Colonel Francis Sigel started from the Arsenal, marched up Broadway to Olive and out Olive to the camp, the Artillery taking position on the elevated ground at the east end, also north of the

camp, commanding its entire length and threatening it thus in case of a combat, with a most destructive fire. The Fourth Volunteers, Colonel Nic Schuettner, also started from the Arsenal with the Third, but branched off on Market street and followed that street and Laclede avenue to the southern line near the east end of the camp. The Reserve Regiments were disposed as follows: From the First Reserve, Colonel Almstedt, one Battalion under Lieutenant-Colonel R. J. Rombauer, marched from Jaeger's Garden on Tenth and Sidney, across the commons to Jefferson avenue; thence to the east end of Camp Jackson, and took position on the left of the Artillery. From the Second Reserve, Colonel Kallmann, one Battalion under Lieutenant-Colonel J. T. Fiala, marched from Soulard Market, north to Olive and west on Olive to the camp, and took position southwest of the First Reserve. The Third Reserve, Colonel John McNeil, formed at the St. Louis Turner Hall on Tenth and Walnut; marched out on Pine street, then turned to Clark avenue, following this to west of Jefferson avenue and formed there the line in front of a little church and near the southeast corner of the camp. The Fourth Reserve, Colonel B. Gratz Brown, marched out on Morgan to near the northeast corner of the camp, and guarded with the Third Reserve the approaches to town, forming an actual reserve force for Lyon's command and cutting off the approach to the camp from the city.

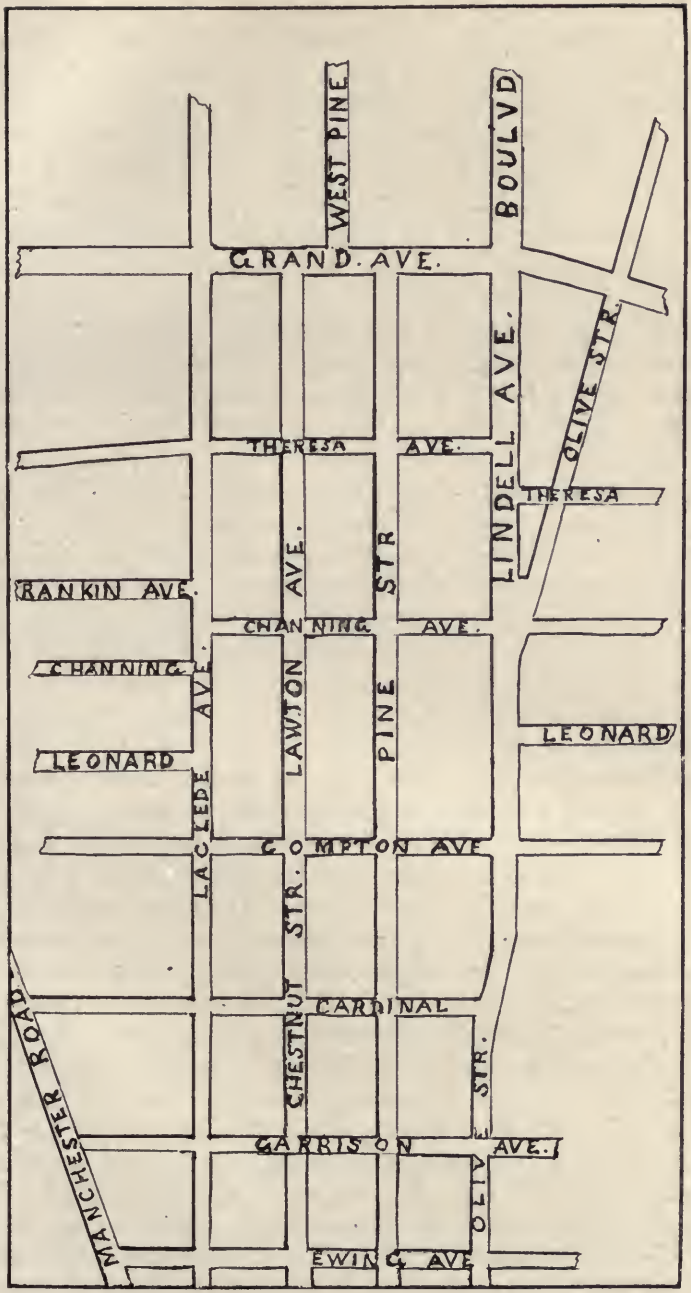
Some of the Regulars and the completed Companies of the Fifth Volunteers, under Colonel C. E. Salomon, held the Arsenal, while one Battalion of the First Reserve, under Major Philip Brimmer, and one Battalion of the Second Reserve, under Major Julius Rapp, occupied the streets and guarded the approaches to the Arsenal, with the order to pass no one. The Fifth Reserve, Colonel Charles G. Stifel, not yet armed, but ready for muster, was assembled at headquarters, Stifel's Brewery.

The distance which each column had to march, being known to Captain Lyon, he timed their starting to secure the simultaneous arrival in their respective positions, in order to surround the camp from all sides.

As soon as the inhabitants noticed Regiment near Regiment to press westward on parallel streets with the cadence of fate, and observed the waves of glittering bayonets roll steadily onward along the avenues and many thousand serious, determined men move like veterans toward one destination, an indescribable excitement



CAMP JACKSON IN 1861.



CAMP JACKSON'S PRESENT SUBDIVISION.

spread among the people. The rumor of the Union host's march towards Camp Jackson spread like wild fire through the city. The simultaneous movement on various streets bewildered the population, and set large numbers of men that belonged to the camp, as well as their friends, in motion, of whom Scharf says in the History of St. Louis: "Numbers of men seized rifles, shotguns or whatever other weapons they could lay hands upon and rushed pell mell to the assistance of the State troops, but were of course obstructed in their designs," still many of them gathered near the camp, while the majority of men, women and children were actuated by curiosity only, and rushed in wagons, buggies and on horseback, most of them, however, on foot, like a living stream, ahead, on the side and behind the troops and towards Camp Jackson; not at all deterred by the certainty that in case of a conflict, even a great many spectators must lose their lives. From the pavements, from windows, even from roofs, people gazed upon the martial array. Mothers of Union sons cast saddened looks upon their passing offsprings, while sisters and wives looked wistfully after the vanishing ranks; nor was the anguish of the families in the center of town less, creating anxiety in the older persons, and often disdain akin to hatred in the more demonstrative girls and boys, who ostentatiously withdrew from sight and slammed many a door and shutter in order to give patent expression to their sentiments.

There were some memorable incidents on the march of the Union troops. Ulysses S. Grant, at the time not in service in Missouri, was standing near the Arsenal gate when the Union Battalions filed out and wheeled northward on Carondelet Road (now Broadway), opposite the then quite modest Anheuser-Busch Brewery. Some bystander made a scurrilous remark upon the troops as they poured out from the Arsenal gate which Grant rebuked in his quiet but decided manner, as he was in full accord with the plan to capture the camp. A few blocks north of the Arsenal, Colonel Sigel tried to pass to the head of his Regiment, which filled the street, and galloped along the pavement, when his horse slipped on a flagging stone, falling, unfortunately, on Sigel's leg. He was picked up and carried into the next store, where his leg was bandaged up by a physician, and being unable to mount a horse, Sigel followed his command later on in a carriage. The accident caused no delay in the march; the next in command, Lieutenant-Colonel Francis Hassendeubel, leading the troops to their position. Wm. T. Sherman,

while on the road to his office at the Fifth Street Railway, heard at every corner "of the streets that the Dutch were moving on Camp Jackson." He returned to his residence, and being beseeched by a lady in the neighborhood to look after her son, started out with his own little boy and some friends towards Camp Jackson.

According to John C. Abbott's History, General D. M. Frost, being advised of Lyon's movements, dispatched Colonel Bowen with the following letter:

CAMP JACKSON, Mo., May 10, 1861.

CAPTAIN N. LYON.

"Sir: I am constantly in receipt of information that you contemplate an attack upon my camp; while I understood that you are impressed with the idea that an attack upon the Arsenal and United States troops is intended on the part of the Militia of Missouri; . . . I would be glad to know from you personally whether there is any truth in the statements that are constantly poured into my ears. So far as regards any hostility being intended towards the United States or its property or representatives by any portion of my command, or, as far as I can learn, and I think I am fully informed, of any other part of the State forces I can say positively that the idea has never been entertained. . . . I trust that, after this explicit statement, we may be able, by fully understanding each other, to keep far from our borders, the misfortunes which so unhappily afflict our common country.

"I am, etc.,

"BRIG.-GEN. D. M. FROST."

Colonel Bowen met Captain Lyon at the head of the column, in full march, and handed him General Frost's letter, but Lyon had made up his mind to take the camp, and having the summons for its surrender in his pocket, not only declined to read Frost's letter, but pushed forward without delay.

The Union columns had arrived on time and completely surrounded the camp; the troops stood silently at their arms, many in full sight and short musket range of the Secessionists. The cannons stood unlimbered in commanding position, and guards prevented all ingress or egress. Immediately after the arrival, Captain Lyon sent to General Frost, through B. G. Farrar, the following summons:

"HEADQUARTERS UNITED STATES TROOPS, St. Louis, May 10, 1861.

"GENERAL D. M. FROST, Commanding Camp Jackson.

Sir: Your command is regarded as evidently hostile toward the Government of the United States. It is for the most part made up of those Secessionists who have openly avowed their hostility to the General Government, and have been plotting the seizure of its property and the overthrow of its

authority. You are openly in communication with the so-called Southern Confederacy, which is now at war with the United States, and you are receiving at your camp from the said Confederacy, and under its flag, large supplies of the material of war, most of which is known to be the property of the United States. These extraordinary preparations plainly indicate none other than the well-known purpose of the Governor of this State, under whose order you are acting, and whose purpose recently communicated to the Legislature, has just been responded to by that body, in the most unparalleled legislation, having in direct view hostilities to the General Government and co-operation with its enemies.

"In view of these considerations, and of your failure to disperse in obedience to the proclamation of the President, and in view of the eminent necessities of State policy and welfare, and the obligations imposed upon me by instructions from Washington, it is my duty to demand, and I do hereby demand of you, an immediate surrender of your command, with no other conditions than that all persons surrendering under this demand shall be humanely and kindly treated.

"Believing myself prepared to enforce this demand, one-half hour's time before doing so, will be allowed for your compliance therewith.

"Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"N. Lyon,

"Captain Second Infantry, Commanding Troops.

Before the granted period expired, General Frost sent word asking for more time and a conference to arrange matters, to which Lyon answered on the back of Frost's note, writing on the pommel of his saddle, that unless an unconditional surrender was made within ten minutes, he would open fire. The cause for this peremptory demand was, no doubt, the rapidly growing crowd of men around the Union troops, which used threatening and abusive language, evidently warming up for a riot. To the last summons General Frost answered:

"Captain N. Lyon, Commanding U. S. Troops.

"Sir: I never for a moment conceived the idea that so illegal and unconstitutional demand, as I have just received from you, would be made by an officer of the United States Army.

"I am wholly unprepared to defend my command from this unwarranted attack, and shall, therefore, be forced to comply with your demand.

"I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"D. M. Frost,

"Brig. Gen. Comdg. Camp Jackson, M. V. M."

One Company of Regulars had advanced to a post and board fence within fifty yards of the hostile front, with the instruction of storming a near Battery as soon as firing commenced: but their

CONSTANTIN BLANDOVSKI.

Captain 3d Infantry, Missouri Volunteers.
From Original Painting by Karl Wimar.

position was so much exposed that the very first volley would not have left one of them unhurt. Luckily, General Frost's correct judgment, realizing the situation, prevented all useless bloodshed. He surrendered the camp unconditionally, and deserves credit for this act, for a fight against a superior force of five to one, after being surprised in the trap of his camp, would have been sheer madness. There was no special sign of glorification among the Union troops when the news of the surrender was learned. Some commanders told their men: "Put green twigs to your hats; they have surrendered," but there was no cheering nor exultant exclamations. During the suspense of waiting, some shouting was heard from the camp, in answer to the information of the unavoidable result; after the message of surrender was dispatched all the late Minute Men, Secessionists and Militia stacked arms at the command of their officers and after few preliminaries were arranged, marched out of camp and passed between the files of the First Volunteers, which had opened ranks and faced inward. So far everything went on rational lines, and had the troops escorting the prisoners marched off and those designated to guard the property in the camp occupied their position, there would have been no lives lost. Lyon, after dismounting, was kicked by his horse and disabled for the time being. There seems to have been no proper staff to expedite matters, and the starting was delayed beyond measure. In the meantime the crowd around the troops, particularly in the neighborhood of the prisoners grew in numbers and their rage in intensity; captives were called by name and cheered, while epithets and curses were hurled at their captors. Hurrahs for "Jeff Davis" and shouts of "Damn the Dutch" were frequent and soon followed by missiles of dirt and stones. Revolvers were pulled on Lyon and Blair and other officers. All these indignities were patiently borne by the troops, until a drunken man tried to break through the ranks, and being pushed back, fired and wounded an officer. A few shots were now fired from Union soldiers, when the column was set in motion but soon halted again. Captain Rufus Saxton, at the head of the Regulars, was shot at three times, while the crowd around the man who shot, goaded him on, when the most aggressive man was struck down with the bayonet. The yells and general abuse continued around the long stretched column on several points. Company F, Third Volunteers, was guarding the western gate when a crowd of rowdies, cursing and swearing, began hostile demonstrations by abusing

shouts, stone-throwing and pistol shots, which killed one man and mortally wounded Captain Blandovski. Some one from the Union officers now commanded "Fire," which was repeated by several Companies. At the place where the worst assault was made, fifteen persons were killed and a number wounded, among them innocent spectators. The mob was firing on the rear of the column from both sides of the line, and in dispersing continued to fire on the troops, and it is here where most fatalities occurred. Many troopers fired high more to intimidate than to hurt, otherwise the fatalities would have been ten times their number. In the fusillade, which possibly might have been prevented by more forbearance and patience, and particularly by a timely clearing of the grounds, the innocent suffered with the guilty. Captain Constantine Blandovski of the Third Volunteers, was mortally wounded while his Company was standing at rest: a scion of Poland, he fell as so many of his co-patriots, on battlefields crimsoned in defense of popular rights. It seems to be the fate of the Niobe of nations that her sons should find honorable graves wherever liberty raises her banner. The firing was on Olive street and could not be seen from the positions of the Fourth Volunteers or First and Second Reserves. They only heard the bullets break through the top of the trees. The First Reserve did not even have the muskets loaded, but practiced the manual of "Charge Bayonets" as a notice of what possibly may have to follow.

On his errand of kindness, W. T. Sherman reached the camp after the surrender; he witnessed the shot fired by the man who tried to break through the ranks, and when firing commenced he and his party threw themselves on the ground and afterwards run to a gully to protect his son. This circumstance is related by Sherman in his Memoires, in which he also says: The great mass of the people on that occasion were simply curious spectators, though men were sprinkled through the crowd calling out, "Hurrah for Jeff Davis," and others were particularly "abusive of the damned Dutch." It was lucky for Sherman and the Union that the bullets flew high where he stood, otherwise some brilliant pages of American history would never have been written.

The captives stood quietly between the files of Union troops: their behavior was manly and considerate. They did not encourage the demonstrative sympathizers, neither by word nor action. They were no doubt convinced of the uselessness of mob violence where

their own organized efforts were of no avail. The cause of the shooting was a lawless mob spirit, which was here, as in every other instance, disgraceful, contemptible and not to be tolerated in any civilized community.

Abbot writes in his History of the Civil War:

General Frost surrendered; the line was formed with an advance and rear guard between which the prisoners stood, with a single file of soldiers on each flank. It was near sunset when the order to move was given.

"An antipathy to the Germans, who composed a large proportion of the Home Guards, increased the bitterness with which the defeated rebels regarded the loyal soldiery. The crowd pressed thick and close upon the rear of the troops. . . A few stones were thrown; a few pistol shots were heard; then suddenly a volley of rifles, then another, then another. Then mingled with the sharp ring of the rifle rose the shrieks of women and children, as they rushed frantically from the scene, the crowd scattering in all directions. Some were struck with chance bullets as they ran. It is said there were twenty-five in all killed and wounded."

"For a whole hour the soldiers had received patiently and without retaliation a storm of vituperation and abuse from the mob. Emboldened by this impunity, the miscreants commenced throwing stones and at length pistol shots were fired and two of the soldiers fell. Forbearance then became a crime, and the fire was returned."

The episode of the firing at Camp Jackson after the surrender was variously commented upon, according the different party position and the deficient informations, which the limited field of vision of witnesses could give. That it was wantonly provoked can be readily seen from the account of Thos. L. Snead, a devoted Secessionist, and at that time Secretary and Aide-de-Camp to Governor Jackson, who in his valuable work, "The Fight for Missouri," on page 171, writes:

"The Militia having stacked their arms, were formed into line, and conducted out of the camp on their way to the Arsenal. They had moved but a short distance when they were halted, and kept standing on a line parallel with and a few yards from Olive street, which was occupied by Lyons' troops. During the halt which lasted several hours, great numbers of men, women and children gathered around the prisoners and their captors. They were, of course, intensely agitated and as the excitement grew, began to jeer at and abuse "the Dutch Blackguard" (so-called in derision because one of the German companies called itself "die Schwartze Garde"). Suddenly a few shots were fired and were followed almost immediately by volley after volley extending in regular succession down the line of troops, until apparently a full Regiment had thus fired by company. Twenty-eight people lay dead and mortally wounded. Among them were three prisoners and an infant in the arms of its mother."

Another Confederate writer said: "It was there the blood of innocent men and women was shed by Lyon's troops without real cause." This is not just. The innocent people were mixed with a crowd of rowdies, who made a wanton attack upon the troops with invectives, stone-throwing and shooting, inflicting mortal wounds and trying to break through the ranks.

At last the welcome order of "Forward, March!" was given. At the head was a section of Artillery, followed by the Battalion of the First Reserve, next between the open ranks of the First Volunteers, the captives with their officers in front, followed by the Second Volunteers; the Battalion of the Second Reserves closing the rear. As the column passed down Olive street, doors and shutters were again slammed, if not already shut before; here and there a shout for "Jeff Davis" was heard in the distance, or a knit brow frowned down upon the marching troops, who had been on their legs since morning, without food or refreshment of any kind, were fatigued but in good spirits, notwithstanding the gloom of the streets, the prisoners and the frosty appearance of the houses. About midway down town, the column wheeled to the right, marched south to Chouteau avenue and east to Broadway. Already on Chouteau avenue sympathetic people gathered on the pavements, Union flags appeared and handkerchiefs were waved by the fair hands and the animation of the spectators increased block by block; but when Broadway or Carondelet avenue was reached, the enthusiasm of the hundreds and thousands on the sidewalks, at windows and on porches, knew no bounds; cheer after cheer was given, flowers thrown, all houses were decked with flags, until the whole avenue looked like a living sea with a big stream of glistening bayonets flowing southward. This was the crowning day of several months of unusual exertion and care, and it was the first great Union Success in the Civil War. It gave St. Louis peace and settled the fate of Secession in Missouri. But for the rowdy element of the city, the day would not have been marred by the loss of a single life.

The prisoners were housed in the Arsenal and guarded by the First Volunteers, all made as comfortable as possible; the Second Volunteers marched to Marine Hospital, and the Reserves, after leaving the usual one Company to guard their respective armories and headquarters, dispersed to their neighboring homes.

Conditional Union men and many ultra conservatives found fault with the capture of Camp Jackson, because not all the men in the

camp were disloyal. No doubt many Union men were also members of the State Militia: but nearly all of them withdrew from the organization before or at the time of forming the camp, as for instance, Christ A. Stifel from the Missouri Dragoons, of which Company Chas. A. Stifel was also a member; Bernard Laibold, J. N. Pritchard, Tony Niederwieser, F. M. Cornyn, Jacob Riseck, John S. Cavender, Jacob Melter, John B. Gray, Fred Schaefer, nearly all having been officers of the Militia, and many others, left on account of the disloyal character of the camp or the spirit which characterized the Southwest Expedition preceding it. Captain Joseph Boyce, a Confederate officer, and a contemporary historical writer, who since held many offices of public trust, says: Most of the captured entered the Confederate army, though some joined the Federal forces.

The State flag which waved in Camp Jackson was carried to Memphis, and was always in front of the First Missouri Confederate Infantry during four years of the war; and Snead tells of the Second Regiment Militia, known as Minute Men, under Colonel Bowen, that: "Not one of them proved false to the cause to which he pledged his faith." What cause? They had pledged themselves to support and obey the Governor of the State, Claiborne F. Jackson, and the commander of the camp, General D. M. Frost, both of whom were avowed Secessionists and enemies of the Union. For all these reasons and the obvious sound policy of removing the battlefield from the streets of St. Louis, the capture of Camp Jackson became an imperative duty.

The following was the oath which the Missouri State Militia had taken:

"Swear that you will honestly and faithfully serve the State of Missouri against all her enemies. and that you will do your utmost to sustain the constitution and laws of the United States."

"The utmost" which a Staterights Secessionist could do under the circumstances was not a perceptible quantity. For all that, it was difficult to understand General Frost's activity at the time. The Confederate writer, J. C. Moore, says about it: "General Frost was getting ready to take the Arsenal, but never quite succeeded in completing his preparations."

Speaking of the surrender of Camp Jackson, the same writer asks: "Why did he put himself in a position to provoke an attack if he did not intend to fight? Why did he ask for siege guns to

reduce the Arsenal if he could not keep them when he got them? If he could not defend himself, why did he not retreat—why did he not take the Arsenal before? He had the authority to do it."

DAYS OF EXCITEMENT.

The Third and Fourth Regiments Volunteers and two Companies of Regulars were detailed to guard Camp Jackson, or rather to guard the war material which was stored there. This comprised many balls and bombs packed in ale barrels; Artillery pieces marked "Marble," invoiced via Iron Mountain Railroad, which were recognized by L. D. Immels as being those with which he practiced under Totten at Little Rock before they were seized by the Secessionists; "sixteen" inch brass mortars with a number of shells; three "thirty-two-pounders," with outfit. This was the heavy ordnance intended and sent by Jefferson Davis for the capture of the Arsenal, for stopping navigation and reducing Cairo. There were besides six brass field pieces, 1,200 rifles, a large outfit of camp and pioneer utensils, tents, twenty-five kegs of powder and other material, all of which proved that this material was intended for war on a large scale, to be carried on with the assistance of the Confederate States.

If there was comparative quiet in the Union quarters, the excitement in the center of town knew no bounds; crowds cheering Jeff Davis and the Secession flag and cursing the Union leaders and the "Dutch" surged from street to street; schemes were laid to mob the "Missouri Democrat" and the "Anzeiger des Westen" newspapers, and mobs started in that direction: it was, however, their good fortune that they were stopped by Captain McDonough with a strong police force, for the Union men were in large numbers at both places and fully prepared to give the mob a very warm reception. An indignation meeting was held at the Courthouse, at which the Secession sympathizers and State Rights schemers uttered the most violent speeches, some using expressions and threats below the dignity of decent men. No wonder that men without education or judgment were excited to a frenzy of rage and prone to commit atrocious deeds. According to Colonel Peckham, a dead German was found next morning on Market near Fifteenth; one on Clark avenue and Tenth, in the immediate vicinity of Turner Hall; one on Franklin avenue and Seventh; one shot in the breast on Chestnut and Sixth, and one maltreated on Ninth and Market, and John C. Moore says in his History: "Now and then a citizen

under the darkness of night was done to death in the street, and they who did the deed of blood were never discovered."

When the Fifth Reserve Regiment under Lieutenant-Colonel Robert White returned on the 11th from its muster at the Arsenal, on northwest corner of Fifth and Walnut, it was attacked from the steps of the church, of which Scharf in the History of St. Louis writes: "Large crowds were collected on this corner, who hooted and hissed as the Companies passed, and one man standing on the step of the church, fired a revolver into the ranks. A soldier fell dead, when two more shots were fired from the windows of the house near by. At this juncture the head of the column turned and fired along the street." Six men lay dead at different points and several were wounded. It was stated that by careless firing the soldiers killed some of their own men. The aggressive mob dispersed and the persons that caused the trouble were never brought to justice.

In the meantime parole papers were made out at the Arsenal and when completed, all prisoners were placed on board of a ship and sent up town, in order to save them from the unpleasant passage through the Union Wards of the city. They little appreciated this considerate measure, for as soon as they were away from shore they gave three cheers for Jefferson Davis. One of the prisoners, Captain Emmett McDonald, declined to be paroled. As there was danger of a "Habeas Corpus" act to be sworn out for him, he was taken over the same evening to Arsenal Island, and there kept under guard, but later on released.

General Harney returned to St. Louis on May 11th. He found the city in the height of excitement, and was approached by conservatives and Southern sympathizers to send the Home Guard out of town. Blair informed Harney that the Home Guard or Reserve troops, were enlisted for service in the city only, and could not be sent out of town without their own consent. There was in reality no rational foundation for the spite against the Home Guards or Reserve Regiments, for at Camp Jackson they did not fire a shot and at Walnut and Broadway, the Fifth Reserve only used their arms after they were shot at. The hatred against the Home Guard, Volunteers included, was rooted in nativistic and political animosity, mixed with social, religious and temperance prejudices. Most Home Guards were voters, naturalized citizens, or their descendants and their officers nearly all had seen military service in Europe. There was an apprehension, however, that they might retaliate for the many outrages committed on their friends and comrades.

As Rev. Galusha Anderson argued in his interesting book on that period, that the threats pronounced at the Courthouse meeting to go to the Southern wards, carry murder, arson and worse into the homes of the Dutch, might have struck the guilty conscience of the advocates of violence with just apprehensions.

Under these circumstances it was not difficult for evil designed persons, to start on May 12th a panic in the center of town, with the assertion that the Home Guards or Reserve Regiments are preparing for a raid to clean out the Secessionists. All at once a large portion of the residents in the middle of the city got on the move; vehicles of every sort were pressed into service; a rush was made for steamboats and ferries, and the most ludicrous scenes were enacted in a panic, for which there seems to have been no foundation; for the men in the Reserve Regiments were the substantial citizens of the Union Wards and the most law-abiding people of the community. Mayor Taylor, aware of the folly of the panic, quieted the fleeing crowd with the assurance that the Home Guards were loyal to their officers and did not endanger neither the life nor the property of peaceful inhabitants. Mayor Taylor's exertions, and the absence of every vestige of movement by Volunteer or Reserve troops, quieted the excited nerves, stopped the exodus and brought even those back who were unfortunate to get far away.

General Harney nevertheless moved the Regulars with some Artillery near to his headquarters on Fourth, near Market street, placed two cannon in the street, and lodged the relieves in a livery stable near by, and issued the following apologetic proclamation:

"Military Department of the West, St. Louis, May 12, 1861.

"To the People of the State of Missouri and City of St. Louis.

"I have just returned to this post, and have assumed the military command of this Department.

"No one can more deeply regret the deplorable state of things existing here than myself. The past can not be recalled. I can only deal with the present and the future.

"I most anxiously desire to discharge the delicate and onerous duties devolved upon me, so as to preserve the public peace. I shall carefully abstain from the exercise of any unnecessary powers, and from all interference with the proper functions of the public officers of the State and City. I, therefore, call upon the public authorities and the people to aid me in preserving the public peace.

"The military force stationed in this Department by the authority of the Government, and now under my command, will only be used in the last

ADOLPHUS BUSCH.

Corporal 3d U. S. Reserve Corps, Missouri Volunteers.

resort, to preserve the peace. I trust I may be spared the necessity of resorting to martial law, but the public peace must be preserved, and the lives and property of the people protected. Upon a careful review of my instructions, I find I have no authority to change the location of the Home Guards.

"To avoid all cause of irritation and excitement, if called upon to aid the local authorities in preserving the public peace, I shall in preference make use of the Regular Army.

"I ask the people to pursue their regular avocations, and to observe the laws, and orders of their local authorities, and to abstain from the excitements of public meetings and heated discussions. My appeal, I trust, may not be in vain, and I pledge the faith of a soldier to the earnest discharge of my duty.

"WM. S. HARNEY,
"Brig. Gen. U. S., Commanding Department."

What did General Harney regret? The capture of Camp Jackson? The organization of a Union host which secured peace to St. Louis? The recovery of United States property, cannon, mortars and ammunition, seized from United States Arsenals, by the enemies of the Union, and sent to a treacherous Governor, to enable him to levy war upon the United States? It was sad that by chance some innocent people were shot in retaliation for an uncalled for, useless and dastardly attack; but could Harney not realize that a few more energetic and timely acts like that of the capture of Camp Jackson would have saved to our people, North and South, half a million of lives and untold misery?

When General Harney again assumed command in St. Louis on May 11th, he found himself confronted with a changed condition of affairs; when he left for Washington April 20, there were less than 500 Regulars at the St. Louis Arsenal and a stronger body of Secessionists in town; when he returned on May 11, all the Secessionists were captives and ten thousand Union men, well organized and officered, were at his command. Never during the whole war had a Union General a more brilliant chance to make a short and victorious campaign against the sprouting Secessionism of the State. It was a chance similar to the one which General Dufour improved, when in the course of a short three weeks in 1847, he vanquished and disarmed the seven Secession Cantons of Switzerland. But Harney failed to improve the occasion, and the two weeks he still remained in command were disastrous to the Union cause, as he gave an utterly discomfited enemy time to organize his resistance. This is all the more incomprehensible, as Harney appreciated the treasonable character

of Camp Jackson, and could not possibly be blind to the Secession proclivities of Governor Jackson. In a letter which Harney wrote to General Scott on May 13, he approved Captain Lyon's conduct in capturing Camp Jackson, and on May 14 he published a proclamation to the people of Missouri, in which he called the Military Bill "an indirect Secession Ordinance in conflict with the Constitution and laws of the United States, . . . not by any means to be obeyed by the people of Missouri" and "the whole power of the United States would, if necessary, be exerted to maintain the State in her present position in the Union."

Harney referred in that proclamation to the proofs of the treasonable character of Camp Jackson; to "Davis" Avenue and "Beauregard" street; to the Minute Men wearing the uniform of the Southern Confederacy; to the arms and cannon unlawfully taken from Baton Rouge and sent to the Camp by Jefferson Davis, and concludes that within the scope of his command, "the supreme law of the land must and shall be maintained," and adds, "I shall deem it my duty to suppress all unlawful combinations of men, whether formed under pretext of military organization or otherwise." Harney also asked the Government for 10,000 stand of arms, to issue to reliable Union men and asks the Governors of Iowa and Minnesota, who were also in the Department of the West, to send him 9,000 men, to be employed in Missouri. Instead of improving his time and moving with the ample force of about 7,000 into the State, leaving 3,000 in St. Louis, he wasted the precious moments.

SECESSIONIST WAR MEASURES.

While the Union troops in St. Louis were marching on Camp Jackson, the Legislature in Jefferson City held a secret session, considering first of all the Governor's recommendations relative to the Military Bill, which was only opposed by the few decided Union members. In the afternoon, Governor Jackson hastily entered the House of Representatives and informed the members that Lyon had captured the State troops at Camp Jackson. The news created an excitement as if lightning had struck the hall; but the Secessionist members proved equal to the emergency, and after a brief and bitter burst of abuse, heaped upon Lyon, Blair and the Dutch, took up the Military Bill, smothered all suggested amendments and passed it in both Houses; ten thousand dollars were appropriated to cultivate the friendship of

the Indians in the Territory; one million was borrowed from the Banks, and bonds for another million decreed for the absolute use of the Governor, whose powers were enlarged to equal those of any despot; the semi-annual interest money was diverted to military uses, and the School Fund seized for the same purpose. The few Union members were powerless, the measures receiving an almost unanimous vote. Some acts had little practical bearing upon immediate events, such as the purchase of foundries for the casting of cannon, or of real estate for armories and factories of arms and of constructing a State road to Arkansas; but all these measures proved that the State authorities sized up their prospective difficulties. Before adjourning on the 15th, the Legislature requested the Governor to call out the Militia.

One of the few stanch Union members of the Legislature, James Peckham, from St. Louis, graphically describes the scenes in that Legislature, on the eve of May 10, 1861.

"Nearly every individual was armed, some with many more weapons than others. Members in their seats were surrounded by guns of every description, some leaning against desks, some against chairs, some held between the knees, some leaning against the wall, some laying on the floor, and some across desks. Many members had belts strapped around their waists, and from one to three pistols or bowie knives fastened to them. The scene in the House particularly was exceedingly grotesque and ludicrous. Many showed faces pale with fear; others exhibited the anxiety natural in any crisis; a few sought to impel the movements of the doubtful into the Secesh ranks, while the leaders proposed measures for adoption and dared opposition."

At midnight the toll of bells aroused the people of Jefferson City. Legislators hurried to their halls and were informed by the Governor that two Union Regiments were on their way to the Capital. The Legislature voted for the Governor almost dictatorial powers: "to repel invasion or put down rebellion."

Dispatches were sent all over the State, calling for armed help, as it was anticipated that Union forces would seize the Capitol and State Government. Colonel N. C. Claiborn was dispatched with an engine toward St. Louis to reconnoitre the threatened Union advance upon Jefferson City. He proceeded to the limits of St. Louis County, but did not find any sign of the anticipated military movement, for the hindrance of which the bridges over the Gasconade and Osage rivers were to be destroyed, otherwise only to be guarded. Both of these bridges are large structures and would require considerable time to

be replaced. On returning, the guard at the Osage actually burned down a portion of the bridge. Whether this was done intentionally or not, the effect upon the facility of communication remained the same. Still there was no faith in the security of the Capital; the powder on hand was removed; likewise the funds in the State Treasury. The Secessionists, armed with any kind of weapon they could lay hands on, wore cockades in token of their party affiliation, and enacted all kinds of scenes; it added an especial interest to the situation, that the majority of the permanent inhabitants of Jefferson City were Union people. It has been often asserted that there is only one step from the sublime to the ridiculous; the patriot and the poltroon often march to the same music, but while the one bleeds in the front, the other manages to keep busy in the rear, never forgetting the adage that discretion is the better part of valor. This applies equally to men of all parties and has been the experience since times immemorial.

The signs of the sinking ship became very apparent at Jefferson City; the more cautious left in every direction. The Governor and State officers packed their most important documents; families were sent away, and all preparations made for a flight, from which many—many a one should never return to that most beautiful spot, the capitol of the State of Missouri.

One measure of considerable importance for the military developments in Missouri was the appointment of Sterling Price as Major General of the Missouri State Guard, a position created by the new Military bill. Granting that Price made a mistake in espousing the Secession cause, he still enjoyed the confidence and love of the men under his command to an extent which proved that he was head and shoulder above most of his contemporary fellow officers.

Sterling Price was born 1809 in Virginia, came to Missouri in 1830. He was a member of the Legislature, Speaker of the House and in 1844 Congressman; went to the Mexican war as Colonel of Cavalry, suppressed an insurrection of New Mexicans and Pueblo Indians, who had murdered Governor Charles Bent, and had several of the insurrectionists hung. It seems his "State Right" notions had not fully developed then. Price was Governor of Missouri from 1853 to 1857, being elected as a compromise candidate of the Benton and anti-Benton factions. After the civil war Price went to Mexico, took service under Emperor Maximilian against the Mexican Republic, returned to St. Louis and died here in 1867.

The organization of the Missouri State Militia was completed under the new law, by the designation of nine military districts and the appointment of nine Brigadier Generals, namely: A. W. Doniphan, Monroe M. Parson, James S. Rains, John B. Clark, M. L. Clark, N. W. Watkins, B. Randolph, William J. Slack and James H. McBride; they were to rank in the order named; Henry Little, a West Pointer, was made Assistant Adjutant General and Alfred W. Jones and Richard T. Morrison Aid de Camps; W. N. Snodgrass and Henry W. Cross, Surgeon and Assistant Surgeon. General Price sent to the Brigade Commanders an order to complete their organization, appoint their staff and hold themselves in readiness to protect citizens of the State, regardless of political opinion, and as the Militia is under the Constitution of Missouri and that of the United States, to avoid collision with any armed bodies unless in an emergency, to protect the life, liberty and property of the people; also that the flag of the State of Missouri shall be the only flag used.

The Governor sent out commissions with orders to enroll and organize the troops for active service. Nearly all of the Brigadiers named were soon conspicuous in fighting the battles of Secession and for the Southern Confederacy. Volunteers had gathered at Jefferson City, also entire Companies from Cooper and Callaway counties, and one Company from Jackson County with the four brass cannon, seized at the Liberty Arsenal; Kelly's Company from St. Louis was also there; all these Companies formed a Regiment, and elected John S. Marmaduke their Colonel.

GENERAL HARNEY'S FAILURE.

In St. Louis questions of authority were near a crisis. Advised by Blair, that he had no legal power to dissolve the Home Guard, Harney issued a circular to their Commanders, to meet him at his residence. Colonel Henry Almstedt of the First Reserve, who knew Harney from previous military service, on reading the circular, said more pointedly than politely, "I know the stinker; I will not go." Another field officer suggested the propriety of attending, in keeping with the request of the Commanding General. This view does not seem to have prevailed at all in other Regiments, for at the appointed hour, 8 p. m., only Colonel John McNeil of the Third and Lieutenant Colonel R. J. Rombauer of the First Regiment attended. Harney sought information with regard to the spirit of the Home Guard, and

after a longer conversation, learned that they would regard any attempt to disarm them as treason; that the Home Guard Regiments had organized themselves for maintaining the Union cause in St. Louis and are resolved to carry out that purpose. McNeil's humorous, though very determined, remarks left the brave "Indian fighter" in a rather contemplative mood. No more was heard of dissolving the Home Guard. On May 12 ultra conservatives held a meeting at the Mayor's office. They still dreamt of a possible compromise between the North and the South. The capture of Camp Jackson was considered by them a very radical step. The bold measures of the preceding days filled them with terror, and, under the influence of a partisan press and home relations, they flattered themselves to be able to change the inexorable logic of events. The result of consultation was a confidential mission of Messrs. Yeatman and Gamble to President Lincoln, in order to secure the removal of General Lyon. To counteract this influence, Colonel F. A. Dick proceeded to Washington on behalf of the Committee of Safety, and at the request of Genal Lyon, Charles L. Bernays, editor of the Anzeiger, who was personally acquainted with President Lincoln, followed to the National Capital. Messrs. Yeatman and Gamble found in Secretary Bates a strong support, while Lyon's cause was championed by Montgomery Blair, that stanchest friend of Missouri Union men. There was a meeting of all parties at the President's, and Colonel Dick's representation of unanswerable facts carried the day. It no doubt weighed heavily in the scale, that the entire Union press of the country was highly elated and quite enthusiastic upon the capture of Camp Jackson. As a result of the above consultation, Montgomery Blair wrote to Ben Farrar of St. Louis on May 17: "Dear Sir—The inclosed dispatches are, first a Commission for Lyon (as a Brigadier General for the period of the war) and a leave of absence for Harney." The latter was to be placed into the hands of Colonel Frank Blair, to be used at discretion, as circumstances dictate. Montgomery Blair concluded his letter with the following statesmanlike words: "I do not feel that it is right to keep Harney in command, without the approbation of those immediately concerned. It is better to mortify him than to endanger the lives of many men, and the position of Missouri in the present conflict." Montgomery Blair evidently gauged the character of the Southern people better than Yeatman, Gamble or Bates; he knew that having commenced the war, they would fight it out to the bitter end. Harney's own experience bore out this truth,

for his searching patrol of May 17, gathered from Police Headquarters and the Tobacco warehouse, hundreds of rifles, two cannon and other war material.

Partisan outrages were at this time reported from all sides in Missouri, and Harney, possibly with the best intentions, yielded to the suggestions of his Southern friends and invited General Price to a conference on May 21, which measure seems to have been planned by the Secessionists for the sole purpose of gaining time. By the agreement made at this conference, the Union men of the State were left to the tender mercies of the Secession Governor and his Militia, while Harney promised to keep the Union forces in their present positions until the Courts decide upon the constitutionality of the Military Bill. Harney evidently forgot the proverb that "Time and Tide wait for no man." The public was notified of the adopted agreement by Harney's proclamation:

TO THE PEOPLE OF THE STATE OF MISSOURI.

"I take great pleasure in submitting to you the following paper, signed by General Price, commanding the forces of the State, and by myself on the part of the Government of the United States. It will be seen that the united forces of both governments, are pledged to the maintenance of the peace of the State, and the defense of the rights and the property of all persons without distinction of party. This pledge, which both parties are authorized and empowered to give by the governments which they represent, will be by both most religiously and sacredly kept, and if necessary to put down evil disposed persons, the military powers of both governments will be called out to enforce the terms of the honorable and amicable agreement which has been made. I, therefore, call upon all persons in this State to observe good order, and respect the rights of their fellow-citizens, and give them the assurance of protection and security in the most ample manner."

"WM. S. HARNEY,
"Brigadier General Commanding."

The Harney-Price agreement in brief declared above the signature of both Generals, a solemn determination of the proper authorities, which must have meant United States and State, to suppress all unlawful proceedings (an expression which left the greatest latitude for construction to each), but Price was to maintain order within the State, while Harney publicly declares, that under those circumstances, he has no wish and can have no occasion, to make military movements. There was a hope attached "that the unquiet elements which have threatened so seriously to disturb the public peace may soon subside, and be remembered only to be deplored."

This was a surrender of the State to the Secessionists, and a blame for the capture of Camp Jackson, which Harney himself had approved after his return to St. Louis on May 11, and the character of which camp he had pronounced as treasonable. It is also very suggestive with regard to the ethical worth of this agreement that it was made about the date fixed by Governor Jackson in a letter to David Walker, President of the Arkansas Secession Convention, upon which date Missouri would secede "if Arkansas will only get out of the way, and give her a free passage."

Could this strange introduction to a still stranger document be countenanced by the authority of the Government of the United States, which already four days earlier appointed Lyon Brigadier General, and gave Frank P. Blair discretionary power to suspend Harney? The State of Missouri, party of the first part, and the United States, party of the second part, treat as sovereign States upon the same footing. This is a virtual acknowledgement of the right of Secession, while the agreement would not have protected Union people out in the State, nor Secessionists in the City. It was an entirely one-sided agreement, as the Southern sympathizers would have continued to build up their organizations, while General Harney himself would have, "upon the honor of a soldier," faithfully kept his promise, until the other side had troops enough to defeat him in St. Louis.

General Price certainly was convinced that the agreement with Harney was binding on the latter, for when he arrived in Jefferson City he sent the troops and men from other Military Districts home to their respective Commanders, to be embodied in their local organizations. Had he anticipated an early attack by the Federal Army, he would have probably concentrated every available man at Jefferson City, and defended the very strong line of the Missouri and Osage rivers.

Characteristic of the unsettled condition of the times which influenced even men of unusual power, is a private letter of President A. Lincoln, to F. P. Blair, relative Harney's Command:

"WASHINGTON, D. C., May 18, 1861.

HON. F. P. BLAIR.

"My Dear Sir: We have a good deal anxiety here about St. Louis. I understand an order has gone from the War Department to you to be delivered or withheld in your discretion, relieving General Harney from his command. I was not quite satisfied with the order, when it was made, though on the

whole, I thought it best to make it; but since then I have become more doubtful of its propriety. I do not write now to countermand it, but to say, I wish you would withhold it, unless in your judgment, the necessity to the contrary is very urgent. There are several reasons for this. We better have him a friend than an enemy. It will dissatisfy a good many, who otherwise would be quiet. More than all, we first relieve him, then restore him, and now if we relieve him again, the public will ask, 'Why all this vacillation?'

"Still, if in your judgment, it is *indispensable*, let it be so.

"Yours very truly,

"Private." "A. LINCOLN."

After a conversation with General Lyon, Blair made up his mind not to suspend Harney, unless absolutely necessary, but the ominous agreement of Harney with Price convinced the members of the Safety Committee that the Union cause was seriously threatened by the very acts of its own Commander. General Harney might have had the best intentions, but the consequences of his actions would have been disastrous, and in a letter of May 22, the Committee of Safety made a most earnest and exhaustive report, together with certain recommendations to President Lincoln on the conditions of affairs in St. Louis.

Voicing the sentiments of the Union men, the Committee charged the State authorities and a majority of the Legislature with abetting the seceded States in their attempt to overthrow the Government of the United States. They referred to Governor Jackson's insulting denial to furnish troops to put down the rebellion; to his message to the extra session of the Legislature, in which he pointed out Missouri's duty in case of a separation of the States, to side with the seceders and of his strenuous attempt to arm the people of Missouri, in order to get the State into a fit condition for resistance against the Union; the Committee directed attention to the recent iniquitous legislation, which by honest and dishonest means, diverted the funds of the State and the School Fund, to the single object of arming the State, when she had no enemy to contend with unless she chose to make an enemy of the Federal Government, and that all these preparations plainly show the intention of the State authorities to carry Missouri out of the Union. The very oath of the Missouri Militia, repudiated the allegiance to the Union; Companies of "Minute" Men were organized under the flag of the Confederate States, and an encampment was formed under General Frost, an unqualified Secessionist, who threatened time and again to take the United States Arsenal. Frost's Command was composed chiefly of

Companies drilled under a rebel flag; arms were brought from rebel States, on boats bearing the rebel flag, falsely labeled and directed, and taken out secretly to their camp; for these and many more reasons, Camp Jackson was broken up by Union forces of St. Louis.

The Safety Committee further stated that if some Union men were also taken in the camp, they were found in bad company. The accidents which happened at the capture of the Camp were to be deplored; but the result has been most beneficial to the cause of the Union. Since then, again a body of men assembled at the State Capital, set in hostile array against the General Government; that body ought to have been dispersed as an unlawful combination; instead of this, General Harney arranged a settlement with their Commander in Chief, General Price, by which ostensibly the rights of loyal citizens should be protected by the State authorities. Citizens are dissatisfied with this arrangement, as it leaves the safety of Union men driven from their homes, to the protection of the very power which imperilled them. Great many complaints had been made against General Harney on account of making the above arrangement. Another objection was also raised against that agreement, because Secession is not distinctly repudiated; because it gives the State the right to arm under the provisions of the Military law, which defied the Constitution of the United States and the authority of the General Government; there were no provisions in the agreement to disband the Military organizations gotten up in different parts of the State and no good will come of it, as it only puts off the evil day when the enemy will be better prepared to make resistance. "But, hoping that a faithful and literal execution of the arrangements will be required, we are disposed to acquiesce in what has been done and await the development of the future." Satisfied that the hostility of the State authorities towards the General Government will require the strictest vigilance, to save Missouri to the Union; that concessions made to treason, emboldens it the more; and only the stern enforcement of Military law will again establish the peace of the community. The Committee claims to represent the opinion of the Union men of St. Louis and of the State. Different coloring of affairs have been given by professed Union men, but enemies of the Administration. Further on the Committee holds that the State authorities cannot protect the Union men, who in some parts of the State are treated outrageously; while the present Union force is fully sufficient to protect them by establishing temporary military posts

as rallying points for Union men driven from their homes. The Commander should be instructed to stop every Military organization under the recent law, and to notify the State authorities that any proceedings under that act are inconsistent with the allegiance due the General Government. He should also require the surrender of all the arms taken from the Liberty Arsenal and from Kansas City. This letter was signed: James O. Broadhead, F. P. Blair, Jr.; Samuel T. Glover, Oliver D. Filley, John How, John J. Witzig, all members of the Safety Committee.

News kept on coming in from different parts of the State, reporting the continuous organization of Secession forces; a correspondence was intercepted proving that the Cherokee Indian Chief Ross, had promised to furnish 15,000 men to aid Gov. Jackson,[1] Union organizations were disbanded; Gen. I. L. Rains raised a large force, the same with which he soon afterwards attacked Sigel at Carthage; troops were gathering at Jefferson City under Gen. Sterling Price; the same who a few days later fought against Lyon at the battle of Booneville and who planted Batteries to prevent vessels of the United States to pass up the Missouri river; Lieut. Governor Reynolds openly proclaimed, that notwithstanding the Harney-Price agreement, the disowned Military Bill would be enforced and it will be seen later on, that this was also Gen. Price's view. Some of the most prominent Union men in the State like John S. Phelps, Arnold Krekel, J. H. Boyd and many others, reported the hostile gathering on the Arkansas frontier and that in different parts of the State Union men were driven from their homes. Arms were transported to Jefferson City from Arkansas for the use of these hostile forces, while Union organizations, that offered their services to Gen. Harney, were curtly told to go home and attend to their civic vocations. All these circumstances at last induced Col. Blair on May 30th to suspend Harney by handing him the order from Washington. The letter of the Committee of Safety from the 22nd May had at least the effect in Washington, to elicit an order from L. Thomas, Adjutant General to Gen. Harney, in which he was seriously reminded of his duties in dealing with the disaffected elements in his

[1]This report, spread by the Secessionists, proved false, for reliable information was received later that John Ross, Chief of the Cherokees, had issued on May 17th a proclamation of neutrality, in order to save his nation from the ravages of war.

command, and in which he was told that the authority of the United States is paramount. This letter, dated Washington, May 27th, '61, evidently reached Gen. Harney the day of his suspension. In his letter to the President of May 30th, Fr. Blair gives account of the circumstances and motives of his action, for serving the order of suspension on General Harney; vindicating the capture of Camp Jackson; also Lyons correct and logical intention of following up that success, by clearing the State of all hostile elements, but in which Lyon was prevented by Harney's reinstatement in command, stopping every advance, and also by Harney's agreement with General Price. Blair wrote that he waited to see whether any good would come from that agreement, but matters grew worse, only Secessionists being protected by it; so he delivered to Harney the order of his suspension (dated May 16) on the thirtieth of May. He, Blair, had information from many reliable men, that under the Harney-Price agreement, the Secession forces were energetically organizing and importing arms from Arkansas, and if that is permitted much longer, the State will be virtually handed over to the rebellion. He had in vain reported these affairs to General Harney, who only answered, "I will tell Price about it," to which Price usually gave Harney evasive answers.

Thus Blair was convinced that Harney's removal was absolutely necessary and that the Union forces in Missouri should be largely increased. The letter suspending Gen. Harney from the command in Missouri, was accompanied by a letter from Montgomery Blair to Harney, stating the reasons for such suspension; these were chiefly the political status of Harney's relatives in St. Louis. M. Blair held that it was impossible for "men whose lives are at stake, they say, to be satisfied with the command of one, whose intimates are openly against them; the order should not be deemed by you or by others, to reflect upon your loyalty." However the great majority of the Union people of St. Louis, had no faith in General Harney's loyalty, and even the most liberal minded, did not think that his capacity was adequate to the very difficult situation.

But in justice to General Harney, it must be acknowledged that there is ample proof which places his Union fealty above all reasonable suspicion. An admirer of Gen. Jackson, he faithfully served his country against the Indians. During the critical days in the spring of 1861, he told President Buchanan, "some one has your

ear, who is neither a friend of the Union nor of yours," and Scharf related that in a letter to Col. John O'Fallon, he eloquently proclaimed his devotion to the flag under which he had fought for forty years and warmly implores his fellow citizens "not to be seduced by designing men, to become the instruments of their mad ambition, by plunging the State into the vortex of Secession;" he also wrote: "The soldiers and citizens primary duty is due to the United States government and not to the government of his State."

CHAPTER IX.

LYON IN COMMAND.

LIMITED MEANS.

The removal of Harney gave great satisfaction to the Union men. At this time the newly organized force under Lyon's command consisted of:

First Regiment Volunteers, Colonel Blair	1,220	men
Second Regiment Volunteers, Colonel Boernstein	1,128	men
Third Regiment Volunteers, Colonel Sigel	1,103	men
Fourth Regiment Volunteers, Colonel Schuettner	1,027	men
Fifth Regiment Volunteers, Colonel Solomon	926	men
Artillery Battalion, Major Backoff	253	men
Pioneer Company, Captain Voerster	120	men
First Regiment U. S. Reserve Corps, Col. Almstedt	1,195	men
Second Regiment U. S. Reserve Corps, Col. Kallmann	736	men
Third Regiment U. S. Reserve Corps, Col. McNeil	839	men
Fourth Regiment U. S. Reserve Corps, Col. B. Gratz Brown	1,169	men
Fifth Regiment U. S. Reserve Corps, Col. Stifel	1,014	men
	10,730	

The first Reserve had one company of Cavalry under Captain J. Melter, which did useful service as orderlies to Lyon and Sigel.

In his report dated June 6th, Lyon states his Brigade consists of the five Regiments of Missouri Volunteers; one Battalion of Artillery; one Company of Sappers and Miners and one Company of Rifles. Lyon reports the five Regiments of United States Reserve Corps, to be under the command of Capt. T. W. Sweeney, appointed by Gen. Harney on May 20th as Brigadier General of that body. Field officers of that body cannot recollect that Sweeney was ever elected, nor that he was ever confirmed from Washington. As Sweeney marched with his company of Regulars to the Southwest, and according Lyon's own statement of the Reserves: "They were

sworn into service upon the condition that they were not to be called to perform duty outside of the county of St. Louis," Sweeney's Brigadier appointment seems to have been only for the purpose to give an authority to a Regular Officer, for which there was no warrant in law, or necessity in practice. Memorable in this report, is the special notice Lyon gives to the members of his staff, of whom he names seven. Although more than four-fifths of Lyon's command were foreign born citizens or their sons, many of whom were men of merit and military experience, and not one of them was on his staff.

Following the example of St. Louis, more than 200 companies of Home Guards organized all over the State. These organizations took a firm root in the northern tier of counties, also in St. Joseph, Kansas City, Hannibal, Springfield; in the counties near St. Louis and the middle of the State; in the small centers of trade and manufacture along the railroads and wherever a large German population predominated. There was quite a strong aggregation of Union men in the counties around Springfield in the Southwest. These companies generally started spontaneously for self and home protection, in which they were most effective and occasionally did quite valuable field service. It is only natural that persons of the same political faith when surrounded by hostile elements, should heed the golden adage: "In Union there is strength," and as circumstances admit, form more or less compact organizations for mutual protection. The pressure for arms, aid and affiliation with the United States military in St. Louis, came from these outside Union people and was forwarded to Washington with the strongest possible recommendation, for using this opportunity to increase the Union forces in Missouri, and for this purpose President Lincoln authorized General Lyon to arm these companies, though they were not regularly mustered into the service of the United States.

About this time, O. D. Filley, chairman of the Safety Committee, issued a circular calling upon all Union men in the State to form a great Union party, from all elements favoring the maintenance of the Union. The object was mutual protection by association and also to facilitate local information from all parts of the State. This circular recommended for sparsely settled districts, the enrollment of all Union men on lists. While all these suggestions do not seem to have had an immediate effect except in a limited way, they may have

originated the idea of the enrolled Missouri Militia of Governor Gamble in later years and certainly assisted in the formation of local Home Guards. There was little organic connection between these scattered companies, and their services were most valuable in their immediate vicinities. They aided the growth and consolidation of the Union elements in the State, restricted marauding bands of Secessionists to isolated districts, prevented to some extent the intimidation and terrorization of citizens, though often many had to flee on short notice from house to house and hide in the bush to escape captivity or annihilation.

The heroism, perseverance and fealty to conviction of our Missouri country population deserves unstinted praise, and will long remain a theme for romance; nor can it be denied that many similar incidents and sufferings can truthfully be told of the votaries of antagonistic political convictions.

The following list of companies, taken from public records, though not complete, speaks for itself:

Home Guard Organization in State.	No. of Companies.	No. of Men.	When Organized 1861.	Headquarters.
Adair Co.	1	57	May	Adair Co.
	1	99	May	Kirksville on N. M. R. R.
Benton Co.	6	606	June	Cole Camp.
Boonville	3	351	August	Cooper Co., Mo. Pac. R. R.
Brookfield	1	87	June	Linn Co., H. & St. Joe R. R.
Caldwell Co	1	56	June	Kingston, H. & St. Joe R. R.
Cape Girardeau	4	326	June	C. G. Co.
Carondelet	1	127	June	St. Louis Co.
Cass County	1	76	July	Pleasant Hill, Mo. Pac. R. R.
Clinton	1	91	June	Henry Co.
Cole Co.	11	870	June	Jefferson City, Mo. Pac. R. R.
Dallas Co.	4	364	June	Buffalo.
De Soto	1	85	June	Jefferson Co., I. M. R. R.
Douglass Co	1	77	July	Vera Cruz.
Fifteenth Reg't, U. S. R. C	4	325	June	Polk Co.
Franklin Co	6	500	June	Washington, Mo. Pac. R. R.
Fremont Rangers	5	552	July	Cape Girardeau.
Fourteenth Reg't Lexington	2	130	July	Lafayette Co.
Gasconade Co.	5	473	June	Hermann, Mo. Pac. R. R.
Gasconade Co.	4	316	June	Hermann, Mo. Pac. R. R.
Gentry Co	8	530	June	Albany.
Greene Co	1	89	June	Springfield.

Home Guard Organization in State.	No. of Companies.	No. of Men.	When Organized 1861.	Headquarters.
Greene and Christian Co.	13	983	June	Springfield and Ozark.
Harrison Co.	7	320	Sept.	Bethany.
Johnson Co.	1	75	June	Eleven companies not reported, Warrensburg.
Knox Co.	7	627	July	Edina.
Lawrence Co.	6	483	May	Mt. Vernon.
Lewis Co.	1	41	June	Lewis Co.
Lexington	1	74	August	Lafayette Co.
Livingston	1	67	June	Chillicothe, H. & St. Joe R. R.
Marion Co.	2	207	June	Marion Co.
Moniteau Co.	1	62	June	Tipton, Mo. Pac. R. R.
Nodaway Co.	7	466	July	Maryville.
Osage Co.	6	540	June	Linn, Mo. Pac. R. R.
Osage Reg't and Hickory Co.	17	1656	July	Hermitage.
Ozark Co.	2	210	June	Ozark Co.
Pacific Battalion, St. Louis Co.	6	316	June	Franklin or Pacific Mo. Pac. R. R.
Pettis Co.	1	92	June	Sedalia, Mo. Pac. R. R.
Phelps Co.	2	123	June & July	Rolla. S. W. Br. R. R. Frisco.
Pike Co.	7	580	May & June	Hannibal, H. & St. Joe R. R.
Pilot Knob	1	99	June	Iron Co., I. M. R. R.
Potosi	1	75	July	Washington Co., I. M. R. R.
Putnam Co.	1	58	May	Unionville.
Putnam Co.	1	59	August	Unionville.
St. Louis Co., Sappers & Miners, J. D. Voerster.	2	233	May	St. Louis.
St. Louis Co., Anton Gerster.	1	55	August	St. Louis.
St. Louis Co., Edward Krausnick	1	53	August	St. Louis.
St. Charles Co.	12	1295	July	St. Charles, N. Mo. R. R.
Scott Co	4	335	May	Benton, C & F. R. R.
Shawnee Town, Putnam Co.	1	84	July	Unionville.
Shelby Co	1	70	July	Shelbina, H. & St. Joe R. R.
Shibley's Point	1	68	June	Adair, N. Mo. R. R.
Stone Co	6	537	May	Galena.
Stone Prairie, Barry Co.	1	43	June	Cassville.
Sullivan Co.	2	135	June	Milan.
Webster Co.	7	750	July	Marshfield.
Aggregate	203	17,058		

In a subsequent letter of Montgomery Blair to Frank Blair June 4, 1861, he expresses the conviction that there will be an invasion of Missouri from Arkansas. He also indorses the extension of McClel-

lan's Command over Missouri, which many thought to have been a grave error and which it no doubt was, judging it from a military standpoint. Mr. Blair gives a statesman's reason for the joining of Missouri to McClellan's Department, namely, that this measure will remove from the mind of such Union men in Missouri who do not like Frank P. Blair, the idea that the movement of Union troops here were dictated by mere partisanship, and adds:

"This is a feeling that I see colors the course of things in Missouri. It is not so much disunion as hostility to the Republicans, which gives Jackson's clique power. Now, whilst I am anxious that the Union feeling in the State should come to the Republicans (and it will eventually do so), you must be careful at present, as far as possible, not to arrest the Union feeling by making it too visibly your property. I see that you have acted with this before you in giving Lyon the position of General, and not taking it yourself. It is a full justification and vindication of you that Harney, after denouncing the Military bill as unconstitutional, proceeded to treat with Price, acting under its authority, who did not, of course, keep faith, but proceeded at once to play out the game intended by the bill itself.

"MONTGOMERY BLAIR."

To divest the Union movement in St. Louis and Missouri from its partisan Republican coloring was extremely sound policy; for, while every Republican was a Union man, not every Union man was a Republican. But as the armed contest grew out of the political one, the heated political campaigns of the immediate past naturally induced every Democrat to side at first with his recent partisan bedfellows, and, while every Secessionist was a Democrat, not every Democrat was a Secessionist, not even in the Southern States, far less in the Border States, and only exceptionally in the Free States. So that while the sympathies of most Democrats were at first with the South, the "rule or ruin" policy of that section and the hostile armed attacks of Secession leaders and troops, sobered many Democrats up, and they soon filled the ranks of Union Regiments. A striking example of this was given by the population of Irish descent. Their stronghold in St. Louis was the Ninth Ward, also the most Democratic Ward; in the spring of 1861 it was an acknowledged menace to every Union man. A very small number of Irishmen joined the first ten Union Regiments; in fact, there were Regiments in which there was not a single one. But as soon as the first events revealed the true spirit of parties, they forsook the cause of the slave-owners and joined the Union armies. This is not astonishing, for

the Catholic religion discountenanced Slavery and did not even draw the color line for the road of its votaries to heaven. With the above exception, Mr. Blair's policy was lost upon the conservatives, for very few of them jeopardized their lives for the maintenance of the Union and the abolition of Slavery, two objects which the development of events proved to be identical. The letter quoted above also indicates that Frank P. Blair gave Lyon the position of General, instead of taking it himself. No doubt some of his old party friends preferred Blair even to Lyon, but the knowledge that his political activity would keep him away from the tented field, very rationally induced Blair, not to covet that position.

While this Harney interlude went on, an army of about 15,000 Union men stood with grounded arms; the most precious time was lost and it took millions of treasure and thousands of lives to repair the damage caused by temporizing at a time, when energetic measures, so happily inaugurated, would have led to entirely different results.

The unpardonable neglect of Harney, in failing to utilize the advantages gained by the capture of Camp Jackson, was duly represented to the President, but the aid sought was not adequate to the occasion. When Blair asked only for the Leavenworth Regulars and the Kansas troops that were being raised at that time, and added: "We are well able to take care of this State without assistance from elsewhere, if authorized to raise a sufficient force within the State; and after that work is done we can take care of the Secessionists from the Arkansas line to the gulf, along the west shore of the Mississipi." These were rather utopian views, and if at the time shared by Lyon at all, were soon abandoned, as his repeated and urgent demand for reinforcements, even after the Regulars from Leavenworth and two Kansas Regiments had joined him, fully proved. Lyon knew well that the worst fault of a General is to underrate the enemy. He urged the Secretary of War and the Governors of Illinois and Iowa for more troops, with which to meet McCulloch, who was reported to be advancing from Arkansas with a considerable force. Confederate writers claimed that besides the above and the troops necessary at St. Louis, Lyon had in different parts of the State several thousand Home Guards, well armed and equipped; the Iowa regiments of Bates and Curtis on the northern frontier of the State, and troops concentrating at Quincy, Alton and Cairo. To these, they

held, the State could only oppose one thousand poorly armed men and six pieces of Artillery, and no money. Coming events do not bear out this estimate. Governor Jackson could count upon a large contingent of excellent marksmen, who, as pioneers of the West, were better inured to camp life, and were more used to the rifle than the Union troops of Missouri, who mostly hailed from the cities.

Besides this, the above estimate of the Confederates is misleading, for the Home Guards in the State were mostly available only in their immediate neighborhood, their arms were mostly poor and they had no equipment for field service, and the troops in north Missouri were absorbed by the needs of that locality.

MOVES FOR TIME AND POSITION.

When General Price learned of the removal of Harney and succession of Lyon, he sent publicly an order to the commanders of the districts, stating that while he and the Governor were desirous to carry out the Price-Harney agreement, and await the decision of the Missouri State Convention, he had apprehensions General Lyon would force the issue, by the terror of a military invasion, which ought to be resisted to the last extremity; that he himself intended to prevent such an outrage, and that a million of Missourians could not be subjugated. In order to go sure in the matter, General Price issued at the same time secret orders to the Brigadiers, urging them to hasten the organization of troops in their districts and to fit them out for immediate active service. The commanders were ordered to have State flags prepared of blue merino, with the gilt arms of the State upon them. Similar reflections induced Governor Jackson, on June 1st, to have the army and workshops of the State removed to Boonville, considering that that point was more central to the Secession sympathizers, while Jefferson City had a large Union and German population. Price was in hopes to be able to hold Boonville and the upper Missouri River, until the Confederate States could send an army to his support. In the meantime conservative men persuaded Governor Jackson and General Price to have an interview with General Lyon, for the purpose of avoiding a conflict with the United States troops and authority. General Lyon consented, and issued on June 8th, to Governor Jackson and General Price, a letter granting safe conduct to St. Louis and return to Jefferson City, up to the

12th of June, for the purpose of discussing the troubles in Missouri. The parties met at the Planters House, on June 11th, namely: Governor Jackson, General Price, Thomas L. Snead, the Governor's private secretary; Colonel Frank P. Blair, General Lyon and his adjutant, Major Connant. Governor Jackson professed a desire for peace, without troops on either side, and said: "The United States Troops must leave the State and not enter it, and he would disband his own troops, and then we should certainly have peace." General Price held that his course was in perfect harmony with his and General Harney's conceptions, and that he had made no agreement whatever with General Harney about the enforcement or carrying out of the Military Bill. At tihs point a memorandum was read by Lyon, in which Harney asks Price to review the features of the bill and discover some means by which its action may be suspended until a competent tribunal shall decide upon its validity. Harney in this memorandum refers to the oath of allegiance to the State of Missouri, without recognizing the existence of the Government of the United States, and secondly to the express requirements, by which troops within the State not organized under the provisions of the Military Bill, are to be disarmed by the State Guards. On the bottom of this memorandum was an N.B.—"Read to General Price in the presence of Major H. L. Turner, on the evening of the 21st of May."

General Price said he did not remember hearing the paper read; he said Hitchcock and H. L. Turner were to see him, but he did not see or hear of such a paper. Price insisted further that no armed bodies of United States troops should pass through or be stationed in the State, as such would occasion civil war; that Missouri must be neutral, and neither side should arm, Governor Jackson to give protection to Union men and to disband his State Troops. To this General Lyon remarked, that if the government withdrew its forces, measures would be resorted to for providing arms and perfecting organizations, which upon any pretext could put forth a formidable opposition; combinations would be formed to drive out loyal citizens, which the government could not protect if its forces could not be brought into the State, and a force could be brought into the State to carry out the Secession program. The Government could not shrink from its duties nor abdicate its rights. If the Governor would earnestly set about to maintain the peace of the State and resist out-

rages upon loyal citizens, repress insurrection, and in case of violent combinations call upon the United States troops for assistance, the government purpose would be subserved and the rights and dignity of the State not infringed.

When the verbal conference failed, which was a foregone conclusion, Governor Jackson still sought to gain more time and proposed to continue the consultation through correspondence, which was declined, General Lyon stating that their views were too widely apart and it would lead to nothing; but he proposed that each one should briefly put down his views and they should be published. Governor Jackson was not disposed to agree to this. Gereral Lyon reminded the Governor that heretofore Missouri had the fostering care of the Federal Government, but by the failure of the chief executive to comply with constitutional requirements, she will be made to feel its power. Blair's more diplomatic arguments were from the beginning superseded by Lyon's more direct statements, and after a conference of nearly five hours, it became evident that conceptions of right and wrong were too divergent to admit a common basis for agreement. After this became manifest, according to Thomas L. Snead, the Governor's secretary, who was present during the entire conference, Lyon, still in his seat, spoke slowly and with peculiar emphasis: "Rather than concede to the State of Missouri the right to demand that my government shall not enlist troops within her limits, or bring troops into the State whenever it pleases, or move its troops at its own will into, out of or through the State; rather than concede to the State of Missouri, for one single instant, the right to dictate to my government in any matter, however unimportant, I would (rising as he said this, and pointing in turn to every one in the room) see you, and you, and you, and you, and you, and every man woman and child in this State, dead and buried." Turning to the Governor, he said: "This means war. In an hour one of my officers will call for you and conduct you out of my lines." With these words Lyon left the room without further ceremony. There never was a plausible basis for this conference. The Governor considered, or at least publicly professed, Camp Jackson to be a legitimate State military camp, and Lyon captured it as a nucleus of a Secession army; the Governor considered the Federal Government a military despotism, while every fiber in General Lyon was loyal to the Union and in sympathy with the aims of the administration; the Governor

believed in the right, and for Missouri as a slave state, even in the honorable obligation of Secession, while General Lyon held and was in duty bound to hold diametrically opposite convictions. Under such circumstances there was no chance for an agreement.

There seems to be only one explanation for this conference. Governor Jackson must have become aware that the Federal commander contemplated to make a forward movement into the State very soon. While neither side was quite ready, Governor Jackson certainly needed the time most, and it is therefore fair to credit him with this scheme, to defer the armed conflict.

After the conference broke up, Governor Jackson and General Price speeded back to Jefferson City, and resolved while still on train to destroy the large bridges over the Gasconade and Osage Rivers; not as great military leaders had formerly done on the line of their own retreat, but on the line of the advance of the Union host.

HOSTILITIES COMMENCE.

Governor Jackson and General Price arrived at Jefferson City at 2 a. m. on the 12th. First of all General Price ordered the telegraph wires cut; next he sent Captain Kelly with a company and proper tools, post haste, to destroy the bridges. Kelly's attempt to blow up the draw of the Gasconade bridge failed; the torch being applied the draw fell into the river. On returning, the same party burned the west span of the Osage bridge. The state officers at Jefferson City were in great haste to pack their important documents for the prospective flight from the capital, while Snead, the Governor's Secretary, was hard at work all night on the governor's proclamation, which went to press soon after daylight. With this proclamation Governor Jackson tried to influence the undecided portion of the community, by shifting the blame of unjust aggression upon the Federal authority, which design was favored by the circumstance that Missouri slave owners had a pecuniary interest in common with the seceded states, and, besides this, most of her native citizens were of Southern extraction, had friends and relatives in the South, many of them were reared in the South and looked upon the "peculiar institution" as being approved even by religion. Besides this, ultra conservative men from the North and the South wanted peace at any price, and did not see that public opinion at the North had diverged

from that at the South to an extent that either Slavery or the Union had to cease. Although Governor Jackson had repeatedly declared that Missouri must join her fate with the South and support the seceded States, he still was in hopes, first to organize and arm the State under the mask of neutrality. When this intention was foiled, he tried to make the best of the situation by open war measures, such as the burning of the bridges, and the following proclamation:

"To the People of Missouri:

"A series of unprovoked and unparalleled outrages have been inflicted upon the peace and dignity of this Commonwealth, and upon the rights and liberties of its people, by wicked and unprincipled men, professing to act under the authority of the United States Government. The solemn enactments of your Legislature have been nullified; your volunteer soldiers have been taken prisoners; your commerce with your sister States has been suspended; your trade with your own fellow-citizens has been, and is, subjected to the harassing control of an armed soldiery; peaceful citizens have been imprisoned without warrant of law; unoffending and defenseless men, women and children have been ruthlessly shot down and murdered; and other unbearable indignities have been heaped upon your State and yourselves.

After this eloquent introduction, which misconstrued the dire necessities of the Federal authority, Governor Jackson extolls his own patience; his desire to maintain peace through the Price-Harney agreement; relates the disavowal of that arrangement by the Federal Government and the recall of General Harney, which he calls a dismissal; refers to the interview with Lyon and Blair (which has been previously related in this work), and terminates his proclamation with the following high-sounding appeal:

"Now, therefore, I, C. F. Jackson, Governor of the State of Missouri, do, in view of the foregoing facts, and by virtue of the powers vested in me by the Constitution and laws of this Commonwealth, issue my proclamation, calling the militia of the State, to the number of fifty thousand, into the active service of the State, for the purpose of repelling said invasion, and for the protection of the lives, liberty and prosperity of the citizens of this State.

"And I earnestly exhort all good citizens of Missouri to rally under the flag of their State for the protection of their endangered homes and firesides, and for the defense of their most sacred rights and dearest liberties.

"In issuing this proclamation, I hold it to be my solemn duty to remind you that Missouri is still one of the United States; that the Executive Department of the State Government does not arrogate to itself the power to disturb that relation; that that power has been wisely vested in a convention, which will at the proper time express your sovereign will; and that meanwhile it is your duty to obey all constitutional requirements of the

Federal Government. But it is equally my duty to advise you that your first allegiance is due to your own State, and that you are under no obligation whatever to obey the unconstitutional edicts of the military despotism which has enthroned itself at Washington, nor to submit to the infamous and degrading sway of its wicked minions in this State. No brave and true-hearted Missourian will obey one or submit to the other. Rise, then, and drive out ignominiously the invaders who have dared to desecrate the soil which your labors have made fruitful, and which is consecrated by your homes.

"Given under my hand as Governor and under the great seal of the State of Missouri, at Jefferson City, this twelfth day of June, 1861.

"By the Governor,

"CLAIBORNE F. JACKSON,

"B. F. MASSEY,
"Secretary of State."

Hide it as he may, the Governor could not cover up his sinister intentions, even by the words of his own proclamation; for, divested of its verbiage calculated to potentiate the State right notions and partisan prejudices of the people, he would permit the United States troops to occupy St. Louis only, the balance of the State would be left to his discretion, and he would call United States troops when he thought necessary, which emergency, considering the Governor's disposition, would never arise. The Governor had calculated that, even if he should fail to carry Missouri into the Southern Confederacy, the State should at least remain a neutral wedge between the States of Illinois, Iowa, Kansas and Arkansas, permitting the Seceded States west of the Mississippi to use their forces towards the Ohio and the East. Nothing, however, shows the flagrant inconsistency of Governor Jackson more than his sudden change in the appreciation of measures and men. On the 11th of June he treats with the representatives of the Federal Government about terms, as he avers, to pacify Missouri, and next day, namely on the 12th of June, he proclaims the Federal authority " a military despotism which has enthroned itself at Washington," and he calls Lyon and Blair, with whom he had treated for terms on the preceding day, "wicked minions of that despotism." The Governor's proclamation of the 12th gravely reflects on his sincerity on the 11th. Considering the undeniable treason of Governor Jackson in sending his agents with letters to Jefferson Davis to secure cannon and mortars for the intended reduction of the United States Arsenal at St. Louis; considering his promise made on April 19th to David Walker, President of the Arkansas Convention, that Missouri will be ready for Secession

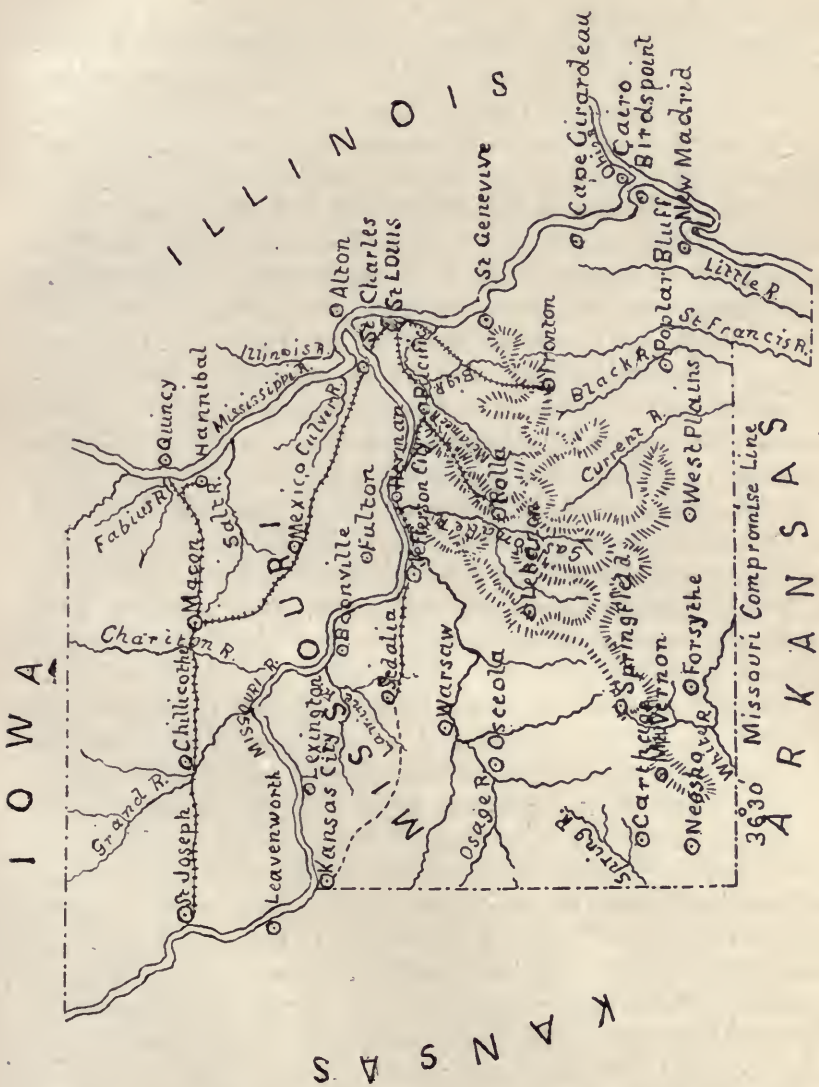
in less than thirty days; considering the Governor's appointment of violent Secessionists as Major and Brigadier generals of the Militia, and also his letter to Tucker—all his sophisms lose every vestige of moral force.

Besides the proclamation, telegrams, letters and messengers were now sent from Jefferson City, to urge a still more speedy organization. General Parsons was ordered to retreat with the small force collected at Jefferson City, westward along the Missouri Pacific Railroad to Tipton, a point south of Boonville. All the rail rolling stock was taken to Tipton, and the railroad bridges were burned behind the last train. Governor Jackson, several State officers and Captain Kelly's company boarded the steamer "White Cloud," and arrived at Boonville on the morning of June 13th. Brigadier General Clark had been ordered to concentrate his men at Boonville, and the Governor found several hundred of them there, while many more were on the road and arrived the next two days. On the 15th of June, a report reached Boonville that a skirmish had taken place at Independence, and that State troops assembling at Lexington were threatened by a large force from Kansas. Upon this General Price left Clark in command at Boonville, with instructions to retreat fighting, toward General Parsons, while he proceeded to attend to the affairs at Lexington. The question arises here, Why did Governor Jackson and his advisers flee from Jefferson City? Had he been true to his oath of office and his duties as Governor, he could have remained at the head of the State to the end of his term. But, as he had conspired for Secession and the Confederacy, notwithstanding the great popular vote for the Union, the evidence was so strong against him that he did not dare to face the threatening impeachment by the Convention.

LYON'S ADVANCE INTO THE STATE.

When the proclamation of Governor Jackson proved to General Lyon that the former had thrown off his mask, and the burning of the Missouri Pacific Railroad bridges emphasized by their revolutionary nature the hostile words of the Governor's proclamation, the forward movements into the State could no longer be postponed and were formally resolved upon. Two lines of operation were adopted—the one southwest, via Rolla to Springfield; the other al-

most due west via Missouri River to Jefferson City and the center of the State. The direction of all other affairs at the Arsenal and in the



MAP OF MIS [illegible]

Department was left to Colonel Chester Harding, Assistant adjutant general, who was authorized to sign Lyon's name to all orders.

Chester Harding was considered one of the ablest lawyers of St. Louis, of an even, considerate disposition and great mental capacity.

The southwest column was started first. One Battalion with several field pieces and camp equipage, under Lieut. Colonel Hassendeubel, started June 11th. The second Battalion, under command of Colonel Sigel, started on the 13th, with six guns and one howitzer, under Major Bischoff, and two rifle companies under A. Albert and Joseph Conrad via Pacific to Rolla. Colonel Solomon, with the Fifth Missouri Volunteers, followed on the 15th to the same point, and Colonel B. Gratz Brown, with the Fourth Regiment Reserves, and six pieces of artillery, took up the same route. General Lyon ordered Sigel, with the whole command, to Springfield, with instructions to march thence westward to Mt. Vernon and Neosho, in order to intercept Jackson and Price's commands on their Southward march, while yielding to Lyons pressure from the North. Sigel was enthusiastically cheered on his march to Rolla, where he hauled down a Secession flag and hoisted the Stars and Stripes. Two companies of State Guards, which had been stationed there, fled before the Union troops. These Secessionists probably formed the nucleus of a marauding band which later infested the roads to the West and the South, though beyond destroying here and there some wagons, they could do little damage, for the roads were solid and the rivers had no bridges.

The column under the direct command of General Lyon started on the 13th of June. At 11 o'clock a. m. the steamer Iatan took on board part of the First Regiment, Missouri Volunteers, under Lieut. Colonel Andrews, two companies of Regulars under Captain Lathrop and a section of Totten's Light Battery. At 2 p. m. General Lyon and his staff, with the balance of the First Volunteers and the Regulars, 1500 men in all, with the necessary camp equipage, horses, wagons and provisions, started on the steamer J. C. Swon, following the Iatan up the river. The boats were enthusiastically cheered on leaving the Arsenal; their destination was correctly surmised to be Jefferson City. Passing St. Charles, about 8 p. m., the steamers laid by for the night. Starting early in the morning of the 14th, they steamed past Augusta, the home of the veteran champion of free institutions, Friederich Muench. Above the headquarters of a Home Guard Company, formed at Augusta a week sooner, floated the Union

flag, and here, in Washington and Hermann, cheer after cheer greeted the Stars and Stripes. All these were German settlements, and thus far the vessels steamed up stream in comparative safety. Here the large bottoms extend chiefly on the North side of the river, while the South shore is skirted with high, rocky bluffs, wooded where the soil permits; above high-water mark along the foot of the bluffs runs the Missouri Pacific Railroad, surveyed here in 1853, when a party of young engineers traced the line through these primeval forests, and after the day's fatigues listened in their camp to the doleful tunes of the whip-poor-will. How changed were the relations in that short period, and the fate of members from that small party of engineers is a vivid example of the distraction of the people of Missouri. The chief of the party and the builder of the Osage bridge both fell at the head of a Union regiment at Vicksburg; an assistant from Massachusetts married into a Southern family and became Governor Jackson's Quartermaster General, notwithstanding that his brother was Lyon's Adjutant; the rodman went back to Maryland to aid the Southern cause; the axmen, two Hungarians, got to the command of a Union regiment and company, while the son of the Emerald Isle probably turned up in a Union Irish brigade.

After the ships of Lyon passed the mouth of the Gasconade, their safety was highly questionable. Callaway County, which fringes here the North shore of the Missouri River, was inhabited by Southern sympathizers, who were not likely to betray any movement hostile to the Union forces. Considering that a single cannon ball would pass through one of those light river boats from stem to stern, and that a well-protected Battery could be thrown up on shore on short notice, it was very fortunate for Lyon's command that the enemy's enterprise was not on a level with his intentions. West of the mouth of the Osage, the situation became even worse, because both shores were under absolute control of the Secessionists. Nevertheless Lyon occupied Jefferson City without opposition on June 15th, and was cordially welcomed by a large delegation of citizens, headed by Governor Thomas L. Price. After disembarking, the troops occupied without delay all high and commanding positions, such as the penitentiary, the capitol, and raised upon the latter, under the animating accords of the "Star Spangled Banner," the flag of the Union, with the good intention that it should not be lowered from there through all the vicissitudes of the war. A false

report was current at Jefferson City that Governor Jackson had been at Boonville on the evening of the 14th, but had left since for Arkansas. Some travelers that escaped from Boonville in a skiff brought the news that the place was being fortified, and that about one thousand men were there concentrated and more were expected.

Colonel Boernstein, with the Second Volunteers, arrived per train at Hermann, waited there for the steamer Louisiana and followed the Iatan and Swon, which had passed before him up the river.

BATTLE OF BOONVILLE.

Leaving Boernstein with three companies in charge of Jefferson City, Lyon's command, consisting of the First Volunteers, a Battalion of the Second Volunteers, Companies of Regulars, Totten's Battery, and a few Pioneers, in all about 1700 men, embarked on the steamers A. McDowell, Iatan and City of Louisiana, on June 16th, in the afternoon, and passed the night on board, laying by on account of unsafe navigation; the command passed Rockport in the morning of June 17th, and learning that the enemy, a few miles ahead, was fortifying a position, they disembarked at the foot of an island in a bottom, beyond the reach of ordinary artillery from the bluffs, and about eight miles distant from Boonville. One steamer with a howitzer and a Company for escort was dispatched up the river to make a diversion and also to silence a Battery which the Secessionists had posted on the river bank, in order to stop all navigation.

Lyon, with the main force, proceeded cautiously along the bottom road towards Boonville, having been informed that the place contained from three to four thousand defenders, among whom were several companies from Cooper County under command of Captain Robert McCulloch. Parsons had been ordered to march from Tipton to Boonville, twenty miles distant. Of this John C. Moore writes: "Parsons did not obey the order, though he had a day and a half in which to reach the designated point. The governor insisted on fighting at Boonville." Colonel Marmaduke was directed to march with all available men against Lyon, and retard his advance until Parsons' arrival, possibly also to give some citizens of Boonville a better chance to leave the city, and also to give Quartermaster General James Harding time to arrange for the destruction of such ordnance

stores which in case of a retreat could not be removed. Marmaduke, with near five hundred men, marched to the foot of the hills, but when the advance guard of Lyon's column drove in his pickets and skirmishers, he took a better position about a mile to the rear, posting his men in a lane and later on the brow of the hill, which caused Lyon to deploy his line, taking the Second Volunteers to his right, the First Volunteers and Regulars to the left. In this position several men were wounded, but Totten's Battery, taken to the front, forced Marmaduke again to fall back, when an order came to him from Governor Jackson to retreat and to join Parson's command, which was said to be fast approaching from Tipton. The retreat commenced at first in good order, but a more rapid Artillery fire soon turned it into a rout. Some shots fired from the steamer McDowell with the howitzer, under Captain Voerster, hastened the abandonment of Camp Vest, for fear that the retreat might be cut off. A third stand was contemplated near the fair grounds, a mile east of Boonville, which was frustrated by the fire of the Union Infantry and Artillery. The loss on the Federal side was reported as two killed and nine wounded; from the Secessionists two killed and six wounded, besides the captured or missing. Abbot gives the enemy's loss from twenty to fifty. The losses on both sides were out of proportion to the lively musketry firing, owing to a sound policy of keeping young troops busy.

The correspondent of the Missouri Democrat stated about the battle of Boonville that "the engagement was short; the flight of the Secessionists commenced soon after 8 o'clock a. m. and lasted until 11 a. m. A vigorous pursuit was prevented by the lack of Cavalry and by Lyon's resolution to spare the city. The few prisoners captured, mostly young men from the neighborhood, were nearly all paroled. Two cannon, fifty firearms, twenty-five tents, a larger quantity of boots and two Secession flags, represented the limited booty. Three hundred of the Secessionists crossed the Missouri River and retreated northward; some went southward, but the bulk went towards the west. General Lyon's force reached the city about 2 p. m., having advanced eight miles since 8 a. m. As three-fourths of the Boonville people were Union men, the Federal soldiers were welcomed as friends, and their hearts were gladdened by the appearance of many Union flags on public and private buildings.

Federal officers estimated the Secession force at Boonville at 4000,

that of the Union army at 2000; but Lyon had the great advantage of being able to choose the time and point of attack, and of having a well-served Artillery under Totten and partly under Captain John A. Neustaedter, the same who with Lieutenant Carl Schurz of the Baden Artillery had in 1849 escaped through the sewers of Rastadt, from the bloody vengeance of reactionary tyrants. Lyon also had an infantry, which could be handled in large bodies without risk of disorder or confusion, while the Secessionists had assembled at the spur of the moment, were not properly organized in Regiments or Brigades and could hardly be expected to make a tenacious resistance in a retreating fight. The circumstance that Price left the place before the actual attack, indicates his intention to draw Lyon further from his base and direct line of operation, which was towards the southwest from Jefferson City, considering that the real danger for the Union cause in Missouri came from the southwestern border of the State and Arkansas, and from Louisiana and Texas. This Lyon recognized, stating in a letter of June 18 to Colonel Harding that he anticipated a hostile movement from Texas. The same opinion was expressed by M. Blair in one of his former letters. General Lyon spoke modestly of the Boonville affair, well knowing that nowhere in the absolute realization of facts more necessary than in military matters, where the stake is life and the price human happiness. To General McClellan, his own superior commander, Lyon reports on the 20th of June: "Boonville is an important point, and should have at least a whole Regiment, with an advanced post at Warsaw, which is a nest of rebels who at Camp Cole (Cole Camp) massacred Union men." These words indicate more the intention of protecting Union men by occupying separate posts of the country than a purpose to prepare a strong base and line of operation against a hostile army, which was expected to invade the State. For Boonville is over fifty miles by river from Jefferson City, and Warsaw is only ten miles nearer to Boonville than to Jefferson City and only twenty miles nearer to Boonville than to Rolla, which latter had an undisputed and safe railroad communication with St. Louis, while the river communication was slow and precarious. The distance from Rolla to Springfield is shorter than from any point on the Missouri Pacific Railroad and far more so than from any point of the Missouri River, and the divide between the Osage and Gasconade offers within a day's march from Rolla the topography for a good

HENRY BOERNSTEIN.

Colonel 2d Infantry, Missouri Volunteers.

military road. The easily interrupted navigation of the Missouri was too unsafe for a base of supplies. However, General Lyon had some very good reasons for following Governor Jackson to Boonville instead of General Parsons' larger force, directly west along the Missouri Pacific Railroad. Lyon had no army wagons for land transportation and the "red tape" of the army regulations prevented him from pressing civil conveyances into immediate service. The same applies to the non-reconstruction of railroad bridges. Besides, the Missouri River was a tempting, though unreliable means of communication. Along the course of the river were several flourishing towns, with strong portions of Union population, and along its shores where the largest slave Counties of the State, and the possession of the river hindered a free communication of the hostile elements north and south of the same, and if it did not prevent at all events it retarded their organization. It may be noted here, incidentally, that the easy success at Boonville, to some extent at least, led to an undervaluation of the fighting capacity of the enemy, and that this was apt to lead to a neglect of that caution which other circumstances dictated.

On leaving St. Louis General Lyon had published an address to the people of Missouri, setting forth the objects of the Union move into the State, in consequence of the declaration of war by Governor Jackson. No copies of this address had reached Boonville, and he therefore issued another proclamation on June 18th, reiterating the causes which prompted his action towards Governor Jackson, after the latter's declaration of defiance and acts of warfare. He refers to Jackson's violations of the Harney agreement and his misleading the people relative to the intentions of the United States Government in protecting loyal citizens and maintaining its supremacy. Lyon warns the people that the clemency of the past should not be misconstrued nor expected to shield additional provocations, and closes with these words:

"Having learned that those plotting against the Government have falsely represented that the Government troops intended a forcible and violent invasion of Missouri, for the purpose of military despotism and tyranny, I hereby give notice to the people of this State that I shall scrupulously avoid all interference with the business, rights and property of every description, recognized by the laws of this State, and belonging to law-abiding citizens; but that it is equally my duty to maintain the paramount authority of the United States, with such force as I have at my command, which shall be re-

tained only so long as opposition shall make it necessary; and that it is my wish, and shall be my purpose, to devolve any unavoidable rigor, arising in this issue, upon those only who provoke it.

"All persons who, under the misapprehension above mentioned, have taken up arms, or who are now preparing to do so, are invited to return to their homes, and relinquish their hostile attitude to the General Government, and are assured that they may do so without being molested for past occurrences.

"N. Lyon,
"Brig. Gen. U. S. Vol. Com."

Colonel Frank P. Blair had been with Lyon during the campaign up to and at the battle of Boonville, and was an intimate and valuable adviser of the commander.

Blair's regiment, the First Missouri Volunteers, had already by the 12th of June, been reorganized for three years. The government at Washington discovered early in the war that a three months' service would not answer the purpose, but that it would even lead to very serious complications, so the policy was changed, and volunteer troops were thereafter enlisted for three years or the war. Colonel Blair got leave to reorganize his Regiment for three years, about the middle of its three months' term, and went at it with his usual energy. He left Lyon's command at Boonville and went to attend to his political duties as Congressman in Washington. This double position was very unfortunate, for Blair was sorely missed at the head of his Regiment and still more so at the side of Lyon, whose constant and intimate adviser he had thus far been. Blair's acquaintance with all parties in the State opened to him invaluable sources of information which were not available to Lyon or his Regular officers, who were, comparatively speaking, strangers. Even Blair's presence in Washington was no offset for the above, for although the wants of the Union commanders were known to him, his activity at the seat of government in favor of Missouri's affairs was less efficient after the State was attached to the department of McClellan, and still less so after Fremont assumed command.

The occupation of Boonville and the Missouri River line was to some extent supported by troops under General Hurlbut, pressing from the northeast southward. Colonel Curtis, with 3000 men, arrived on June 15 at St. Joseph, with two engines of the North Missouri Railroad, from Macon. His men had some skirmishing with bridge burning Secessionists, of whom several were killed. The

Second Reserve Regiment and companies of the Third Reserve were started toward Wentzville, to assist in the above service; they captured a few Secessionists and discharged them on their taking the oath of allegiance; seized firearms, contraband articles and some Secession flags. Bridges had been burned at Centralia and Sturgeon, notwithstanding that the resident population discountenanced such proceedings and outrages of marauding bands. Although the hostile opposition north of the Missouri River was not well organized, still General Harris and other band leaders were active at many points, detaining a large number of troops, much needed to strengthen General Lyon's army south of the river, thus securing peace to the State at a much earlier period. Another instance of the decentralizing exigencies of the war in Missouri was the detachment of the Fourth Missouri Volunteers (Black Jaegers), under Colonel Schuettner, to Cairo and Birdspoint, while its rifle Battalion was sent to guard the Pacific Railroad bridges. The Fourth Missouri Volunteers rendered good service at Birdspoint. Separated by the broad Mississippi River from Cairo, the "Schwarze Jaeger" raised intrenchments at Birdspoint, which latter was only a high bottom projecting into the river, holding the farm houses of Bird, surrounded by a few hundred acres of open fields and skirted on all sides by dense and swampy forests. The Regiment took possession of the Cairo & Fulton Railroad, which ran at that time a few miles beyond Charleston, Mo. The scouts of the Fourth Regiment extended into several counties; a Secession company of sixty men was taken prisoner, and information gathered of approaching or organizing hostile forces. Thus the Regiment formed the western outpost of Cairo, the all-important point for the Ohio and Mississippi navigation. Later the Regiment garrisoned Cairo until recalled.

St. Louis City and Arsenal were so far chiefly guarded by the First, Second, Third and Fifth Reserves and the Fifth Volunteer troops, which all made occasional scouts into the surrounding country and often to points in the city, where depots of arms or war material were suspected. Most of these scouts were without result and often an annoyance to citizens, but with a population partly hostile to the Union, could hardly be avoided. An account given by Lieutenant Wiliam M. Wherry of the Third Reserve, who later became a General, best describes the nature and circumstances of such scouts. He wrote:

"I was on duty with the Regiment during the exciting days of riot and apprehension succeeding the capture of Camp Jackson, and on one day marched my company to the Levee, to inspect the steamer J. C. Swon for powder and munitions of war. . . . I marched my troop in platoon front, taking the whole street from house to house, and so avoided being surrounded. At the Levee the company stood in line, while the detail went on boat. The crowd gathered about and began hooting. Seeing that we were about to be hemmed in by a mob, I 'about faced' the rear rank and advanced both ranks in opposite directions, with bayonets at a charge, thus clearing a space; then threw out sentinels and moved the company back to the center of the space, leaving the ranks facing outward, thus preventing any attack and, as I believe, bloodshed. After the search we marched back to Turner's Hall in safety."

General Lyon had at first the intention to hold the line of the Missouri River even beyond Boonville and up to Kansas City; for this his force was inadequate. The last volunteer regiment, namely the Fifth, left St. Louis on the 16th of June, in order to reinforce the Southwest column towards Springfield. The volunteer commands from other States, stationed in north Missouri, were slow to gain the line of the Missouri River, held back by their service to protect railroads and to awe the guerilla bands of the neighborhood. General Pope divided the railroads into sections and held the citizens of the neighborhood responsible for all damages, but this plan also absorbed many troops, much needed in the Southeast and Southwest. For this reason volunteers from the First Reserves were called to garrison Jefferson City. Seven companies responded and arrived on the 20th of June at Jefferson City, occupied the capitol grounds and were quartered in the basement of the capitol. Colonel Boernstein stated that he expected an attack of his position at any time. The field officers of the First Reserve had seen active military service before, namely Colonel Almstedt in the Mexican war, Lieut. Colonel Rombauer in the war for Hungary's independence and Major Phil Brimmer had been an officer in the Prussian army; they suggested that under the circumstances a more complete outpost service was requisite. No satisfaction was given them in this regard, but an intimation that several companies of the First Reserve should be sent from forty to sixty miles westward along the Pacific Railroad. This was three days after the battle of Boonville and the day after the massacre of two hundred home guards at Cole Camp, though not yet known at Jefferson City at the time. The Secessionists under General Parsons and those retiring from Boonville were on the line of the Pacific Railroad; several thousand marched from Lexington

southward and a westward move with only a few Infantry Companies looked rather adventurous. Still field officers of the First Reserve offered to lead the detachment, but requested that it should be formed from companies of the Second Volunteers, who were better prepared and equipped for field service. It seems Colonel Boernstein did not wish to part with his own Companies, and no westward movement from Jefferson City was made at the time. The Companies of the First Reserve were ordered back to St. Louis on June 25, and the Fifth Reserve, Colonel Charles A. Stifel, and four Companies of the Seventh Volunteers, Colonel John D. Stevenson, proceeded to relieve Lyon at Boonville, and arrived there on the 27th. By this time Major John M. Schofield had completed his mustering service in St. Louis and repaired to his Regiment, the First Volunteers, at Boonville. Lyon immediately appointed him his Assistant Adjutant General, in which position his valuable activity continued till after the battle of Wilson's Creek. It had been the intention of Lyon to move Southward from Boonville before this date, but the time necessary for securing transportation, accumulating provisions, posting troops for holding the Missouri River line, delayed his start even beyond the date when the Southwest Column had passed Springfield and points farther west. Colonel Stevenson was placed in command of the Missouri River line from Kansas City to the Mississippi, with headquarters at Boonville. He was to establish Posts also at Lexington and Jefferson City, each Post to have six Companies of Infantry and one field piece. These were to furnish detachments for operation in their vicinity, and the patroling boats on the river were to be armed also with a 24-pound Howitzer. Only boats in service of the Government were allowed on the river between Herman and Kansas City, and all skiffs, boats and ferries were taken possession of and securely moored. Colonel Boernstein was relieved at Jefferson City for the purpose of reorganizing the Second Volunteers at St. Louis for the "Three Years" Service.

The arrangement of attaching Missouri to the Department of the Ohio, credited to the advice of General Scott, Edward Bates and Governor Gamble, was not satisfactory to St. Louis people, and Francis P. Blair sought to effect a change at Washington, stating that McClellan himself was opposed and had said that all he could do was to let Lyon follow up his own plans. All these various tendencies finally resulted in the organization of the Western Department, under Major General John C. Fremont.

CHAPTER X.

THE SOUTHWEST.

DISPOSITION OF SECESSION FORCES.

The period is now near when the Missouri Secessionists received very efficient assistance from the Confederate States. These appointed May 13 Ben McCulloch Brigadier General and assigned to his Command one Louisiana Infantry and one Cavalry Regiment from Texas and one from Arkansas, and gave him authority to raise two Regiments in the Indian Territory. General N. B. Pearce was near Fort Smith with 1,500 men of Arkansas Militia.

On leaving Jefferson City June 13 Governor Jackson dispatched Colton Green to ask assistance from McCulloch, then camping in Northwest Arkansas. The latter recommended to the Confederate authorities the granting of this request, and asked leave to occupy Fort Scott in order to secure the sympathies of the Cherokee Indians. McCulloch averred later that these Indians were not to be used in the States: if so, their organization was certainly superfluous in the Territory. McCulloch also asked that Arkansas should be added to his Department; but his application met with no favor, and the Confederate Secretary of War wrote him: "The position of Missouri as a Southern State still in the Union, requires much prudence and circumspection, and it should only be, when necessity and propriety unite, that active and direct assistance should be afforded by crossing the boundary and entering the State." As soon, however, as McCulloch heard that Governor Jackson and General Price were retreating towards Northwest Arkansas, he set out for Maysville, and ordered the troops within reach to follow.

Immediately after the battle of Boonville several thousand Secessionists assembled at Lexington under Generals Rains and Slack. These troops Price commenced to organize, when the news of Governor Jackson's and General Parson's retreat towards Warsaw reached him. Leaving Rains in command, with instructions to

retreat towards Lamar, Price, with his staff and a small escort, went southward to meet McCulloch, who had already started to the relief of the retreating Missouri Secession forces, even before he had received the above qualifying instructions from the Confederate Secretary of War. Price was joined on his Southern march at various points by assembling Secessionists, and when he arrived at Cowskin Prairie in the southwest corner of the State, he had about 1,200 men, of whom 600 received muskets from General Pearce. McCulloch met Price at Cowskin Prairie. The meeting of the Missouri Secessionists with their Confederate allies must have been a picturesque sight. On the one side McCulloch with his well-dressed staff, the clean lines of Confederate Regiments in the prim uniforms, all well armed and equipped; on the other, the dusty, motley crowds of Missourians, without uniforms, with a variety of arms, haggard by exposure and fatigue, but, for all that, an excellent fighting material. Their State pride for Missouri; their self-sacrificing disposition for the Southern cause; their endurance in the campaign and prowess in battle, was not unjustly extolled by Confederate writers; but when they said that not a man had come forth to fight for Slavery, they were grievously mistaken. For Slavery was the cause of the Mexican war; Slavery was the cause of the raids into Kansas; and the legally defeated chance of Slavery extension, was the cause of the war of Secession. While Price was organizing his Command at Cowskin Prairie, McCulloch, paying deference to the advice from Headquarters, returned to Maysville, Arkansas.

In the meantime Governor Jackson moved Southward at a slower gait; on the road to Warsaw he learned of the massacre of the Cole Camp Home Guards, of which I. C. Moore writes that Lieutenant Colonel Walter S. O'Kane, assisted by Major Thomas M. Murray, raised about 350 State Guard troops, struck the Home Guards, who had no pickets out, "killed 206, wounding a still larger number, and taking over 100 prisoners." Union reports had it that these Home Guards, nearly all Germans, were surprised in a barn while sleeping and shot down with unnecessary cruelty. The circumstance that only 360 muskets were delivered while the number of dead Home Guards was 206, that of wounded over 200 and that of prisoners 100, casts a very dark shadow over this affair. South of the Osage River, Henry Guibor and William P. Barlow, two St. Louis Secessionists, joined the Governor, who placed them in charge of his Artillery. His forces

went into camp on the right bank of Spring River, three miles north of Lamar, and were here joined by the Commands of Rains and Slack, who had been detained by high water and a long train of wagons. The Confederate author Snead states that the Governor's forces assembled at Lamar Camp were:

	Infantry.	Cavalry.	Guns.	Total.
Rains	1,200	600	3	1,800
Parsons	400	250	4	650
Clark	360	...	..	360
Slack	700	500	..	1,200
Artillery	...	...	..	190
	2,660	1,350	7	4,200

Besides the above, there were about 800 unarmed recruits in Camp. This rapid growth of the Secession forces, under very adverse circumstances, is additional proof of Harney's great mistake in making a one-sided agreement, with an able and determined foe, who was only sparring for time to complete his armament.

THE SOUTHWEST UNION COLUMN.

Uniting his Regiment at Rolla, Sigel proceeded on June 13 towards Springfield, which he reached on June 23. The Fifth Volunteers under Solomon arrived at the same place on the 27th, after leaving one Company behind to hold Lebanon, half way between Rolla and Springfield. Major F. W. Cronenbold of the Fifth was left at Springfield with two Companies of the Fifth Volunteers, while the balance of that Regiment pushed on to Sarcoxie, and Sigel reached Neosho by the first of July and found that Price had evacuated the place. Neosho was the point designated by Lyon, where Sigel should intercept the southward moving Secessionists, though Lyon now was still at Boonville, 150 miles away.

In the meantime Captain Sweeney, upon whom General Harney had conferred the title of Brigadier General of the Reserves, marched to the support of the Southwest Column with four Companies of the Third Reserve; at Lebanon one of these Companies, to which many prominent St. Louis citizens belonged, mutineered,

FRANCIS SIGEL.

Colonel 3d Infantry, Missouri Volunteers, in 1861.

was disarmed and sent back to St. Louis. The cause of the trouble was that the Company insisted that some of its members, who had trespassed on the property of fugitive Secessionists, should not be left at Lebanon, as they deemed, at the mercy of Secessionists, arguing that while those men deserve punishment, they do not deserve abandonment. Lebanon, however, was held until the retreat of the Union forces from Springfield. The Fourth Reserve, Colonel B. Gratz Brown, after some delay, secured transportation at Rolla, and marched to Springfield.

At Neosho, Sigel had no hope to force Price, under favorable circumstances, to an engagement; he therefore marched his Command northward, in order to approach his base of supplies and supports, and also to come nearer to the Union forces, expected to advance from the North. In order to guard against an enemy approaching from the South, Sigel left two Companies under Captain Conrad at Neosho. This Rear-Guard duty could only be reasonably expected by ordering such Command to follow the main body within supporting distance. Captain Conrad had no Cavalry for distant scouting service, and his evil fate might have been anticipated.

THE BATTLE OF CARTHAGE.

On July 1 Sweeney arrived at Springfield and ordered Solomon to report in person at Headquarters; but four Companies of the Fifth Volunteers under Lieutenant Colonel Christian Wolf had joined Sigel on the preceding day at Neosho, and Solomon followed with the balance, using his discretion in the matter, as military orders are only peremptory when the Commander, by his personal presence, can be cognizant of all circumstances. The wisdom of this policy was best demonstrated by the success of the German armies in their European campaigns. Sigel was also ordered to return to Springfield, but being informed that a Secession force was heading towards Carthage, he marched to that place for the purpose of intercepting their southward march, and encamped on the 4th on the south fork of Spring River, east of Carthage. The Secessionist General, Parsons, being informed of Sigel's position, ordered his Command at 10 o'clock that night to advance towards Carthage, but was recalled by Governor Jackson, who ordered the whole Secession Army to advance southward at daybreak of July 5, with Rain's Brigade in the lead.

About five miles south of Lamar the report came in that Sigel was advancing to give battle, and that his troops were seen descending the slope towards Coon Creek. Sigel's Command left camp in the vicinity of Carthage at 3 o'clock in the morning of the 5th, and shortly after 9 a. m. saw the army of the Secessionists on a low hill in the prairie. They had 600 of Rain's Cavalry standing on the extreme right, and from this towards the left Weightman's Infantry (1,200); Bledsoe's Battery of three guns; Slack's Infantry (700); Guibor's Battery (4 guns); Parson's and Clark's Infantry, together 700, and on the extreme right 750 men Cavalry under Brown and Rives; their heaviest caliber, one twelve-pounder, was posted in front, the six-pounders towards the right and left flank; 2,000 unarmed Cavalry were sent to the wagon train.

Leaving one Company and one cannon to protect the ford of Dry Fork, a small tributary of Spring River, heavily fringed with timber, Sigel deployed his forces in line of battle on a ridge of the prairie, which gently slopes towards Coon Creek; the Fifth Volunteers, under C. E. Solomon, and one six pounder formed the right wing; the Third Volunteers, under Francis Hassendeubel, and one six-pounder formed the left wing, and four pieces of Artillery were placed in the center. According to Snead, the Confederate authority, Sigel's Command emerged from the brush on the north side of the creek and advanced with the precision of veterans, deployed into line at a distance of 1,200 yards, having 9 Companies of Sigel's Regiment and 7 Companies of Solomon's, with 125 of Major Backoff's Artillerists under Captains Theo Wilkins and Jacob Essig, or near 1,000 men in all. After a few inspiring words from Colonel Sigel, his Artillery advanced within 900 yards of the enemy's line and commenced firing. Federal authorities state that the twelve-pounder in the center of the Secessionists' line was first silenced and soon afterwards their pieces on the wings also ceased firing, while their Infantry in the center was badly shaken. Snead does not mention this, but says that the Secession Batteries answered the fire, which was kept up ineffectually for an hour, when the Governor sent his 2,000 unarmed horsemen for shelter into a heavy timber on the right of his line, which indicated that the Union Artillery made an impression. A front attack was now attempted by a large force of the Secessionists, but several volleys of the Infantry and a few grape shots from the Artillery forced them to retreat. The Union men

cheered, but had also lost by this time several men and horses, and had one cannon disabled, and Captain Wilkins reported that the ammunition for his Battery was getting short. The enemy's Cavalry now closed in on both wings, threatening Sigel's flanks, baggage and line of retreat. He therefore sent some Infantry and Artillery to the ford of a creek in the rear, and followed with the main body of troops in the best order, checking the advance of the enemy by occasional halts and firing. During such a halt at another branch some more men were lost.

It was not known in the Federal Camp that the 2,000 men sent by Governor Jackson to the woods were unarmed, and their movement was interpreted as a scheme to cut off the retreat. Essig's Battery, with five Companies, was ordered to higher ground south of the creek, commanding its defile and checked the Secessionists, who advanced within 400 yards of Coon Creek ford. The Battery and the troops supporting it were withdrawn and followed the retreating column. At about 5 o'clock p. m. the enemy's Cavalry tried to intercept the retreat, at a place where the road passed between high bluffs. A feint was made by the Union troops, as if they intended to avoid the narrow passage and march around the hill. This brought the Secession Cavalry in large numbers into the road, when Sigel's Infantry unmasked the Artillery behind them, which opened a destructive fire, scattering riderless horses around the prairie. Here 85 horses were captured, 65 double-barreled shotguns picked up, and two officers and 250 men taken as prisoners. The retreat thence continued in good order, followed at a distance by skirmishing parties. Sigel crossed the south fork of Spring River without opposition, holding in the neighborhood of Carthage till 7 p. m. to relieve the march of the train. About 8 o'clock p. m. the last fighting took place on the Sarcoxie road, where Lt. Joseph Spiegelhalter commanded the rear guard of two Companies and two cannon. The Secessionists' Cavalry advanced within 30 yards, when some volleys dispersed them. Hence the retreat to Sarcoxie, and later to Mount Vernon, was unmolested.

Sigel's advance to the battle of Carthage and his retreat to Sarcoxie, where he arrived on July 6 at 4 a. m., exacted from his troops a march of 34 miles in 25 hours, without halting to eat or sleep, and with continued skirmishing. It was necessary, after meeting in an open country an enemy who outnumbered him four to one. Sigel

had no doubt the better organized troops, both in Infantry and Artillery. His lack of Cavalry and the disproportion of forces should have dictated to him a defensive position, with strong natural advantages. As Sigel had an excellent military education, his march into the open prairie can be only explained on the supposition that he was not informed about the existing circumstances. Having no news from Lyon or Sturgis, he could not possibly expect from them any assistance. However, Sigel's orderly retreat was, under existing circumstances, creditable to the discipline of his troops and the capacity of the leader; the same cannot be said of the inefficient and lame pursuit by his adversaries.

The Federal loss in the battle of Carthage was 13 killed and 31 wounded; the Secessionists lost 10 killed and 64 wounded. Current estimates of the Federal loss were 400; of the Secessionists 600. Nothing is more common in times of war than exaggeration.

In his official report upon the battle of Carthage, Sigel speaks in the highest terms of the bravery and discipline of his Command. He personally mentions for valuable services Major Backoff, Adjutants A. Albert and Heinrichs, also Lieutenant Colonel Hassendeubel, Wolff and Captains Essig, Stephany, Golmer, Densler, Stark and Messner.

McCulloch, who had learned already on July 2 that Governor Jackson and General Rains were closely pressed by Lyon, advanced into Missouri on the 4th, with two Infantry and one Cavalry Regiment and Woodruff's Battery, and was joined by Price's Command. Informed of Sigel's movements, the two leaders left their Infantry behind and pushed more rapidly forward with their Cavalry and surprised Captain Conrad with two Companies of the Third Volunteers and some train, at Neosho, and 137 men, with nine wagons of supplies, were made prisoners, any resistance proving futile, as they were surrounded by 1,500 men, which rumor swelled to 3,000. General Sigel was blamed for exposing these Companies to capture in the manner he did. It was a severe check to the Union cause; not so much on account of the actual loss, but much more so on account of its moral effect. The large number of Confederate and Secession troops at Neosho augured no good for the small Federal army concentrating at Springfield, for, although the Governor's Command was under the impression of having avoided a great danger, believing Lyon and Sturgis at their heels, this fear was entirely unfounded,

for the very day they loudly welcomed McCulloch, Lyon was joined by Sturgis on Grand River, fully 100 miles away. When the news came to Springfield of Sigel's retreat to Mount Vernon, Sweeney started to his support on the evening of July 7 with three Companies of the Third Reserve and one Company of Springfield Home Guards, and was followed the next day by the Fourth Reserve, Colonel B. Gratz Brown. On the 10th of July the entire Command returned to Springfield, while the Confederates and Secessionists, instead of following up their advantage, steadily retreated Southward. There had been some apprehension on the part of the Federal leaders that during the absence of most of their troops from Springfield, the very numerous Cavalry of the enemy might make a raid on Springfield, destroy the depot of provisions and the workshops in which the patriotic men of the town manufactured ammunition and war material. But nothing of the kind was done by McCulloch, who led his troops back to Maysville, Arkansas, while Price reorganized the Missouri Secessionists in the camp at Cowskin Prairie, where the powder brought by Governor Jackson and the lead taken from the Granby mines was also turned into ammunition. Thus in three weeks 5,000 men were ready for the field, and 2,000 additional, well drilled, expected to take the arms of the dead, wounded or sick. Governor Jackson left this camp on July 12 to seek aid from General Polk at Memphis. He never returned to his State.

Colonel Chester Harding reported on July 7 to Washington that 3,000 Union men held Springfield and vicinity as an objective point, and that they were under the command of Captain T. W. Sweeney, Second United States Infantry, who was acting under an election and by order of General Harney as Brigadier General of the United States Reserve Corps. Such election and appointment must have been very informal, nor was any such office, to the knowledge of those most interested, ever authorized or confirmed from Washington. Besides the troops already mentioned above, a Rifle Battalion of the First Volunteers, a Regiment of Home Guards and Colonel Wayman's Thirteenth Illinois at Rolla, were protecting the communications between St. Louis and Springfield. In the same report Harding also mentions that General Pope's Brigade was placed at the disposal of General Lyon. If so, they never figured in Lyon's actual little army in the Southwest. Harding's further remark, "No more troops will be called for at present," did not appreciate the threatening condition of affairs in the Southwest.

LYON'S MARCH SOUTH.

By the first days of July General Lyon had secured at Boonville a scanty supply of provisions and transportation; having reported his deficiencies of same, on June 22 and 30, to General McClellan without effect; he also reported that he had ordered Major Sturgis from Leavenworth to follow the Secessionists retreating from Lexington. Sturgis had two Regiments of Kansas Infantry, four cannon and nearly one Regiment of Cavalry. Leaving Colonel J. D. Stevenson with 1,400 men of the Second and Seventh Volunteers and the Fifth Reserve at Booneville, to guard the Missouri River line, Lyon started, on July 3, Southward with the First Missouri and First Iowa Volunteers, 250 men United States Infantry, two Companies Second Missouri Volunteers under Major Osterhaus, 60 men Pioneers and Artillery and four Staff Officers, aggregating about 2,300 men. Sturgis' Command of 2,200 men was to join Lyon's at Osceola, about 90 miles from Boonville, and the united command would thence proceed to Springfield, to which place Colonel Harding was ordered to forward the necessary provisions by way of Rolla. Osceola, the place designated for meeting Sturgis' Command, is 40 miles west of the direct route from Boonville to Springfield. Sturgis started his Command several days before Lyon. It consisted of one Company of the Second Dragoons, four Companies of the First United States Cavalry, Dubois Battery of four guns, three Companies of the First and two Companies of the Second United States Infantry, with some recruits; the First and Second Kansas Volunteers, and one Company of Kansas Cavalry. Major Sturgis' orders were to follow Rains' troop of Secessionists, but he was delayed by high water and the destruction of bridges, and after waiting three days, was joined by Lyon west of Warsaw on the 6th of July, or one day after the battle of Carthage. The long delay at Boonville and the high water frustrated all concerted plans with the Southwest Column, which under any and all circumstances, were planned over too great distances and too long periods for execution. The united army of Lyon, now 4,500 men strong and its train, were ferried across the Osage on the 10th and the afternoon of the 11th, marched 27 miles south of Osceola, rested a few hours and continued their march until 3 o'clock next morning, covering an additional 23 miles. On that morning, July

12, Lyon received the news that the Confederates and Secessionists had gone towards Arkansas, and that Sigel's Command was safe at Springfield. Lyon's army marched that same day 18 miles farther and camped 12 miles from Springfield. It is related that during these forced marches under a July sun, often without food and water, several officers called on Major Osterhaus, asking him to speak to Lyon about these unusual exertions, to which the man who later on became a renowned Major General of the Federal Army is quoted to have politely answered: "You must excuse me, gentlemen, but that it not my business." The Command had made the march from Boonville to Springfield in 11 days, four days of which it was detained by the high water of the Osage and Grand rivers.

On the morning of the 13th Lyon entered Springfield, as Snead reports, with an escort of a bodyguard "of ten stalwart troopers, enlisted from among the German butchers of St. Louis for that especial duty." Lyon rode his iron gray horse, and the martial appearance of the cavalcade made a great impression on the people of Springfield, who greeted him as the hero of Camp Jackson and Boonville, and the Commander who chased the Secession Governor from his Capital. At that time Lyon estimated the United Secession forces threatening Springfield at 30,000, while Snead's estimate was 11,000. The mean between the two amounts seems to be nearer the actual condition than either estimate.

Upon an order issued by Lyon July 2, Colonel Harding suppressed the State Journal on July 12 and had its editor, J. W. Tucker, arrested under a charge of treason. Colonel James O. Broadhead found in Tucker's office the letter from Governor Jackson dated April 28 quoted before, in which the latter fully avowed his treacherous design of forcing Missouri into Secession. Tucker felt guilty and jumped his bond of $10,000. Several publications were started afterwards under new names, but in reality only continuations of the State Journal, and they were also suppressed.

The seizure of the Journal brought a great crowd of people together on the street. As the interference with the liberty of the press by governmental authority was very exceptional, it naturally created an unusual excitement.

SOUTHEAST MISSOURI.

In the previous mentioned report to Washington, Colonel Harding laid great stress upon the needs of the Union defenses in Southeast Missouri, where he claimed that a large force with Artillery and Cavalry may hereafter be necessary. He referred chiefly to the lowland Counties of Southeast Missouri, which, however, were largely protected by nature, having the Mississippi River on the East and communicational lines, broken by bayous, swamps and lakes, which made the advance of larger bodies of troops extremely difficult. These lowlands stretch far into Arkansas, but in Missouri alone they extend over 75 miles to the South, by about 35 miles in width and cover over 2,500 square miles. Their topography had been changed by the great New Madrid earthquake, still their elevation is so uniform that the overflow water of the Mississippi near Commerce runs inland nearly 60 miles, and returns to the Mississippi with the White River, after a course of 200 miles. For these reasons the policy of occupying Cairo, Cape Girardeau, Iron Mountain and points where the bluffs of the Ozarks sink into the lowlands answered all defensive purposes, at least as long as an advance down the Mississippi River, for political as well as military reasons, was still out of question. But the reports did not cease, that troops are concentrating in Arkansas for an attack upon Southeast Missouri. S. S. Williams, McClellan's Adjutant General, informed General Lyon on July 15 from Cincinnati that Bragg's Battery, four 32-pounders, three 64-pounders and one Regiment were embarked on a steamer in Memphis, with the destination of Pocahontas on the Black River; that they expected to find 6,000 Missouri and Arkansas troops at the latter place, which was only 100 miles from Sikeston, the terminus of the Cairo & Fulton Railroad. The route of these troops was to be down the Mississippi to the mouth of White River and upstream on the latter and Black River to Pocahontas. Corroborating the above report as it would appear, was a letter dated July 16 from M. Jeff Thompson ("The Swamp Fox"), which letter was found on a captive and in which Thompson wrote: "I am advancing and General Yell will follow me in a few days with 5,000 men. He will take position between Rolla and Ironton. General Watkins will move up, sustained by General Pillow, and if proper energy is exercised, we can

NICOLAUS SCHUETTNER.

Colonel 4th Infantry, Missouri Volunteers.

drive the enemy North of the Missouri, and into St. Louis in 30 days." Both these news, from Memphis and the "Swamp Fox," look very much like a put-up job to divert the attention of the Federal authorities, and to mask the movement of troops and war material up the White and Arkansas rivers, for an attack of the Union position at Springfield near the head of White River. This supposition was strengthened by the condition of the roads between Black River, the Cache and the Castor, where a small force could stop a little army. The position of Colonel Harding, as chief director of military affairs during Lyon's absence from St. Louis was one fraught with great difficulties; he had often to act upon the spur of the moment without the General's advice; demands for troops, provisions, arms, money, came in from all quarters, and he lacked the proper assistance, of a directive general staff.

The situation was soon to be aggravated by events at the seat of war in the East. President Lincoln had asked Congress, which assembled on July 4, to call out 400,000 men, and to vote a credit of $400,000,000. Congress, without hesitation, authorized the calling out of 500,000 men, and voted a credit of $500,000,000. Besides this patriotic resolve, the Union arms were successful in some smaller engagements. On the 16th of July, however, General McDowell left Washington, D. C., with 32,500 men, camped at Fairfax Court-house and concentrated his forces on the 20th at Centreville. Some precious time was lost in too much reconnoitering, for had the attack upon the Confederate lines taken place on the 20th of July, the defeat of Beauregard at Bull Run would have been certain, as the Confederate troops under Johnston could not possibly arrive on the battlefield before noon of the 21st. As it was, the Union forces, though at first successful in front, were taken unawares in their flank and suffered a crushing defeat. To guard against its reacting consequences, the news of the lost battle was suppressed in the St. Louis evening papers, and all possible precautions were taken to meet disorders in the city; every suspicious move was immediately reported and traced to its origin. Popular commotions are like an incipient fire, easily stopped at the beginning, but if permitted to spread, soon get beyond control. This time the peace of the city was not disturbed; a sure sign that the armies in the field had already absorbed the most fiery elements.

MISSOURI STATE CONVENTION OUSTS GOVERNOR.

The Missouri State Convention adjourned in St. Louis on March 22, subject to the call of the majority of a Committee: R. W. Wilson, J. T. Tindall, J. W. McClurg, James R. McCormack and Thomas T. Gantt, being such majority, called the Convention to re-assemble at Jefferson City on the 22d day of July.

The Convention, on reassembling at Jefferson City, witnessed the absence of its first Chairman, General Sterling Price, and of 16 members who were already in the Camp of the Secessionists; all of them were former conditional Union men, with conditions that could not be filled. A new President of the Convention was elected, and on behalf of a Committee of Seven, James O. Broadhead reported on the condition of the State:

"We find our Capitol deserted by its Governor and other high officers of state. We find that, in opposition to the known wishes of the people and in violation of their obligations to the Constitution of the United States, which they had sworn to support, they had formed a conspiracy to dissolve the connection of Missouri with the Federal Government, and that, in conjunction with a large portion of members of the Legislature, they have attempted, through the forms of legislation, to establish a military despotism over the people. We find that our Governor has, by his proclamation, incited the people of this Commonwealth to armed opposition to the Laws and Government of the United States, and that he is now in open rebellion against that Government and urging the people of other States, and the Indian tribes, to invade the soil of his own State, whose credit he has prostrated and whose property he has wantonly destroyed."

The natural consequence of this truthful representation of affairs was that the vacation of the offices of Governor Jackson, Lieutenant Governor Reynolds and Secretary of State Massey, who had fled to the Secessionist camp and out of the State, was finally declared on July 30 by a vote of 56 to 25. Next day Hamilton R. Gamble was elected Governor, Willard P. Hall Lieutenant Governor, Mordecai Oliver Secretary of State, George A. Bingham Treasurer. In his address Governor Gamble emphasized his unconditional adherence to the Union. From all those who were to continue or to come into office the Convention demanded an oath of loyalty to the Union; the same was made a condition of the voting franchise. The State Government was to have its official seat in St. Louis, for Secession raids were anticipated, which made Jefferson City unsafe. Having fin-

ished its business, the Convention issued a memorial, embodying its transactions and giving the reasons for the decree of the adopted measures.

The election of Gamble for Governor was a concession to the Ultra-Conservative Union element, and no doubt pleased even all conditional Union men. Gamble had supported Harney and was hostile to Lyon and his policy of arming Home Guards. At first sight the election looked as one of those dangerous half measures, which generally only cause mischief, and it is an open question whether his later usefulness was an equivalent for his immediate powerless condition in the gubernatorial chair in 1861, because the active Union men of that period who could be useful to his organizing talent had no sympathy for him. Archibald Gamble and the great majority of the Convention represented the conservative Union men of Missouri of 1860, most of whom were strong State Rights men. The active Union men of St. Louis and Missouri, who saved the city and the State to the Union, were Radicals, whose political convictions were settled and could not be influenced by the action of the Convention. A Secession ordinance by that Convention would have only hastened the conquest of the State by the Union forces. These later had to hold Gamble in his Governor's position, for his "peace for any price" friends were completely obliterated by the rush of events. Nevertheless Gamble's conservatism kept conservative Southern sympathizers in Missouri from active participation in hostilities.

At this June meeting of the Missouri State Convention the worst and most revolutionary laws of the last Legislature were repealed, namely, those establishing a military force, its financial support, and the office of Major General; likewise the grab law of the School Fund, and the law catering to the friendship of the Indians, while the Militia law of December 31, 1859, was reinstated. In these matters the Convention proved equal to the exigencies of the hour. The status of Slavery in Missouri was not touched; for, although the Convention was sovereign in Missouri State maters, an outside impetus was expected by the members before venturing to handle the most difficult question of the whole situation.

During the session of the Convention Colonel John D. Stevenson wrote to Adjutant Harding: "All the members of the Convention from the Southwest urge the necessity of sending plenty of reinforcements to General Lyon, and request me to so telegraph you. I do

so; of course, you know what is best; whether they are better informed than you are, you can judge." Of course, that went without saying, that the authority at Headquarters was in the position to judge best where to apply reinforcemnts. The urgent and repeated demands from the Southeast had to be weighed with those of Northern Missouri, where Harris was to make a combined attack on Jefferson City with forces from Osage, Pettis, Linn and Camden Counties, although he would have to cross the Missouri River, and had neither bridge nor boats. Harris, who was speeding to a combined movement with Secessionists from Osage County, who were also separated from Jefferson by the deep and broad Osage River; the same Harris who, by previous reports, was to be assisted by his friends from Pettis County, who had to march 50 miles with a Federal force at Boonville in their flank.

Now such news may sound ominous, but there is so little probability in them that they should have weighed lightly in the scale of considerations; while Lyon's representations, coming from an experienced leader, deserved the greatest possible attention.

THE BATTLE OF FULTON.

Callaway County borders on the Missouri River from Jefferson City eastward for over 40 miles, to near the mouth of the Gasconade. It was infested by a Secessionist organization under Tom Harris, who threatened the safety of the Capital, but still more the communication on the River, the Pacific Railroad and the small Union settlements of the neighborhood. There were no troops disposable at Jefferson City with which this hostile band could be checked, and Volunteers were called from the Third Reserve Regiment to undertake this task. Near 460 men responded, proceeded on the 16th of July by train to Jefferson City, and after being hospitably entertained by Colonel Boernstein with coffee and crackers, crossed the Missouri River the same evening and went into "Camp Fritz," several miles northeast of the city. A chance shot of a Sentinel alarmed the camp in the small hours of the night, upon which Colonel McNeill ordered a hasty breakfast taken, broke camp and started at daylight Northward. Single horsemen had been seen already the preceding day, watching from a distance the movements of the Third Reserve. Great care was had on the march through the wooded and hilly terri-

tory, with occasional fields of deserted farms. While an old camp of the enemy was passed, several shots were fired from the bush, severely wounding one man. The column now advanced in the following order: Van Guard Company F, Captain Ph. Weigel; Main Column Company E, Captain William A. Hequembourg; Company I, Captain R. Hundhausen; Company B, Captain Charles A. Warner; Company H, Captain Hy. Lischer; Rear Guard, Captain Tony Niederwieser. The freshness of the morning air was soon superseded by a sweltering heat, and the rays of a July sun bathed in perspiration the limbs of the marching soldiers. About 10 o'clock the column halted on a more elevated part of the road, thinly skirted with trees, when those at the head of the main column perceived the enemy at some distance in front. There was a more heavily wooded ravine to the side, which the Van Guard must have passed unobserved, or without clearing it up, for all of a sudden several shots and then volleys from hundreds of muskets greeted the resting men. The first Companies threw themselves on the ground to avoid the fire and then rapidly formed into line parallel to the enemy and sent several volleys into the well-covered line of the ambush. The Companies from the rear had also moved into line, and took up the fire, when Colonel McNeill, apprehending that the main body was firing at the Van Guard, galloped to the front, waiving a revolver and commanding, "Cease firing." The Van Guard, however, had been permitted to pass the ambush unnoticed and was out of harm's way. The Secessionists could not stand the fire of the Union Companies, and, at their charge with the bayonet, broke through the woods, run to their horses tied to a fence, rode off towards Fulton, in whose streets they disappeared. In this engagement the Third Reserve had 20 wounded, 1 mortally; while the loss of the Secessionists, owing to the heavier caliber of the Union muskets, must have been much larger.

While in Fulton members of the Third Reserve published an issue of the deserted "Callaway Union." Quartermaster George E. Leighton was the able editor, foreman was Captain Hy. Lischer, and the compositors were taken from the rank and file.

This issue contained a patriotic appeal to the disaffected citizens of Missouri and Joseph Holt's renowned Louisville speech of July 14, also the "In Memoriam" for Christian Pahlman, the young German who only recently immigrated, and died in defense of his adopted country.

The plan had been that a concerted movement was to defeat Harris. Lieutenant Colonel Hammer, with several Companies of the Fourth Volunteers, crossed the Missouri at Hermann, marched to Florence on the North Missouri Railroad, but arrived at Fulton after the Third Reserve and the retreat of Harris. Forty-two men Cavalry of the First Reserve were attacked by a body of Secessionists on the march from Montgomery to Mexico. In the skirmish Lieutenant Anton Jaeger of the First Reserve was killed, one man wounded and several horses lost. Colonel M. L. Smith, with two Companies of the Eighth Missouri Volunteers and four Companies of the Second Missouri Volunteers under Lieutenant Colonel Fred Schaeffer, were sent by rail to Mexico, to meet Hurlbut's belated troops, who should have cut off the retreat of the Secessionists. This plan failed, as all similar long-distance combinations usually fail. Still these expeditions were useful, as they pacified the country and secured the much-needed lines of communication.

THE SITUATION AT ST. LOUIS.

Turner Hall, on Tenth and Walnut, had its windows and doors barricaded and prepared for shooting. Its central location made it important in case of a riot or a hostile rising, especially as it was near the disaffected residence portion of the city. When the larger portion of the Third Reserve volunteered out of town four Companies of the First Reserve under Lieutenant Colonel R. J. Rombauer were ordered to occupy Turner Hall. These Companies were: B, Captain R. E. Rombauer; C, Captain Theodore Hildenbrandt; D, Captain Leonhard Weindel; E, Lieutenant Lorenz Liebermann. The Commander ordered Lieutenant Charles G. Johnson of the Third Reserve to assemble those members of his Regiment who remained in town to form with them three Companies, take command of the First Company, give the Second to Louis Duestrow and the Third to Lieutenant James H. Wodwarka of the First Reserve, and let these Captains appoint pro tem. their other officers, assign the sections to Sergeants, who made out rolls of the residence and business places of their men. This arrangement of July 15 gave to Lieutenant Colonel Rombauer a command of seven full Companies, which were sufficient to deal with any casual disturbance in the center of town. Gustave Hammerstein acted as Aid and Commissary for the First

and Charles P. Johnson for the Third Reserve. One full Company was on guard duty and one held in reserve each night. Rallying places were assigned and all had orders to march to Turner's Hall on the first alarm. Companies B, C and D of the First Reserve to take position in the yard; Company E of same and the First and Third Company of the Third Reserve on the first floor, and the Second Company of the Third Reserve in the large hall of the second floor; all Companies to face south, with their right wing at the west wall.

When the news of the defeat of Bull Run (July 21) reached St. Louis the excitement in town was great, and all Companies of the Command were consigned to stay day and night at Turner Hall. Every one who was not on the Callaway County expedition responded cheerfully to this duty, although many members of the Reserve, particularly of the Third Regiment, already then represented large business interests, as, for instance, Eberhardt Anheuser, Adam Roth, Theodore Platte, Adolphus Busch, I. A. Holmes, C. H. Dunker, Chauncey I. Filley, Daniel M. Houser, Lucien Eaton, William J. Lemp and others too numerous to name. On the 25th the detachment was relieved by the Companies of the Third returning from the Callaway County scout.

Adjutant General Harding, writing to Lyon on the day of the battle of Bull Run, characterizes the situation at St. Louis: "From Jefferson City, I had nothing but trouble. It being impossible to supply the places of Boernstein's six Companies, I left him there and —but I won't stop to mention his performances."

"At home our friends are alarmed, and the city is uneasy. . . . Only 2,200 Reserve Corps left; there is mismanagement of transportation at Rolla. A large number of army wagons with mules have been sent down—250,000 rations were ordered on the 6th; 4,000 pair shoes and clothing to match were ordered on the 13th; part have been shipped." He also refers to reorganizations for the three-year service, and mentions Lieutenant Colonel Hassendeubel, who starts a Regiment (the Seventeenth Missouri), and writes: "I shall reorganize the Second and Fourth under their Captains and put the first ten Companies formed into one Regiment, without regard to the preferences of individuals." A questionable policy. Harding continues: "The Eighth Missouri Volunteers can go down this week; the Ninth and Tenth are filling up fast." . . . "Mulligan's Regiment from Illinois arrived here yesterday for arms; several of

its Companies were sent to Jefferson City, others will go up Tuesday." This Regiment went later to Lexington, Missouri, where troops from Boonville of the Seventh Missouri and Fifth Reserve, Charles G. Stifel, had diligently prepared the position for defense. Two days after Lyon started south from Boonville a detachment of the Fifth Reserve left that place to visit the river towns up the Missouri. They hoisted a Union flag at Brunswick, organized Home Guards and captured some violent Secessionists. On July 9 they fished out five old cannon from their hiding place in the river at Lexington, secured some powder, and, under the direction of Captain John A. Neustaedter from the Artillery, laid out and built the fortifications, which later on were defended by Mulligan's men and 1,220 men under Colonel B. W. Grover, who formed a Home Guard Regiment from the neighboring counties and was mortally wounded in defense of the place. While at Blue Mills destroying boats the Fifth Reserve lost 1 man killed and had 12 wounded Companies of the Regiment went up to Leavenworth and secured there some aid in men and arms, and left two cannons and two mortars in the Lexington forts. Returning to Boonville, they were attacked from the river bluff and lost several men. On July 19th Colonel Stifel's Fifth Reserve returned to the St. Louis Arsenal and delivered their prisoners and contraband of war.

CHARLES G. STIFEL.

Colonel 5th U. S. Reserve Corps, Missouri Volunteers.

CHAPTER XI.

JOHN C. FREMONT.

The measure of attaching Missouri to McClellan's Department, with Headquarters 500 miles away, was objected to by McClellan himself, and the Blairs and other prominent Union men urged and secured the organization of the Western Department, embracing all States and Territories west of the Mississippi to the Rocky Mountains, including also the State of Illinois. John C. Fremont was appointed to this Command. It was a popular appointment. The pathfinder over the Rocky Mountains who had crossed the great desert and secured California, the land whose rivers run with sand of gold; the scientist honored by Alexander Humboldt, the Republican candidate for Presidency in 1856, nominated on the first ballot and receiving 114 electoral votes, was certainly the most welcome Commander to all progressive elements in the new Department.

John C. Fremont was born and educated in the South; the exact study of mathematics, leading to a realization of conditions, and a world-wide culture, as well as his happy union with Jessie Benton, daughter of Missouri's great Senator, elevated him above local prejudices of the oligarchic and plutocratic power. The freedom of nature in the Rocky Mountains and the Sierra Nevada nerved every fiber of his being. His very fealty to the cause of human liberty secured him the Free Soil or Republican nomination of 1856. He had read History and knew that Aristocracy and Slavery go hand in hand; that the privileges of the few are the doom of the masses; that the immense wealth accumulated by the Slave barons was used for the destruction of the Union, and by word and deed he was determined to strike at the root of the evil; and he did it most effectually by his proclamation for the emancipation of the Slaves of armed Secessionists, which he issued August 31, 1861.

On his return from Europe, where he had been sent by the U. S. Government to purchase a large supply of arms, he was appointed Major General, and assumed command at St. Louis on the 25th of

July, and immediately applied to the National Headquarters for a force and outfit adequate to his task. Washington was in the height of excitement on account of the disaster at Bull Run, and M. Blair answered him that it was impossible at the time to give attention to Missouri affairs; Fremont should act upon his own judgment and responsibility to defend the Union cause and people in the West. The Secessionists had at that time 20,000 men under Pillow, Hardee and Jeff Thompson in the southeast of Missouri; 30,000 under McCulloch and Price in the Southwest. To the latter Lyon could oppose 7,000 at Springfield, whose time of service was rapidly expiring; about 6,500 Union troops were under Prentiss at Cairo; near 1,000 at Ironton, and a force of several thousand under Pope's command in North Missouri. An urgent representation came from General Prentiss at Cairo, as the term of service of six out of his eight Regiments had nearly expired. Besides this, the garrisons of Cape Girardeau and Ironton were hardly adequate to the defense of those places. In fact, the term of all three-months men was fast expiring. Scouts reported General Pillow gathering a force of some 20,000 at New Madrid; General Hardee, with 5,000, to be marching on Ironton; Col. Jeff Thompson (surnamed the "Swamp Fox") mustering a force at Bloomfield. Even if this news was exaggerated, the hostile preparations looked threatening enough to call for immediate action; and, prompted by these circumstances, Gen. Fremont organized the expedition to Cairo and Bird's Point, which by the 31st of July was ready to move South. According to Colonel Chester Harding's evidence, given before the Committee on the Conduct of War, the disposition of the troops in Missouri on the 25th day of July, the day of Fremont's arrival at St. Louis, was the following:

AT ST. LOUIS.

The Eighth Regiment, Missouri Infantry, at Abbey Park; the Second and Fourth Missouri Infantry were being mustered out and reorganizing at the Arsenal. Of the Ninth and Tenth Volunteers, 225 men were distributed in skeleton Companies at the Arsenal, but neither clothed nor equipped. The Engineer Regiment of the West had just been started. Buell's Battery of 150 men, recently assigned to the Department, had orders for Artillery equipments and guns. The First, Second, Third, Fourth and part of the Fifth Reserve

Regiments were at St. Louis, but could not be moved from there without their consent.

AT ROLLA.

There were 554 men of Bayless' Rifle Battalion, and 1,000 men of the Thirteenth Illinois Infantry, Col. Wayman.

AT SPRINGFIELD.

Five companies of Regular Infantry and five companies of Regular Cavalry. The First Regiment Missouri Volunteers, and parts of the Third and Fifth Missouri Volunteers, with the exception of three-months men, sent home to be mustered out; two Rifle Companies of the Second Missouri Volunteers, and the First and Second Kansas Volunteers; one Company of Pioneers; Totten's and Dubois' Regular Batteries, and two Batteries from Backoff's Artillery Battalion.

AT JEFFERSON CITY.

Two Companies of the Seventh Missouri Infantry; seven Companies of the Twenty-third Illinois Infantry. The other three Companies of same were under orders to come up from St. Louis. One section of Backoff's Artillery Battalion.

AT BOONVILLE.

Eight companies of the Seventh Missouri Infantry, Col. Stevenson, and one section of Backoff's Artillery.

AT LEXINGTON.

Part of the Fifth U. S. Reserve Corps.

AT PILOT KNOB AND IRONTON.

The Sixth Missouri Infantry, Col. Bland, and a section of Pioneers.

AT CAPE GIRARDEAU.

The Twentieth Regiment, Illinois Infantry, under Col. Marsh.

AT ST. CHARLES.

One section of Pioneers.

According to Col. Harding, these troops aggregated 15,943 men. Besides these, twenty-three Companies of Home Guards guarded the railroad bridges in different parts of the State. Two Illinois and one Iowa Infantry Regiment were guarding the Hannibal & St. Joseph R. R., while General Pope, with part of his Division, was guarding Northeast Missouri.

The threats of invading hostile forces from all sides, and the scarcity of troops, induced General Fremont to push the field fortifications of St. Louis to their rapid completion. Granting the difficulty of defending a large city like St. Louis by isolated forts; granting that it would take a large army to defend the very extended position of these forts, they no doubt had a great moral effect, both in the councils of the hostile camp, as well as upon the partially disaffected population of the City itself.

St. Louis had lost a large portion of its trade; party animosity led even to a split among the members of the Merchants' Exchange; the Southern sympathizers kept up the Chamber of Commerce, while those opposed to Secession in any form organized the Union Merchants' Exchange. Factories lay idle; by the end of July over 20,000 of their best workingmen were either in the Union or Confederate military service, neither of whom were paid at the time, and a large portion of the population faced starvation. Patriotic ladies organized soup-houses, rolled up their sleeves and went cooking for the poor, and the chance to earn wages by work on the fortifications was a godsend to the inhabitants. A peremptory order upon the Subtreasury of St. Louis for $100,000, without the direct sanction from Washington, relieved the greatest distress.

CAIRO AND BIRD'S POINT.

Already, on the 19th of July, or six days before Fremont arrived at St. Louis, Colonel Harding sent a report to him, on the threatening conditions of affairs in Southeast Missouri, stating in his report: "If we once lose possession of the swamps of that region, a large army will be required to clear them, while if we get possession first and hold the causeway, a smaller force will do. General McClellan tele-

graphed that he had authentic intelligence of a large army gathering at Pocahontas, according with what I have advised for weeks. Will you take into consideration the importance to Cairo, that the Southeast should be held by us?" Upon Fremont's arrival, frequent telegrams from General Prentiss, Cairo, and Colonel Marsh, Cape Girardeau, represented the situation as extremely dangerous. In fact, it was expected that as soon as the enemy gathered sufficient strength, he would attack Bird's Point and press towards St. Louis.

Governor Jackson left the Secessionist Camp of the Southwest on July 12th, called on General Polk at Memphis, and urged him to aid an invasion of Missouri, with the object of influencing the decisions of the Missouri Convention, which was to meet at Jefferson City on the 22d of July. For this purpose he was evidently too late. Nevertheless, a division of forces of the United States was very desirable for the Confederates, and for this reason General Polk directed General Pillow to move with 6,000 men from Western Tennessee to New Madrid, Mo., unite there with Jefferson Thompson, effect a junction with Hardee from Pocahontas, and attack Lyon in rear, or march direct upon St. Louis. Such visionary schemes, considering distances and difficulties of communication, could only be explained upon the theory that the news of the Confederate victory at Bull Run, ran away with the judgment of otherwise sensible men.

General Polk enlarged even on this scheme, as T. L. Snead quotes him: "Having driven the enemy from the State, I will then enter Illinois," wrote the brave old soldier, "and take Cairo in rear on my return."

General Pillow occupied New Madrid on the 28th of July. His army was called by his party friends the "Army of Liberation," although its purpose was the extension of Slavery. This threatening move only prompted greater haste for Fremont's Cairo expedition, particularly as an order to General U. S. Grant to advance with a force to Bloomfield had been countermanded. Pressing demands also came from General Lyon from the Southwest, but the free navigation of the Mississippi and the Ohio, secured by the possession of Cairo and Bird's Point, were considered of higher strategic importance. Lyon was advised by Fremont that he could send him no immediate reinforcements; and as it had been intimated by his friends that Lyon might fight a battle at Springfield, Fremont de-

clared that if Lyon fights at Springfield, he does so upon his own responsibility. This information shows that Lyon was expected to retreat from Springfield. Such were the circumstances under which Fremont turned towards Cairo, as the most important threatened point. He gathered together a force of near 4,000 men of Iowa and Illinois troops, with one detachment of 1,000 men of the St. Louis First and Second Reserve Regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel R. J. Rombauer; Lieutenant-Colonel Phillip Brimmer and Major Julius Rapp, Adjutant Herman Bleek, Quartermaster H. Ratjen and Commissary Geo. Bensberg. The Detachment had twelve Companies: First Company, Capt. R. E. Rombauer; Second Company, Capt. Theo. Hildenbrandt; Third Company, Capt. Aug. Eichele; Fourth Company, Lt. Geo. Reinhardt; Fifth Company, Capt. Chas. Hartig; Sixth Company, Capt. Jos. Schubert; Seventh Company, Capt. B. Essroger; Eighth Company, Capt. Wm. Hahn; Ninth Company, Capt. Ed. Wuerpel; Tenth Company, Capt. Felix Laies; Eleventh Company, Capt. Theo. Boethelt; Twelfth Company, Capt. H. Zakrzewski.

The other men of the First and Second Reserve were on the Pacific, Southwest Branch and Iron Mountain Railroad, under Colonel Henry Almstedt of the First and Herman Kallmann of the Second Reserve, on bridge guarding and scouting service. The Detachment of the First and Second Reserve, camped at Scholten's Garden, now Lemp's Park. It being excessively hot, Lieutenant Lorenz Liebermann was sunstruck and died. By the first of August all troops boarded vessels—Major General Fremont and Staff, the "City of Alton"; the Missouri Reserves, the "H. W. Graham"; the other troops, the "City of Louisiana," the "Warsaw," "War Eagle," "D. A. January" and "Empress." By 3 o'clock p. m. the fleet formed in line. It was a beautiful day. The sun, reflected from the Mississippi River, penetrated the dark volumes of smoke, which rose towards a cloudless sky, relieved here and there by the foaming white steam. Every available place from the boiler to the hurricane deck was crowded by soldiers, who were greeted from the shores by thousands of waving handkerchiefs and hats, when the whistles sounded, the cannon boomed, the band struck up "The Star-Spangled Banner," and the steamers, with one magnificent swoop, turned southward towards the land of cotton, soon to be lost in the gray distance to many eyes dimmed by the tears of emotion. The fleet

laid by four hours during the night, and at 7 a. m. was greeted by the American Zouaves of the Twentieth Illinois Volunteers at Cape Girardeau, and reached Bird's Point at 4 p. m. Rounding to the shore, the "H. W. Graham" tied up under a high bank, cutting off all breeze. Here the intense heat of the sun and the boilers overcame many men and gave Dr. Emil Seeman and his assistants more work than they could attend to. This sudden dropping of many men almost created a panic, and the great stress upon the nerves was only relieved when the working parties succeeded in making a practicable road to the top of the high bank. Besides the Reserves, the Seventeenth and Nineteenth Illinois and the Second Iowa Volunteer Infantry landed at Bird's Point.

The Mississippi River was the natural line of operation for a Union Army in the West, on account of the facility of transportation and the great technical advantages of the North in the equipment of gunboats, tinclads, and vessels of all kinds, which were available to the South only in a very limited way. All this became more important as the Southern railroads had a different guage from the Northern, which made their road-beds of little immediate value after their rolling stock had been removed. The real objective points in every contest are the armies of the enemy, which would naturally concentrate in defense of the great artery of national life; and for this reason a possession of the Mississippi meant the possession of the West. In the hands of the Union Army, it cut off almost one-third of the Confederacy by permanently stopping the communication between the seceded States east and west of the river. On the other hand, there were considerations for the safety of the Union men in the Border States, which led to a scattering of troops over a large area, often isolated and without proper means of communication. Still, there is no doubt that the destruction of the hostile armies was of greater importance than the protection of scattered Union posts. Therefore Fremont's move to Cairo and Bird's Point appears to be correct, and fault may be found chiefly with that authority which did not energetically push the movement Southward.

The Mississippi at Cairo is very wide; still, a hostile Battery at Bird's Point would have effectually stopped navigation of transports from the Upper Mississippi to the Ohio. While Bird's Point itself is only a high bottom, it had sufficient open field all around it to make

the field fortifications raised at the place quite defensible, while the swampy woods, at about 1,500 yards distance, could be also utilized for a preliminary defense. Within a day's march South were Confederate troops under Pillow, and Jeff Thompson's bands were infesting the neighborhood. A specimen of the latter's mode of warfare may be had from his own report of August 12th, to General Pillow:

"I sent my dragoons over the river to gather transportation. The temptation to have a brush before leaving was too great, and they charged into the town of Hamburg, scattering the Dutch in all directions. My men fired at them as they ran through the fields, although unarmed, and killed one, mortally wounded five, seriously wounded several others and brought away thirteen prisoners and twenty-five horses. These men were the federal Home Guards, but the attack was so unexpected that they did not find their guns to fight, but as they kept them secreted, our men only got five."

Everybody can analyze this report for himself, and trace to their very origin those causes which made it possible.

LYON AT SPRINGFIELD.

On Lyon's taking command at Springfield, July 14th, the Union affairs in that neighborhood were in a critical condition. The time of service of the three-months men, which formed about half his command, was rapidly expiring. Notwithstanding the Order of Quartermaster General Meigs, issued July 6th, to Quartermaster McKinstrey at St. Louis, to send as many teams as may be required to transport supplies, forage and clothing to Lyon's army, hardly anything had reached that destination by July 27th—nay, McKinstrey had even discharged the teams previously hired by Sigel, Gratz Brown and Sweeney. It was evident that the machinery did not work right, which was chiefly the fault of a system which tied the hands of the local commanders.

Under date of Springfield, July 13th, Lyon writes to Harding: "My effective force will soon be reduced by about four thousand men, including the Illinois Regiment now on the march from Rolla (which never got to Lyon). Governor Jackson will soon have in this vicinity not less than thirty thousand men. I must have at once an additional force of ten thousand men, or abandon my position. All must have supplies and clothing. N. Lyon."

JOSEPH SPIEGELHALTER.

Lieutenant 5th Infantry, Missouri Volunteers, in 1861.

July 15th his Assistant Adjutant General, Schofield, writes a letter of similar tenor, and adds: "Our troops are badly clothed, poorly fed, and imperfectly supplied with tents; none of them have yet been paid, and the three-months Volunteers have become disheartened to such an extent that very few of them are willing to renew their enlistment." He also suggests, very sensibly, that the garrisoning of St. Louis should be left entirely to the Home Guards. At this time Lyon received an order from General Scott to send five Companies of Regulars, with Captain Sweeney, east, which proves that Sweeney was not considered a Brigadier General at Washington. To this last demand from Army Headquarters, Lyon answered:

"My aggregate is between seven thousand and eight thousand men, more than half of whom are three months' Volunteers, some of whose term of enlistment has just expired; others will claim a discharge within a week or two and the dissolution of my forces from this necessity, already commenced, will leave me less than four thousand men. In my immediate vicinity, it is currently reported, there are thirty thousand troops and upward whose number is constantly augmenting. The evils consequent upon the withdrawal of any portion of my force will be apparent;—possible defeat of my troops in battle will peril the continued ascendancy of the Federal power itself, not only in the State, but in the whole West;—large bodies of troops should be sent forward to this State, instead of withdrawn. . . . The moral support of the presence of the few Regulars in my command is doubtless the main consideration which holds the enemy in check. . . . In this state of affairs, presumed to have been unknown, when the order was issued, I have felt justified in delaying its execution for further instruction."

Two days later, Lyon asks Colonel Harding to send to him the Fourth and Fifth Regiment, Iowa Volunteers, from Burlington, Iowa, if they are not otherwise needed. They never got to him. Authority from Washington was now received at St. Louis to accept all three-year Regiments that offer their services. In consequence of this authority, Colonel Harding thought he could soon reinforce Lyon, which might have been done from other quarters, for on July 15th Brigadier General John Pope, who, with his command, guarded railroads in North Missouri, sent this short notice to Assistant Adjutant General Harding: "Have dispatched conditions of affairs to General Fremont and asked authority to take the field with five more Regiments. Expect answer to-night. Will go down and confer with you soon as I hear." Fremont, however, assumed command at St. Louis only on the 25th, and ten precious days were lost by General Pope's waiting for orders.

Most unfortunately for Lyon's Command, the terms of the three-months Volunteers nearly all expired between the 22nd and 28th of July, while only the First Missouri had reorganized for three years' service. Those not willing to re-enlist were transferred to other Regiments. There was an undue pressure brought to bear upon the men whose terms had expired, to make them stay at Springfield, and their readiness to serve their country in April, 1861, was ill rewarded even by threats of coercion. The ill-feeling started when, upon the reorganization of the First Missouri Volunteers for the three-years' service on June 10th, a large number of its members declined to take up that new term of service, and there were some not very creditable attempts made to induce them to yield to the wishes of the higher officers, but better counsels prevailed, and later the just demands were granted, and men of the First, Third and Fifth Missouri Volunteers and of the Artillery Battalion, whose time had expired and who had not re-enlisted for the three-years' service, left Springfield July 24th, under command of Lieutenant Colonel C. D. Wolff, at a time when there was no hostile force of any consequence within sixty miles of Springfield. C. D. Wolff's Detachment arrived in St. Louis August 2nd, and the men were honorably discharged August 12th. Most of them re-enlisted soon afterwards in various Regiments, and for three years, or the duration of the war.

The lack of a well-organized Staff was sorely felt at Washington, and in the Western Department. Colonel Harding was almost oppressed by this want, and Lyon complained of it repeatedly. Recurring verbal messages through traveling officers could give no satisfactory basis for action, as they are subject to misconceptions, lapses of memory, the individual shadings of subaltern officers, which may have a sinister influence upon the decision of important questions.

On July 27th Lyon handed to Colonel John S. Phelps, an eminent Union man from Springfield, a memorandum, and asked him to see General Fremont about troops, stores, pay, clothing, shoes and staff officers, stating also the strength of his command, which was much reduced in numbers by the expiration of the three-months' term of troops, and ended the letter with the words: "The public press is full of reports that troops from other States are moving toward the northern border of Arkansas, for the purpose of invading Missouri." It took Colonel Phelps three days to get to St. Louis, and he arrived at Fremont's Headquarters shortly before the latter

embarked with a large expedition for Cairo and Bird's Point, owing to the danger which threatened Cairo, the most important center of communication in the West.

About the same time, Captain John S. Cavender, of the First Regiment, Missouri Volunteers, called at Fremont's Headquarters, and, after a delay of two days, succeeded in seeing Fremont, to whom he made explicit representations of the difficulties in the Southwest. Before returning to Springfield he was informed by Assistant Adjutant General Kelton that a Paymaster had been ordered to leave in the cars next morning, "and General Fremont has arranged to send reinforcements at once. At least five thousand will go forward as soon as the orders can reach them. It's all right, Captain. You can tell General Lyon he will be attended to." Quite to the contrary effect is the statement of Dr. Frank G. Porter, who also, upon Lyon's request, called on Quartermaster General McKinstrey, and stated to him that, if Lyon could get the Thirteenth Illinois from Rolla and the Seventh Missouri from Boonville, he would be confident of success in any encounter with the Secessionists. McKinstrey answered it was impossible to secure transportation for those Regiments. Dr. Porter then called upon General Fremont and repeated the information given by Phelps and Cavender, and added that it was Lyon's intention to fight the enemy at Springfield; to which General Fremont, as Dr. Porter says, replied that if General Lyon made the fight at Springfield he must do it upon his own responsibility; General Lyon has his orders to fall back. The items of the above narration are taken from Jas. Peckham's well-known work on General Lyon. He speaks in the highest terms of Dr. Porter's character, and as Peckham was very well informed upon the affairs of the day, and not at all partial to General Fremont, his statement is of very great importance, for it proves that already in the last days of July Lyon was expected to fall back from Springfield, and that he fought the battle of Wilson's Creek on his own responsibility. This fact is corroborated by General Schofield's statement in his work, "Forty-Six Years in the Army."

As to the difficulty of having need of staff officers, it must be noted that General Lyon certainly had in Major Schofield the ablest Chief of Staff that could be secured from the Regular Army in the West, and Lyon himself had the best possible opinion of Regular Army officers and men; still, for his minor staff officers, he had the choice

"Three miles from your camp, the command of General Rains, as I expected, came down upon us in full flight and in the greatest confusion. I drew up my men across the road and rallied the greater portion of them and sent them on in regular order. General Rains had engaged the enemy unadvisedly, and had sent for my small command to reinforce him, which I respectfully declined, having no disposition to sacrifice it in such company.

JAS. MCINTOSH."

At the Union Camp the opinion was prevalent that the object of the Secession leader was to draw Lyon further away from his supplies, and, in fact, the provisions in Lyon's Camp at that time had been reduced to one day's rations. Schofield writes upon this situation: "The enemy showed no great force, and offered but slight resistance to our advance. It was evident that a general engagement could not be brought on within the limits of time and distance to which we were confined by the state of our supplies." As Lyon had the bulk of his army (over 5,000 men of all arms) with him, he exposed Springfield to the chance of being taken by the enemy's stealing a march upon him along another route. After consulting the Commanding Officers, Lyon ordered the retreat to Springfield, where his army was concentrated on August 5.

At Crane Creek a Texas Regiment joined McCulloch's forces. Still Price urged him in vain to follow Lyon. In order to induce him to advance, General Price, though Senior in rank, offered to follow McCulloch's lead. After one day's consideration, and after receiving the news that General Pillow was advancing from New Madrid, McCulloch's conscientious scruples vanished, and he assumed the command.

This is another instance of that jealous ambition among high military officers which so often has made and unmade History. In this instance, however, General Price's patriotic devotion saved the Secession cause a serious reverse. McCulloch now set his whole Command in motion, but was too late to overtake Lyon. He pushed, on the 5th, to Moody's Spring, near Tyrrel's Creek, and on the 6th went into camp at Wilson's Creek. Here fine fields of ripening corn furnished him a subsistence, badly needed by his army. Arrived at Springfield, Lyon felt depressed on account of lack of provisions, want of reinforcements and the doubt that the means at his command will suffice to protect the Union people of the Southwest. His energetic spirit and devoted patriotism could ill brook even a temporary check, and his unfounded suspicion of an intrigue against him by

persons high in office, increased his irritation to a point where even defeat appeared preferable to a voluntary retreat. It has been stated that on consultation of Commanders and higher officers, all except Captain Sweeney and Major Cornyn advised a retreat. After coming back from Curran Postoffice, Captain Plummer of the Regular Army stated to Lyon his opinion that the evacuation of Springfield might be safely effected in a couple of days, and one of the best educated and qualified officers of the United States Army, Major John M. Schofield, held the same opinion, and, as he was at the time Chief of Staff of Lyon's Army, was certainly best informed upon the details of the situation. In his work, "Forty-six Years in the Army," he states the case clearly and justly on page 39 of his work:

"Lyons' personal feeling was so strongly enlisted in the Union cause, its friends were so emphatically his personal friends and its enemies his personal enemies . . . that he could not take the cool, soldierly view of the situation, which should control the actions of the commander of a national army. If Lyon could have foreseen how many times the poor people of that section were destined to be overrun by the contending forces, before the contest could be finally decided, his extreme solicitude at that moment would have disappeared. Or, if he could have risen to an appreciation of the fact, that his duty as the Commander in the field of one of the most important of the national armies, was not to protect a few loyal people from the inevitable hardships of war (loss of their cattle, grain and fences), but to make as sure as possible the defeat of the hostile army, no matter whether to-day, to-morrow, or next month; the battle of Wilson's Creek would not have been fought."

Upon the same point Captain Plummer, a Regular officer of great merit, says:

"I think it was the morning of the 5th (August) that we reached Springfield. The question then arose that morning whether we should remain at Springfield and defend ourselves until we received reinforcements, or whether we should continue our retreat right on toward Rolla or Fort Scott. My own opinion was that we ought to remain a few days, we should wait at least two or three days for reinforcements. He (Lyon) stated he was not expecting any. About that time we received a few wagon loads of supplies from Rolla, which gave us some five or six days' rations. On the afternoon of the 9th we received marching orders. In the conversations of General Lyon with his officers, the only questions that arose were whether we should intrench ourselves at Springfield and wait for reinforcements, or retreat upon Rolla; or, rather, if we retreated, whether we should retreat upon Rolla, or upon Fort Scott. The determination to fight the battle of Springfield (Wilson's Creek) was his own—at least he did not consult me."

Plummer estimated that by forced marches troops could reach Springfield from Rolla in four days. Only excellent troops could

do this, and as for want of transportation, neither Stephenson's Seventh Missouri nor Wayman's Twelfth Illinois started in time, their assistance at Wilson's Creek on August 10 was out of the question.

Lieutenant Hammer called, on August 3, at Fremont's Headquarters, explaining the situation at Springfield, stating "that Jackson's Army is in Jasper and adjacent counties with not less than 20,000 men; that Lyon's force is not much more than one-fourth." This was promptly reported to General Fremont at Cairo, and he ordered Colonel Montgomery with the Third Kansas and Stephenson with the Seventh Missouri Volunteers to report to Lyon. Fremont also wrote care of I. B. Wayman, Rolla, a letter, which Lyon received on August 9, and of which Schofield says: "The purport of that part of it, which was then of vital importance, is still fresh in my memory. That purport was instructions to the effect that if Lyon was not strong enough to maintain his position as far in advance as Springfield, he should fall back toward Rolla, until reinforcements should meet him."

On the morning of August 9 Schofield suggested to Lyon the following answer to Fremont's letter:

"SPRINGFIELD, August 9, 1861.

"General: I have just received your note of the 6th inst., by special messenger.

"I retired to this place, as I have before informed you, reaching here on the 5th. The enemy followed to within ten miles of here. He has taken a strong position, and is recruiting his supplies of horses, mules and provisions, by forays into the surrounding country; his large force of mounted men enabling him to do this without annoyance from me.

"I find my position extremely embarrassing and am at present unable to determine whether I shall be able to hold my ground or be forced to retire. I can resist any attack from the front, but if the enemy moves to surround me, I must retire. I shall hold my ground as long as possible, *and not endanger the safety of my entire force with its valuable material.*"

This form of a letter Lyon changed, leaving out the portion in italics after the word "possible" in the penultimate line and adding after that word the following:

"Though I may, without knowing how far, endanger the safety of my entire force, with its valuable material, being induced by the important considerations involved, to take this step. The enemy yesterday made a show of force, about five miles distant, and has doubtless a full purpose of making an attack upon me. Yours, N. LYON."

The changes made in the letter by Lyon clearly indicate his intention of risking the chances of a battle, notwithstanding the great odds he anticipated to meet. Schofield states that the plan of battle was determined on the morning of the 9th by Lyon and Sigel, no other officer being present. Lyon said "it is Sigel's plan," yet he seemed to have no hesitation in adopting it.

The period of service for two Companies of the Third Volunteers and that of the Fourth Reserve having expired on August 8, they left Springfield on the 9th in order to be mustered out at St. Louis.

The opinion that Lyon could have safely retreated on the 9th or 10th is supported by the favorable topography of the route towards Rolla, which first passes on the divide between the tributaries of the White and Osage rivers and farther east on the divide between the Osage and Gasconade, offering excellent positions for the Artillery, which could keep the enemy at a respectful distance; especially as it had the support of a well-mounted and armed Cavalry, ready to charge the mounted shotgun Infantry of the enemy. The Union Infantry was better armed and drilled, and their fire would have told heavily upon a pursuing troop. There were no bridges or difficult passes on this line of retreat up to the Gasconade 12 miles west of Rolla, having there excellent positions for defense and the best chances for reinforcement.

As the country round Springfield was inhabited by a mixed population of Union men and Secessionists, it was not very difficult to receive information relative both Camps. Still McCulloch's reconnoitering with an armed force failed to draw out Lyon's troops or to make them reveal their strength and position, and to the suggestion for an advance, he positively declined to "bring on an engagement with an unknown enemy." At a council of war on the 8th General Price insisted on an attack of Lyon's position, and as this was urged by other Commanders, McCulloch gave out marching orders for August 9 at 9 p. m., but as rain set in before that hour, the orders were countermanded, otherwise the hostile armies would have met at night, each bent upon surprising the other.

CHAPTER XII.

THE BATTLE OF WILSON'S CREEK.

Beyond the observations of the Pickets, some reconnoitering was done from Lyon's Camp. Early on the 9th Captain Harry Stone of the First Missouri Regiment was sent with his Company five miles out of town to the Picket Line, and ordered to proceed from there with only one Company of Cavalry, towards the enemy's Camp, with a view of gathering information. He reported the arrival at Wilson's Creek Camp of new Texas and Arkansas troops. The Camp was only ten miles distant from Springfield; it had been repeatedly traversed on previous marches of Union troops and by citizens of Springfield, so that the general features of its topography were well known. After some consultation between Lyon and Sigel, the plan was adopted to attack the Camp at daybreak of the 10th by a surprise from two sides: one Column, under Lyon, to approach from the Northwest, the Second Column, under Sigel, from the Southeast. Lieutenant Colonel F. W. Cronenbold of the Fifth Missouri was to hold Springfield with a Command of a few Companies.

The Camp of the Confederates was in the valley and the slopes on both sides of Wilson's Creek. This creek rises near the town of Springfield, flows four to five miles westward, then takes an almost southern direction for nearly ten miles before it empties into James River a tributary of White River. One mile above the mouth of Wilson's Creek it is joined from the West by Tyrell Creek and near one and one-half mile farther north by Skegg's Branch, coming also from the West. The road from Cassville, called the Fayetteville road, crosses both branches mentioned, then runs a mile northward above Skegg's Branch, along the western bank of Wilson's Creek, crosses this at a ford and runs northeast to Springfield. The neighboring hills rose to about 150 feet above the valley, which, with its slopes, was covered with trees and partly quite heavy underbrush. Between Skegg's Branch and the Ford the road is hemmed in by the bluff and the creek; west of it the hill rises to over 130 feet, with slopes cut

BATTLEFIELD
OF
WILSON'S CREEK
UNION
SECESSION
LYON'S ENTRY
RAIN'S CAMP
DUBOIS
2. KAN
2. IOWA
TOTTEN
1. MO.
1. KAN.
1. IOWA
PLUMER
3. LA.
McINTOSH
McBRIDE
KELLY
PARSONS
SLAK
CLARK
RAINS
10 MILES to SPRINGFIELD
REARCE
WOODRUF
McRAE
3. LA.
McCULLOCH
WEIGHTMAN
PRICE
WILSON'S CREEK
SKEGS BRANCH
BLEDSOE
REIDS 2 POSITION
SIGELS 3 POSITION
SHARPS
GREER
CHURCHILL
MAJOR
BROWN
FAYETTEVILLE ROAD
SIGELS 2 POSITION
TYRELS CREEK
SIGELS 1st POSITION
SIGELS ENTRY
ELEVATION

by ravines, covered with scrub oaks and brush, and with rocks cropping out near the top. This hill has since the battle received the name of "Bloody Hill."

The hills on the eastern bank of Wilson's Creek often rise abruptly about 75 feet before they assume gentler slopes. Beyond the northern end of Bloody Hill a larger ravine runs into the creek, and opposite this and somewhat east of the creek was a large cornfield, fenced and surrounded as usual by thicker underbrush. From the Northeast a small branch joined the Creek near the ford of the wagon road. Wilson's Creek is everywhere fordable for foot and horsemen; south of Skegg's Branch and east of the Fayetteville road the valley widens. Here camped the Mounted Regiments of Greer and Churchill, and the Mounted Missourians under Major and Brown. North of Skegg's Branch, to the foot of Bloody Hill, camped the Missouri Infantry Commands of McBride, Slack, Clark and Parsons, and near them, on the road, were General Price's Headquarters. The extreme north of the Camp was held by Cawthon of Rain's Mounted Missourians, whose outposts stretched northward beyond Gibson's Mill. McIntosh's Command held the ground north of the ford, and on the bluff east of him was Pierce's Brigade, Woodruff's Battery commanding the opposite hills, McRae's Battalion and the Third Louisiana Regiment, McCulloch's Headquarters being to the west of them. Farther south, and also on the eastern hill, stood Reid's Battery, and opposite the mouth of Skegg's Branch was Weightman's Brigade. The Camp extended along the right and left bank of the creek for about three miles, with a width of half that distance. Broken by hills, ravines, creek banks, covered with trees, undergrowth and rocks, it was good defensive fighting ground for Infantry, with limited chances for the use of Artillery and very little chance for Cavalry. The short, clear spaces put for once the double-barreled shotgun on an equality with the rifle or minie musket.

There are several versions extant with regard to the adoption of the plan for the attack upon the hostile Camp. One is that the Commanders of Troops were assembled by Lyon and asked to give their opinion. Among them were able and experienced men like Schofield, who later advanced to the highest Command in the Army; Francis Sigel, with a thorough military education and large experience; Lieutenant Colonel A. Albert, who had been Chief of Staff of an Army Corps in Hungary's war of 1848; Major Peter Osterhaus, an

educated German Officer, who became a renowned Major General during the war, and many officers of the Regular Army with their excellent West Point training. It is said all these officers were in favor of a retreat to Rolla. Captain Sweeney and Major Cornyn were not present, but said to have favored giving battle before Springfield. This latter advice coincided with Lyon's disposition, who could ill brook a retreat, even before a superior force. The idea of deserting the Springfield Union population, which had received him enthusiastically, was adverse to his sense of honor; the failure of reinforcements and supplies made him feel bitter and prompted him to a bold dash, which might possibly lead to victory or so cripple the enemy that he could not hinder a safe retreat. Thus it happened that, contrary to the advice of his best officers and the directions of General Fremont, Lyon made up his mind to give battle. The value of this decision could naturally only be proved by its consequences. The plan of the attack was made by Lyon and Sigel alone, as stated, at the latter's suggestion, but no doubt approved by Lyon.

The general features of the plan were given to the Chief of Staff, who worked out the detailed dispositions and issued the necessary orders. Accordingly, Sigel was to move with 1,600 Infantry, two Companies of Cavalry and six cannon, on the evening of the 9th, along the Fayetteville road, deviate South and come close to the enemy without alarming him, halt for a rest and time his further advance so as to arrive in the right flank of the enemy at daylight.

General Lyon, with 3,700 Infantry, two Companies of Cavalry and ten cannon, was to start in the evening of the 9th on the Mount Vernon road, deviate from it, proceeding to a point unobserved by the enemy, rest there, and time his advance to reach the left wing and flank of the enemy at daylight. There was a scanty supper before the start in the evening; there was no prospect for a breakfast in the morning, and, for all they knew, little expectation for a dinner. By 1 o'clock after midnight Lyon's Column came within two miles of the enemy, whose campfires were dimly reflected towards the sky as the drizzling rain dampened their ardor. Lyon laid down for a short nap, as Schofield relates: "We went forward together, slept under the same blanket while the Column was halted from about midnight till the dawn of day, and remained close together nearly all the time until his death." Most men slept the brief hours soundly, not knowing where and when their next rest would be. Resuming the march

Southeastward from Little York Postoffice at daylight, with Sturgis' Brigade in front, Captain Plummer's Battalion of four Companies of Regulars, two Companies of the Second Volunteers under Osterhaus, two Companies of Cavalry and Totten's Battery of six guns. This was followed by the Second Brigade under Lt. Col. Andrews, consisting of the First Missouri and Second Iowa Volunteers, four Companies of Regular under Captain Steele, Dubois Light Battery of four guns; next came the Third Brigade under Colonel Deitzler, being the reserve, and consisting of the First and Second Kansas, the First Iowa Volunteers and 200 mounted Home Guards.

Steadily the Column moves forward; the space between the Van Guard and main body of troops is shortened; no tap of the drum marks the step, no bugle sound conveys a command; smoking and talking is prohibited; the troops move forward in sullen, solemn silence over the waves of the undulating ground, brushing the dew drops from the prairie which to the South is fringed by the trees and undergrowth in ravines and valleys, and where the smoke of rekindled campfires rises in the gray of the morning atmosphere. The Field Officers, Adjutants and Orderlies rise in the stirrups and strain their eyes to spy the pickets. So far all is quiet; now a drowsy hostile Sentinel notices a dark line moving down the hill; a challenge rings out, "Hold, who comes there?" No answer, but a steady advancing tramp. No doubt it is the foe, and the report of the Sentinel's rifle sends the alarm along the picket line, while shot after shot from the skirmishers of the First and Second Missouri Union Volunteers verifies the cause of the enemy's alarm.

The attacking Column has hastened the step; the command now sounds in clear accents: "Forward, right and left, into line. Guide right!" Drums beat, bugles sound, commands follow in quick succession. "Battalion, Hold! Ready! Aim! Fire!" A Battery gallops forward, unlimbers and follows up the racket and hail of small arms with the thundering base of the cannon. The surprised picket line of the Secessionists retreats rapidly down the hill. Men, horses, wagons and riders, rush like a wild stream to the rear, carrying confusion into the forming Battalions. Brave officers of the outposts and First Camp of Cawthon rally their men and give slowly way to the advancing Regulars under Plummer, towards the ravine and the creek, while the First and Second Missouri Volunteers pressed forward towards Bloody Hill.

The fleeing and retreating Secessionists were here taken up by General Price's advancing Battalions, who paralleled the Union line from the creek and ravine westward across the hill. Here a most obstinate rifle fire contested every inch of ground; rocks and trees, gulches and elevations and depressions of the ground, offering cover for obstinate resistance. The white steam of the guns which slowly rose through bush and tree, occasionally revealed and again hid, loosely formed lines of human beings, who, with set features and strained muscles, advanced from the North and South to the fratricidal strife. Crouching now like the hunter, again erect in order better to see, with extended nostrils, sparkling eyes, the perspiration streaking the powder-darkened faces, swayed the lines forward and backward, as some addition to the force, withdrawal of thinned-out Companies or a rising momentum of animation, carried one or the other host forward. Batteries exchanged shots from hilltop to hilltop, though their main attention was devoted to check the advancing Infantry.

There was no tear for the dead; hardly any time to aid the wounded. A chance message from the dying, a short greeting to a mother, or loved one, and the mortally wounded turned over on the sod, that was soon to cover him. The disabled wounded dragged slowly to the rear, where the busy surgeons had spread out their instruments and lint, to put on temporary bandages upon those who waited with fateful patience upon their turn.

Between the wild swayings of fire-vomiting lines were periods of almost absolute calm, when the steam and smoke settled down so heavily near the ground that it was impossible to see 10 feet ahead. Men, several times wounded and even captured, got away in the mist and returned to the firing line; others again, after a temporary bandage had been laid on, came back to the contest, perhaps only to receive their final quietus for all terrestrial pleasures and troubles.

The battle of Wilson's Creek was, as far as the Union forces are concerned, a double battle. Lyon from the North, Sigel from the South, made disconnected and independent attacks upon a foe defending his camp between them. The official reports of the two Union Commanders are the most valuable and reliable sources of information, respective their own separate actions, and are given here almost complete. Major Sturgis was in command of the North Column after Lyon fell, and he reports after the Advance Guard had driven in the Outposts and Pickets of the Secessionists:

"Captain Plummer's Battalion with the Home Guards on his left were to cross Wilson's Creek and move toward the front, keeping pace with the advance on the opposite bank, for the purpose of protecting our left flank against any attempt of the enemy to turn it. After crossing a ravine and ascending a high ridge, we came in full view of a considerable force of the enemy's skirmishers. Major Osterhaus' Battalion was at once deployed to the right, and Cavenders and Yates' Companies of the First Missouri Volunteers were deployed to the left as skirmishers. The firing now at 5:30 a. m. became very severe." . . . The First Missouri and First Kansas moved at once to the front. The First Missouri now took its position in front, upon the crest of a small elevated plateau. The First Kansas was posted on the left of the First Missouri and separated from it sixty yards, because of a ravine. The First Iowa took its position on the left of the First Kansas, while Totten's Battery was placed opposite the interval between the First Kansas and the First Missouri. Major Osterhaus' Battalion occupied the extreme right, resting on a ravine, which turned abruptly to our right and rear. Dubois' Battery, supported by Steele's Battalion, was placed some eighty yards to the left and rear of Totten's guns, so as to bear upon a powerful Battery of the enemy, posted opposite our left and front, on the opposite side of Wilson's Creek, to sweep the entire plateau upon which our troops were formed."

After stating that considerable numbers of the enemy gathered in front of this force, the report says that Captain Plummer's Battalion of four Companies of Regulars separated from the other Union troops by a deep ravine, descended a slope, but was checked in a cornfield in the valley by a considerable force of the enemy. Artillery fire was now, at 6 o'clock a. m., heard from a distance of about two miles and from the direction where Sigel's attack was to commence. After a dozen shots, this Artillery fire ceased and was only heard again for a few minutes at about half past 8 o'clock. This time it sounded west of the previous reports, and from two to three miles distant.

After a brisk Infantry and Artillery fire from the Union troops of Lyon's immediate Command the enemy gave way in utmost confusion. However, Plummer, himself wounded, had to retreat before superior numbers. Captain Steele's Battalion and Dubois' Battery came to his assistance and cleared the cornfield in front. There was a momentary cessation of firing with the exception of the extreme right, where the enemy pressed the First Missouri, which stubbornly held its position, but was in danger of being overpowered, when Lyon ordered the Second Kansas to its support. Again a general advance took place by the enemy, attacking in front as well as on both wings, and the engagement again became general and inconceivably fierce

PETER J. OSTERHAUS.
Captain 2d Infantry, Missouri Volunteers, in 1861.
Photograph by Emil Boehl.

along the entire line. As the First Iowa had been called earlier to the support of the First Missouri and First Kansas, every available Battalion was already brought into action. The battle swayed forward and backward over a short space for nearly an hour. While Lyon was endeavoring to rally our troops his horse, which he was leading, was killed and himself wounded in the leg and head. Walking slowly to the rear, Lyon said, "I fear the day is lost," but he mounted another horse, and, swinging his hat in the air, called on the troops nearest him to follow. "The Second Kansas gallantly rallied around him, headed by the brave Colonel Mitchell. In a few moments the Colonel fell, severely wounded. About the same time a fatal ball was lodged in the General's breast, and he was carried from the field a corpse. Thus gloriously fell as brave a soldier as ever drew a sword —a man whose honesty of purpose was proverbial; a noble patriot, and one who held his life as nothing when his country demanded it of him."

Major Sturgis was now in command. While a consultation of officers was going on, the enemy made another fierce and desperate attack upon the Union line, but was repulsed on all points and retreated. Sturgis, considering the exhaustion of the Union troops, the great odds of the enemy, and, most of all, the very scanty supply of ammunition—one Regiment had to be withdrawn for want of it—ordered the retreat to Springfield. The Union Army left the field undisturbed at half past 11, after an engagement of six hours, and arrived at Springfield in good order at 5 p. m. Major Sturgis reports: "Our total loss in killed, wounded and missing amounts to 1,235. That of the enemy will probably reach 3,000."

On August 18 General Sigel sent in his official report upon the share of his Command in the battle of Wilson's Creek, and states that he was informed on August 9 of Lyon's intention to give battle next day; that the attack should be made early in the morning from two sides, and that he (Sigel) should have command of the left attack with 900 men from the Third and Fifth Regiments, Missouri Volunteers, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel A. Albert and Colonel C. E. Salomon, six pieces of Artillery under Lieutenants Schaefer and Schuetzenbach and two Companies of Regular Cavalry, under Captain Carr and Lieutenant Farrand. General Sigel proceeds in his report:

"I left Camp Fremont on the South Side of Springfield, at half past six o'clock on the evening of the 9th and arrived at daybreak within a mile of the enemy's camp, and after taking forward the two Cavalry Companies from the right and left, I cut off about forty men of the enemy's troops, who were coming from the camp in little squads to get water and provision. This was done in such a manner that no news of our advance could be brought into camp. In sight of the enemy's tents, which spread out on our front and right, I planted four pieces of Artillery on a little hill, while the Infantry advanced toward the point where the Fayetteville road crosses Wilson's Creek and the two Cavalry Companies extended to the right and left, to guard our flanks. It was half past five o'clock when some musket firing was heard from the Northwest. I, therefore, ordered the Artillery to begin their fire against the camp of the enemy, which was so destructive that the enemy were seen leaving their tents and retiring in haste toward the North-East of the valley. Meanwhile the Third and Fifth Regiments had quickly advanced, passed the Creek and traversing the camp, formed almost in the center of it. As the enemy made his rally in large numbers before us, about three thousand strong, consisting of Infantry and Cavalry, I ordered the Artillery to be brought forward from the hill, and formed there in battery across the valley, with the Third and Fifth to the left and the Cavalry to the right. After an effective fire of half an hour, the enemy retired in some confusion into the woods and up the adjoining hills. The firing towards the North West was now more distinct, and increased, until it was evident, that the main corps of General Lyon had engaged the enemy along the whole line. To give the greatest possible assistance to him, I left position in the camp and advanced toward the North-West, to attack the enemy's line of battle in the rear."

'Marching forward, we struck the Fayetteville road, making our way through a large number of cattle and horses, until we arrived at an eminence used as a slaughtering place, and known as Sharp's farm. On our route we had taken about one hundred prisoners, who were scattered over the camp. At Sharp's place we met numbers of the enemy's soldiers, who were evidently retiring in this direction and as I suspected that the enemy on his retreat would follow in the same direction, I formed the troops across the road, by planting the Artillery on the plateau and the two Infantry Regiments on the right and left across the road, while the Cavalry Companies extended on our flanks. At this time and after some skirmishing along the front of our line, the firing in the direction of the northwest, which was during an hour's time roaring in succession, had almost entirely ceased. I, thereupon, presumed that the attack of General Lyon had been successful, and that his troops were in pursuit of the enemy, who moved in large numbers towards the South along the ridge of a hill about seven hundred yards opposite our right.

"This was the state of affairs at half past eight o'clock in the morning, when it was reported to me by Dr. Melcher and some of our skirmishers that Lyons men were coming up the road. Lieutenant Colonel A. Albert of the Third Missouri and Colonel C. E. Solomon of the Fifth notified their Regiments not to fire on troops coming in this direction, while I cautioned the Artillery in the same manner. Our troops at this moment expected with anxiety the approach of their friends, and were waving the flag as a signal to their com-

rades, when at once two Batteries opened their fire against us, one in front placed on the Fayette road, and the other upon the hill, upon which we had supposed Lyon's forces were in pursuit of the enemy, while a strong column of infantry, supposed to be the Iowa Regiment, advanced from the Fayetteville road and attacked our right. It is impossible for me to describe the confusion and frightful consternation which was occasioned by this important event. The cry: 'They (Lyon's troops) are firing against us' spread like wildfire through our ranks; the Artillerymen, ordered to fire and directed by myself, could hardly be brought forward to serve their pieces; the Infantry would not level their arms until it was too late. The enemy arrived within ten paces of the muzzles of our cannon, killed the horses, turned the ranks of the Infantry and forced them to flee. The troops were throwing themselves into the bushes and by-roads, retreating as well as they could, followed and attacked incessantly by large bodies of Arkansas and Texas Cavalry. In this retreat we lost five cannon, of which three were spiked, and the colors of the Third Missouri Volunteers, the color bearer having been wounded and his substitute killed. The total loss of the two Regiments, the Artillery and the Pioneers, in killed and wounded and missing, amounts to two hundred and ninety-two men, as will be seen from the respective lists. In order to understand clearly our action and our fate, you will permit me to state the following facts:

"First. According to orders, it was the duty of this Brigade to attack the enemy in the rear, and to cut off his retreat, which order I tried to execute, whatever the consequences might be.

"Second. The time of service of the Fifth Regiment, Missouri Volunteers, had expired before the battle. I had induced them, company by company, not to leave us in the most critical moment, and had engaged them for the term of eight days, and this term ending on Friday, the 9th, the day before the battle.

"Third. The Third Regiment, of which four hundred three-months men had been dismissed, was composed of the greater part of recruits, who had not seen the enemy before, and who were imperfectly drilled.

"Fourth. The men serving the pieces, and the drivers, consisted of Infantry taken from the Third Regiment, and were mostly recruits, who had only a few days of instruction.

"Fifth. About two-thirds of our officers had left us; some companies had no officers at all—a great pity, but the consequence of the system of the three-months service.

"After the arrival of the army at Springfield, the command was intrusted to me by Major Sturgis and the majority of the commanders of Regiments."

(Balance of report refers to the retreat to Rolla.)

"F. Sigel. .
"Commanding Second Brigade, Missouri Vol."

While the two Columns of Lyon and Sigel fought two disconnected battles under separate Commanders, the Confederate forces, though attacked in front and rear of their Camp, in reality only

fought one battle, for, being in the middle between the two attacks, they could, and partly did use, the same troops towards either attack. The developments of that memorable field will be better understood if the movements of the Secessionists are given connectedly, based upon notes from the Confederate, T. L. Snead's work, "A Fight for Missouri."

It seems that when firing commenced by the Union forces under Lyon at the north side of the Camp, Cawthon's Brigade of Rains' Command was driven down the southern slope of the hills. General Rains sent an officer to the front, who reported a large Federal force was approaching from the Northwest, and he dispatched the news to McCulloch and Price's Headquarters, where the officer sent made a greatly exaggerated statement of Lyon's forces, estimating them at 20,000 with 100 cannon. Upon the heels of this report came down the hill a fleeing mass of men afoot and on horseback, mixed with teams and lead horses, while Totten's Battery, about 1,000 yards distant, was firing into the crowd from the top of the hill.

About the same time the boom of Sigel's Artillery was heard from the right wing of the Camp, as he opened fire on the troops of Churchill, Greer, Major and Brown, and drove them in confusion, Northward, towards the thick woods along Skegg's Branch and the slopes on either side. Sigel had left Springfield before sunset, moved out the Fayetteville road about four miles, then turned South, making a circuit, arrived about break of day near Wilson's Creek, where Tyrell's Creek flows into it, thus succeeding to turn the Confederates' right wing without alarming them. This was done by capturing all straggling outside men. He posted four guns in battery on a point which overlooked Churchill's Camp, and, leaving a small Infantry support with them, crossed with the balance of his troops Wilson's Creek below the mouth of Tyrell's Creek and facing Northward, waited for the reports from Lyon's cannon. The troops opposed to him had no Pickets out. On hearing Totten's guns, Sigel's cannon also opened fire.

McCulloch now took command of the forces east of Wilson's Creek. Price hurried to the retreating Brigade of Cawthon on the southern slope of Bloody Hill and brought them into line, sheltered from Totten's fire and protected by underbrush, where other Missouri troops, Slack's Brigade and Burbridge's Regiment, deployed into line on Cawthon's left. McBride's two Regiments took position on the ex-

treme left of Price's line. Parsons, with Kelly's Regiment and Guibor's Battery of four cannon and very soon afterwards Weightman with 700 men, strengthened and completed the line, which now aggregated about 3,100 men and four cannon, and was greatly assisted by Woodruff's Battery (four guns), which, from the hill east of the ford, checked Lyon's advance.

On Bloody Hill Lyon had only 1,900 men to oppose Price's 3,100; but he had Totten's and Dubois' Regular Batteries, aggregating ten guns. His Infantry in this line was the First Missouri (800), the First Kansas (800) and Osterhaus' Battalion (300) of the Second Missouri Volunteers. Plummer's Battalion of Regulars (300) was sent to Lyon's left across Wilson's Creek to a cornfield, while the balance of Lyon's Command, the First Iowa and Second Kansas, Steele's Regulars, Company D, United States Cavalry; the Kansas Mounted Rangers and Wright's Squadron of Home Guards were kept in reserve.

An open ground on which the better muskets and rifles of the Union forces could be used with a telling effect would have been of very great advantage; but Bloody Hill was covered with underbrush, and to see each other troops had to come to close quarters. Lyon, trying to force the issue, ordered his line forward. When it came within easy range, shot for shot was exchanged. Lines had to advance very close, would fire and draw back for loading. Thus continued the contest here for hours, deservedly naming the locality the "Bloody Hill." This periodical approach and parting "of the hostile lines caused intervals of undisturbed quiet, seldom witnessed in a larger engagement."

McCulloch's care was directed towards Sigel's attack. To prevent him from charging General Price's forces near Skegg's Branch in rear, he placed Reid's Battery (four guns) on the eastern hill opposite the Skegg Branch, ordered Walker's Regiment to protect the Battery and placed Dockery's (650) and Gratiot's (750) Regiments further north on the bluff near the east bank of Wilson's Creek and north of them McRae's Battalion (220) and the Third Louisiana Regiment (700).

Sigel, after driving Churchill (600), Greer (800), Major (273) and Brown (320) out of their Camp, took position near Sharp's house on a hill south of Skegg's Branch, as stated, with the purpose of cutting off the retreat of the defeated enemy. Had he advanced

westward and northward and attacked the rear and left flank of Price's Army, the day might have still been saved. Sigel's Battery was posted on high ground; his Infantry to the right and left of the cannon and his Cavalry on both wings. He had Pearce's Brigade, Walker's Regiment and Reid's Battery (four guns) very near his own right flank, almost enfilading him, and in his front the dense woods of Skegg's Branch, which were being occupied by Confederate troops, O'Kane's Battalion and Bledsoe's Battery of three guns, commanding Sigel's position, which was now approached by a gray uniformed Regiment, mistaken by one of Sigel's officers for the First Iowa and so reported to Sigel, who thereupon warned his men not to fire. All at once Reid's Battery from the east on the bluff beyond Wilson's Creek, and Bledsoe's from the northwest, above Skegg's Branch, opened fire upon Sigel's line. According to his own report "consternation and frightful confusion" spread among his men, who were shouting "Our men are firing against us." The Third Louisiana, Roser and O'Kane's Battalion rushed out from the thick brush and charged the Battery, took five of the six guns, and Sigel's men fled in a panic. Part of his Command retreated by way of Little York, making a total circuit of the enemy's Camp, while Sigel, Solomon and Lieutenant Carr returned on the road they came. About 200 of his Infantry were overtaken by Major with mounted Texans and Missourians, and were killed, wounded or captured. Sigel's casualties were 27 per cent; those of the Regular Cavalry with him were 4 per cent missing. A proper use of the Cavalry would have largely changed that proportion of losses.

Woodruff's Battery (four guns) on the bluff east of Wilson's Creek and south of the Fayetteville road, being threatened by a Federal force under Plummer (300) which had crossed from the west to the east bank of Wilson's Creek, McCulloch ordered Gratiot to protect the Battery, and McIntosh's (400) dismounted men, the Third Louisiana (700) and McRae (220) to meet the force of Plummer's 300. McIntosh crossed the Fayetteville road, keeping on the east side of Wilson's Creek, found cover for his men from Dubois' Battery, which was posted on the east brow of Bloody Hill. Plummer's Regulars had reached the north side of a cornfield about 250 yards wide and 300 yards long from north to south. On the southern end of this McIntosh took position, but his men were considerably thinned out by the better armed men of Plummer. Between the

alternative of retreating and getting again under fire of Dubois' Battery or of charging the Regulars, McIntosh correctly choose the latter, which he well could do, as he outnumbered Plummer three to one. The latter retreated as rapidly as practicable and drew McIntosh's men into the close fire of Steele's Battalion, which drove them back in some disorder. The loss of McIntosh in killed and wounded was over 100, or near 10 per cent; that of Plummer's Command near 80, or 25 per cent.

Churchill, after being driven from Camp by Sigel, had formed his men first on Price's extreme left, afterwards on Slack's left, with about 500 on foot, the other men holding the horses. This addition to Price's force caused a yielding of the Union line, which Lyon retrieved by bringing a section of Totten's Battery, well protected by Infantry, far enough ahead of his right wing to enfilade the Secession lines. To neutralize this move, McCulloch sent Carroll's Cavalry and five Companies of Greer's Mounted Texans (about 600) to turn Lyon's right wing, to charge and take the section of Totten's guns. This move failed to make any serious impression, though it may have induced Lyon to call the First Iowa and Steele's two Companies of Regulars from the reserve to the front; in order to strengthen his right wing. At 10 a. m. the Confederates still had several Regiments which had not fired a shot, while Lyon had his last reserves engaged. He now tried to force the issue, for every moment must increase the odds against him. The continued silence from the south of the Camp convinced him of Sigel's failure. He saw from the top of Bloody Hill Gratiot's men approaching, Pearce's Brigade forming and men mustering who had left the field in dismay. He knew that the force which defeated Sigel would soon also be turned against him, and he animated his troops to a last exertion. The opposing lines had shortened, drawing nearer toward the Batteries; men were in three and four ranks, lying down, kneeling, standing; approaching within 30 yards and again being driven back by the incessant heavy firing. Lyon, encouraging his men, was wounded in the leg and head, and said to those near him he thought the battle was lost; but he rallied quickly and dashed to the front with the Second Kansas, whose gallant Colonel Mitchell fell near him. Next moment Lyon was pierced by a ball in his breast and fell from his horse.

Sturgis, his successor in command, fully aware by this time of the relative strength, seeing additional reinforcements of the enemy coming up, gave, at 10:30, the command to retreat, which was carried out

in good order, Steele's Regulars forming the Rear Guard. The thick underbrush masked the retreat, which became known to Price's troops only when they saw the Federals ascend the hill, from which they had commenced the attack on Rains' troops at daybreak.

After the battle General Price insisted on an energetic pursuit, as there were still available 5,000 or 6,000 fresh troops and several Batteries which had fired only a few shots; but McCulloch did not accede to his wishes. Lyon's body, still in his Captain's uniform, was delivered to a Union officer who called, under a flag of truce, while Federals and Confederates were buried by McCulloch's order on the battlefield. The following tables of the numerical strength and losses at Wilson's Creek are computed from notes of T. L. Snead:

	Union Forces Aug. 10, 1861.	Percentage of Loss.	Aggregate.	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Total Loss.
On Bloody Hill.	First Mo. Vol. Infantry	38%	775	76	208	11	295
	Osterhaus Battalion	37%	150	15	40	..	55
	First Iowa Infantry	19%	800	12	138	4	154
	First Kansas Infantry	35%	800	77	187	20	284
	Second Kansas Infantry	12%	600	5	59	6	70
	Steele's Battalion	22%	275	15	44	2	61
	Totten's Battery, six guns	13%	84	4	7	..	11
	Dubois Battery	4%	66	..	2	1	3
	Total on Bloody Hill	.....	3550	204	685	44	933
Left Wing.	Plummer's Battalion	27%	300	19	52	9	80
Reserve.	Comp. D. First U. S. Cavalry	2%	350	.....	4	3	7
	Kansas Rangers						
	Home Guards						
	Total Lyons Column	24%	4200	223	741	56	1020
	SIGELS COLUMN.						
	Infantry and Artillery	27%	1075	35	132	126	293
	Comp. I. First U. S. Cavalry	3%	65	..	..	4	4
	Comp. C. Sec'd U. S. Dragoons		60				
		25%	1200	35	132	130	297
	Lyon's Aggregate	.....	4200	223	741	56	1020
	Sigel's Aggregate	.....	1200	35	132	130	297
	Grand Total	24.4%	5400	258	873	186	1317

	Confederate Forces Aug. 10, 1861.	Percentage of Loss.	Aggregate.	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Total Loss.
McCulloch Brigade.	Third Louisiana Infantry	8%	700	9	48	..	57
	McRae's Battalion	4%	220	3	6	..	9
	Churchill's Regiment	33%	600	42	155	..	197
	McIntosh Regiment	13%	400	10	44	..	54
	Greer's Regiment	3%	800	4	23	..	27
		13%	2720	68	276	..	344
Pearce's Brigade.	Gratiot's Regiment	22%	500	25	84		109
	Walker's Regiment		550			..	
	Dockery's Regiment		650	3	11	..	14
	Carroll's Regiment		350	5	22	..	27
	Carroll's Company		40			..	
	Woodruff's Battery, 4 guns		71	3	..		3
	Reid's Battery, 4 guns		73	..	1	..	1
		7%	2234	36	118	..	154
Rain's	Weightman's Brigade, 3 guns, Infantry and Artillery	12%	1327	40	121	..	161
	Cawthon's Brigade, Mounted	7%	1210	21	66	..	87
Parson's.	Kelly's Regiment, 6 Companies	30%	150	11	38	..	49
	Brown's Regiment, 3 Companies Mounted		320	3	2	..	5
	Guibor's Battery, 4 guns		61	3	11	..	14
Clark's	Burbridge's Regiment, Infantry	36%	279	17	83	..	100
	Major's Battalion, Mounted		273	6	5	..	11
Slack's.	Hughes' Regiment, Infantry	22%	6	1	1	..	2
	Thornton's Battalion, Infantry		650	36	106	..	142
	Rive's Regiment, Mounted		284	4	8	..	12
McBride's.	Wingo's Regiment, Infantry	24%	4	..	..	..	..
	Foster's Regiment, Infantry		605	32	114	..	146
	Campbell's Company		40	..	..	..	..
	Major-General Price & Staff		12	1	2	..	3
			5221	175	557	..	732
	Total McCulloch's Brigade	13%	2720	68	276	..	344
	Total Dearie's Brigade	7%	2234	36	118	..	154
	Total Missouri State Guard	14%	5221	175	557	..	732
	Grand Total	12%	10175	279	951	..	1230

According to the above tables, the loss in men was nearly equal on both sides, but as the Union force was less than one-half of the enemy, their percentage of loss was more than double. The heaviest loss on the Union side was sustained by the First Missouri Volunteers, who had the misfortune that their Colonel Francis P. Blair was absent, attending to Congressional duties; their Lieutenant Colonel Andrews was taken wounded from the field, and their Major Schofield was Adjutant to Lyon; thus the Companies acted almost independently to the end of the battle, holding the best contested ground on "Bloody Hill" with great bravery, of which Schofield said: that there was a momentary cessation of firing along the whole line, except the First Missouri, whose right flank the enemy aimed to turn. Lyon sent the Second Kansas to the support of the First Missouri. "It came up in line to prevent the Missourians from being destroyed by the overwhelming force against which they were unflinchingly holding their position."

Osterhaus' Battalion of the Second Missouri and the First Kansas Volunteers shared the same exposure and came near the same percentage in loss; then came Plummer's Regular Battalion with 11 per cent less loss and Steele's Regulars with 16 per cent less loss. This detail conveys the very important fact, that Volunteers will fight as well as Regulars, and that the United States have no need of a large standing army. Even the fate of Sigel's Column does not disprove this, for the error in the disposition, the similarity of uniforms, the wooded territory, the absence of outposts or skirmishers before the main line of the right wing, where the surprise took place, were no fault of the soldiers. Sturgis, McRae and other Federal and Confederate officers, testified that it was impossible at any considerable distance to distinguish the friends from the enemy.

Had the first panic caused by Sigel's attack on the Secessionist Camp been followed up by Carr's and Farrand's Regular Cavalry, or had the panic of Sigel's right wing been neutralized by a charge of the same Cavalry, the losses of the Federal command would have been less, but their retreat could hardly have been avoided, for the odds were too great. The confusion which existed on this part of the field is shown by the circumstance that the left wing of Sigel's command, made up of the Fifth Missouri and Farrand's Cavalry, remained for hours in position, after the right wing had disbanded, and that Farrand's Cavalry and most of the Fifth Missouri retreated to the West

and North, while Carr's Cavalry and what was left of the right wing retreated to the South and East of the Secessionists' Camp in order to reach Springfield. The loss of only 9 per cent in Lyon's Artillery, and of no loss whatever in the total of nearly five hundred men of first-class cavalry, proves that the topography of the field was very disadvantageous to their use, and proves also that on the Southern attack "some one had blundered"; in this instance, however, in "*not* ordering and *not* making a Cavalry charge upon the Secessionists, to save the five cannon of Sigel and to give his troops a chance to recover from the panic. The reports are said to have been partial to the Regulars.

General Schofield states in his work, "Forty-Six Years in the Army," that Lyon exposed himself recklessly; Schofield had rallied the last Regiment of the Reserve and led it to a "Charge Bayonets," which, however, the terrible fire of the enemy brought to a halt and turned into firing at will; returning, he found Lyon's lifeless body and had it carried to the rear, with face covered, to prevent a panic. After six hours' fighting, tired by the night march and without breakfast, the troops were nearly exhausted. Schofield considers the battle of Wilson's Creek a defeat of the Union arms, following the prevalent doctrine of military writers, that whoever holds the battle field is the victor. The subsequent retreat from Springfield confirms this view: for the price of the battle was the possession of Southwest Missouri.

Had the battle been fought in the open prairie, with all the forces in one hand, the superior Artillery, Infantry and Cavalry armament might have secured a victory even against the odds of two to one.

The apportionment of troops was unfavorable to Sigel's attack; with 900 Infantry he could not conquer the enemy, the moment the same got under cover of the trees and underwood north of Skegg's Branch. Sigel's Cavalry might have done some havoc among the fleeing enemy upon the open ground, and it certainly should have boldly charged, to extricate Sigel's Artillery and Infantry after their blunder of mistaking the Confederates for Lyon's troops. Sigel had the same troops he commanded at Carthage, but their value was greatly diminished by the expiration of terms of service, the substitution of new recruits and the imperfect organization of Companies. That the Confederate troops could and would fight well became evident at Wilson's Creek, and the better organization, armament and lead on

the Union side could not and did not make up the great disparity in numbers and the advantage of a covered position. Only 5 per cent of the loss in Lyon's command were prisoners; of Sigel's loss the 43 per cent captured were entirely due to the panic, caused by mistaking an aggressive foe for a friendly command. Among the dead and wounded officers and privates at Wilson's Creek was the flower of the Western Army, and the troops that fought in the battle after the expiration of their terms of service, like the Fifth Missouri Volunteers under the lead of Captains Gustav Seebold, Louis Gottschalk, Samuel A. Flag and others deserve especial credit. This includes the transferred men from the First and Third Missouri Volunteers who did not re-enlist for the three-year service and completed their time in the Fifth Volunteers.

With regard to the policy of giving battle at Wilson's Creek, General Schofield says: "Our retreat to Rolla was open and perfectly safe, even if begun as late as the night of the 9th. A few days or a few weeks would have made us amply strong to defeat the enemy and drive him out of Missouri, without serious loss to ourselves," and further on says of Lyon: "In addition to the depressing effect of his wounds, he must probably have become convinced of the mistake he had made, in hazarding an unnecessary battle on so unequal terms and in opposition to both the advice of his subordinates and the instructions of his superior." General McCulloch declined to order a pursuit on account of the exhaustion of the troops and the lack of ammunition, which had to be replenished from the distance of one hundred miles. It seems McCulloch had conceived a prejudice against the Missouri Secession troops, charging them with unreliability and neglect of outpost duties.. A General in command, however, can not shirk the consequences of his own arrangements and dispositions, and considering that the Missouri Secessionists were poorly organized, armed and equipped, without pay, tents and even often lacking proper food, they did very well in opposing the best Federal troops in Missouri. Local State pride and vanity no doubt strengthened McCulloch's prejudice.

The Union host arrived in Springfield late in the day, after a great moral and physical exertion, and went into camp for a short rest; wounded men came in straggling and sought relief and nursing. The Courthouse, Lyon's Hotel and the near-by churches were all turned into hospitals, of which the nearest were soon filled, and the

surgeons with bloody sleeves had even to refuse admission to personal friends and send them to more distant hospitals. Doctors Edward C. Franklin, Florence Cornyn, Sam H. Melcher, Ferdinand Haeussler, C. V. T. Ludwig, and local physicians and nurses, labored earnestly and devotedly to give relief, when the rolling noise of passing wagons and cannon was heard and the anxious question was asked "What does this mean?" It meant that a council of war had met at 8 p. m. and resolved to retreat from Springfield on the 11th at 3 a. m.; and thus the march towards Rolla was taken up, and all who could move went into the streets with their bandages, joined the marching troops and tried to find a place on a wagon, all pain and danger being preferable to captivity. Sigel was called upon by the officers to assume command. Reveille was ordered at 2 a. m., and the last Union troops left Springfield at 9 a. m., and three hours later the Confederate advance entered the town. A train of 400 wagons, under a heavy escort, had left the preceding night. When the troops followed at daybreak, an immense throng of refugees with their families in wagons, their horses, cattle and household goods, mixed with the retreating troops. After a couple of days' march, dissatisfaction was expressed with Sigel's arrangements, and he was superseded in command by Major Sturgis, under the assumption that Sigel's commission had expired. The main body of troops reached Rolla on the evening of August 17th.

The Confederates did not harass the Union retreat for obvious reasons; for it is a very difficult task to pursue an enemy whose troops are well in hand and keep up the order of their organization. It was not in the power of McCulloch effectively to stop that retreat; with him better counsels prevailed, for instead of attempting a hopeless attack upon Rolla, the Confederate forces turned North, occupying the Western portion of the State up to the Missouri River, recruited their forces in a territory where their cause was most popular, took Lexington, threatened Jefferson City, Kansas City, North Missouri, and forced Fremont to another Southwestern campaign, for under the circumstances he could not abandon the State of Missouri to a hostile army in its center, nor had he troops enough to redeem the State and at the same time to follow up his true line of operation down the Mississippi. Soon after the arrival at Rolla, the First Missouri Volunteers, at the time already a three-year Regiment, was ordered to St. Louis to be reorganized as Artillery. Frank P. Blair and Major

Schofield called upon General Fremont, who communicated with them his plan of marching to the center of the State, thence to follow the enemy through Southwest Missouri and Northwest Arkansas and along the Arkansas River to the Mississippi below Memphis. Schofield and Blair mocked themselves at that plan, holding a slight opinion of Fremont's generalship (Schofield, Forty-six Years in the Army, page 49). Notwithstanding their opinion, the same plan was adopted by the authorities in Washington. Even after the recall of Fremont from Springfield in the fall of 1861, for in the spring of 1862 General Curtis was ordered to march from Rolla in the same direction for the same purpose by way of Springfield, Pea Ridge, taking from there the White River route over Batesville to Helena on the Mississippi, from which point a movement under General Hovey east of the Mississippi River forced General Pemberton to abandon the well-fortified line of the Tallahatchie. Taking these facts into account, the question is quite pertinent, how much more effective this move would have been if executed by General Fremont six months earlier. This digression beyond the frame of this work is made to show the disposition of parties who shaped events in Missouri in the fall of 1861, and who were largely responsible for the recall of General Fremont. This Southwest movement, initiated during the three months' service, extended over one thousand miles, and is one of the most memorable moves during the Civil War.

RESOLUTE MEASURES.

The news of the battle of Wilson's Creek elated the Secession element all over the State. The report reached St. Louis on August 13th and carried grief and anxiety into many families who had members in Lyon's army. Personal news came in slowly; anxious mothers, fathers, sisters and brothers watched the arrival of trains, agitated deeply by hope and fear; wishing for and still dreading the coming news. The awful meaning of war was now realized by all those who had never been through that terrible ordeal before; even the safety of the City of St. Louis was questioned, and General Fremont issued the following order:

"In Lafayette Park a camp is to be established for a Regiment; the heavy guns to be put in position and a Regiment encamped under the Reservoir. On the height south of the Arsenal, called Jaeger's Garden, two guns, with a howitzer, to be planted.

"The Third and Fourth Home Guards to be paid off and organized immediately. The First and Second, and also the Fifth Home Guards, also to be paid upon the arrival of Lt.-Col. Rombauer from Bird's Point. Martial law to be proclaimed at once. Capt. Kowald's Artillery Company, one hundred strong, to be fitted out immediately, and the company from Belleville to be ordered in; Capt. Voerster's and Gerster's Pioneers to be completed and set at work in the fortifications. Laborers also to be employed.

JOHN C. FREMONT."

The fortifications of St. Louis, ordered by General Fremont, had long before been recommended to General Lyon by Lt. Col. John T. Fiala and Henry Boernstein, and were to defend the line of Jefferson avenue in the Southern part of the city, starting with Fort No. 1 at the Marine Hospital; next No. 2, between Cherokee and the present Broadway; a Redoubt following on Arsenal and Salina; Fort No. 3 was South of Sidney towards Jefferson avenue; No. 4 North of Gravois avenue near East line of Jefferson avenue; No. 5 Northeast corner Lafayette and Jefferson avenue; then came a Redan a little South of Chouteau, West of Jefferson avenue; from here the line of defense ran Northwest to Fort No. 6, on Manchester road, and to No. 7, at Northwest corner of Franklin and Grand avenues, its most Western and most exposed point; No. 8 was North of Cass and East of Grand; a small work was on St. Louis avenue, East of Jefferson; No. 9 North of Palm, near Twenty-third street; No. 10 on Fourteenth street and Bremen avenue, and there was a Redan on East Grand avenue, near the present water tower.

The positions of the forts were dictated by the elevation of the territory and the chances of open commons before them, insuring an effective Artillery and Infantry fire. The northern half of this extended line was more difficult to defend on account of the intervening distances and the more frequent houses. The line of isolated forts required a large force for defense, and had the fault that those mostly exposed could be taken without assistance from the others, and as a number of the forts were on an almost straight line, they would necessitate several independent reserves.

The St. Louis fortifications bore a similarity to those constructed later by the Confederates at Vicksburg, which also were only common field fortifications, extending around the place from the river on the South to the river on the North. The value in both cases for defense, were commanding heights, whose approach was swept by the fire of the defenders. The Vicksburg fortifications formed more

of a semicircle and were continuous, giving the reserve a better chance to come to the rescue. Besides the above, the greatest efforts were made to complete the seven gunboats, previously described, and thirty mortar boats, which, by the 30th of August, were placed under the command of Andrew H. Foote of the United States Navy. Barton Able was appointed Master of Transportation and a number of St. Louis Pilots volunteered in a spirit of animated patriotism for this important and most dangerous service.

In addition to the above-mentioned measures, tracks were laid on Poplar street to concentrate the rolling stock of the Missouri Pacific, Iron Mountain and North Missouri (present Wabash) Railroads for the transportation of troops in any given direction. The following notice was wired to the Governors of Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Iowa and Wisconsin:

"Severe engagement near Springfield reported. General Lyon killed, Sigel retreating in good order on Rolla. Send forthwith all disposable force you have, arming them as you best can for the moment. Use utmost dispatch.

"JOHN C. FREMONT,
"Major General, Commanding."

Already on the 15th, President Lincoln wired to Fremont:

"The War Department has notified all Governors you designate to forward all available force." And on the 16th Montgomery Blair wires: "Every available man and all the money in the public chest have been sent. We will send more money immediately, our financial arrangements at New York having been perfected. Let our fellows cheer up; all will be well."

However, this very energy displayed by Fremont to meet the new condition of affairs brought about by the battle of Wilson's Creek and the retreat of the Union Army to Rolla, was used by Fremont's enemies and rivals as a reproach for what they claimed to have been a neglect of Lyon's wants. When, later on, the services of the Western Sanitary Commission are justly appreciated, its appointment by Fremont on September 5 certainly deserves mention. This was done at the suggestion of Mrs. Jessie Benton Fremont and Miss D. L. Dix, Superintendent of United States Military Hospitals. The excellent selection made of James E. Yeatman, Carlos S. Greeley, L. B. Johnson, George Partridge and William G. Eliot,

JOHN C. FREMONT.
Major-General U. S. Volunteers.
Photograph by Emil Boehl.

showed a keen appreciation of local capacity. The selection of the right man for the right place is one of the highest attributes of a leader.

Governor Hamilton R. Gamble also sized up the situation and called out on August 24 32,000 men Infantry and 10,000 Cavalry for six months' service, in order to drive the Secessionists from the State. The military districts were made co-extensive with those for members of Congress. This measure proved very beneficent, as it placed those who were enrolled above the suspicion of aiding and abetting Secession, and, under existing martial law, made them directly responsible for their actions. Though Governor Gamble held that he could not legally issue Commissions to Fremont appointees, his consequential loyalty to the Union cause is beyond reasonable doubt; but his whole tendency was strongly conservative, basing his actions upon legal conditions of the past, while General Fremont was a Radical, who in this great emergency acted upon the exigencies of the hour, which prompted him to issue his famous proclamation, whose terms, after a year, became the fixed and irrevocable policy of the United States.

THE FIRST EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION.

By this proclamation General Fremont assumed the administrative powers of the State, basing this action upon the helplessness of the civil authority and the existence of marauding and murdering bands, spreading ruin and terror throughout the State. He declared Martial Law, and designated the line of occupation by the Army for the time being to extend "from Leavenworth, by way of the posts of Jefferson City, Rolla, Ironton, to Cape Girardeau on the Mississippi River." The proclamation continued:

"All persons who shall be taken with arms in their hands within these lines shall be tried by court-martial, and, if found guilty, will be shot. The property, real and personal, of all persons in the State of Missouri, who shall take up arms against the United States, and who shall be directly proven to have taken active part with their enemies in the field, is declared to be confiscated to the public use, and their slaves, if any they have, are hereby declared free men.

"All persons who shall be proven to have destroyed, after the publication of this order, railroad tracks, bridges or telegraphs, shall suffer the extreme penalty of this law.

"All persons engaged in treasonable correspondence, in giving or procuring aid to the enemies of the United States, in fomenting tumult, in disturbing the public tranquility, by creating and circulating false reports or incendiary documents, are in their own interest warned that they are exposing themselves to sudden and severe punishment.

"All persons who have been led away from their allegiance are required to return to their homes forthwith; any such absence without sufficient cause will be held to be presumptive evidence against them.

"The object of this declaration is to place in the hands of the military authorities the power to give instantaneous effect to existing laws, and to supply such deficiencies as the conditions of war demand. But it is not intended to suspend the ordinary tribunals of the country, where the law will be administered by the civil officers in the usual manner and with their customary authority, while the same can be peaceably exercised.

"The commanding General will labor vigilantly for the public welfare, and, in his efforts for their safety, hopes to obtain not only the acquiescence, but the active support of the loyal people of the country.

"JOHN C. FREMONT,
"Major General Commanding."

This proclamation, which emancipated the slaves of all active Secessionists, verified the words of Alexander Stephens before the Georgia Convention, when he warned his fellow-citizens and slaveholders that such would be the unavoidable logical conclusion of the Secession movement.

Though this measure was in full accord with the views of the unconditional Union men, it created a sensation in the ranks of those conservatives who, notwithstanding the hostile array of large contesting armies, were still in hope to patch up a compromise, which would shove the final settlement upon coming generations. President Lincoln was prevailed upon to request General Fremont to withdraw his emancipation proclamation, upon which the latter asked the President for a direct order for this purpose in these memorable words: "If your better judgment decides that I was wrong in the article respecting the liberation of slaves, I have to ask that you will openly direct me to make the correction. The implied censure will be received as a soldier always should receive the reprimand of his chief.

"If I were to retract of my own accord, it would imply that I myself thought it wrong, and that I had acted without the reflection which the gravity of the point demanded.

"But I did not. I acted with full deliberation and with the cer-

tain conviction that it was a measure right and necessary, and I think so still."

President Lincoln then himself issued an order based upon the authority of an act of Congress and limiting General Fremont's Emancipation proclamation to such slaves who were actually employed in the military works of the Secessionists. As St. Louis furnished in Dred Scott, the slave, upon whose case the Supreme Court of the United States predicated the legality of Slavery all over the Union; so St. Louis furnished in "Frank Lewis" the first slave liberated by authority of the Union under Fremont's proclamation and the limitation placed upon it by President Lincoln.

Fremont's proclamation emancipating the slaves of the Secessionists foreshadowed the ultimate abolition of Slavery in the United States. In Missouri, as well as in other States, the hostile array of the civil war was started first by the Free Soil issue. During the first period of the Missouri Convention, of whose members eight-tenths were born on Southern soil, a unanimous declaration for the Union and against Secession was adopted, and no direct mention was made of Slavery. When the Convention reassembled in June at Jefferson City, again no direct action was had on the Slavery question; but the decided pro-Slavery Governor, State officers and legislators were ousted, because most of them had fled and joined the Secession camp. Sixteen pro-Slavery men of the Convention kept away for similar reasons, and thus greatly reduced the number of strong Southern sympathizers.

The following dates go beyond the frame of this sketch, but are necessary to appreciate the initiated work of the Convention and to show the final settlement of the Slavery question in Missouri.

On October 11, 1861, the Convention reassembled at St. Louis, postponed all elections, and exercised legislative functions by adopting a new Militia bill, limiting the service from the eighteenth to the forty-fifth year, and authorizing the issue of one million dollars for Union defense bonds. The troops thus organized might, at their option, enlist in the United States service and an oath was prescribed for all, which first named fealty to the United States and afterwards that towards the State, thus saving doubtful minds from the dilemma of conditioning their duties to the Union by the terms of a State oath.

In the meantime a fraction of the ousted members of the Legis-

lature, on their migration to Arkansas, held on November 2 a Caucus at Neosho, went through the formality of appointing proxies for the absent majority, and passed a Secession ordinance. It is almost needless to say that this whole proceeding was illegal and without any warrant of constitutional or legislative authority.

At the session of the Convention held June 14, 1862, a message was received from President Lincoln, stating that upon his recommendation, Congress had adopted the following joint resolution:

"Resolved, That the United States ought to co-operate with any State which may adopt a gradual abolishment of Slavery, giving such State aid to be used in its discretion, to compensate for the inconvenience, public and private, produced by such change of system." The Missouri Convention answered respectfully, that it did not feel authorized to act in this "grave and delicate question of private right and public policy," notwithstanding that it had a proposition before it, in which Robert M. Stewart, former Governor in 1860, said, "that the only question which Providence has left for our people to decide in regard to Slavery is the manner of and terms upon which its extinction in Missouri shall be accomplished, and would commend to the serious consideration of the people "the subject of gradual emancipation in order that a plan may be adopted that will accomplish the change already inevitable." But nothing of the kind was done, while the furies of the war went on, and the immense sacrifices in life, human happiness and treasure had on both sides embittered the combatants and put all moderation out of the question. Stewart's counsel, however, prevailed in the reconvened Convention on July 1, 1863, which adopted an ordinance for the emancipation of slaves in Missouri. This abrogated some clauses of the Constitution and ordered that Slavery in Missouri should cease July 4, 1870, but all freed persons to remain as servants under the control of their late owners, namely, those over forty years during their lifetime; those under twelve, till they are twenty-three years old; all others to the 4th day of July, 1876; the authority of the owners to remain the same as under the old slave laws. In the meantime the General Assembly shall not pass laws for the emancipation of slaves without the consent of their owners, nor should slaves be the object of taxation after the passage of this act.

The measure of the Convention, which was law for the time being,

did not give satisfaction. Political convictions matured faster than the measures of the Convention, which fixed the date for its final adjournment on the day for the reassembling of the Legislature in January, 1864. Before this date an animated Mass Convention was held by the Republicans on September 2, 1863, and a Committee of 72 men was sent to wait on the President with radical demands. The President's answer was, as usual, very considerate and moderate, but not quite to the satisfaction of the Committee. Still, after they had left, Lincoln said to his Secretary: "I believe, after all, those Missouri Radicals will carry their State, and I do not object to it. They are nearer to me than the other side in thought and in sentiment, though bitterly hostile personally. They are the unhandiest fellows in the world to deal with; but, after all, their faces are set Zionwards." This prediction proved true. The Legislature, which met in January, 1864, called a new Convention for January, 1865. Another year had passed; another hundred thousand lives were lost North and South; more than another hundred thousand widows and orphans were made and another milliard dollars of treasure was sunk.

The 1864 election resulted in Missouri in a great Republican victory. Lincoln, Fletcher and a Radical Convention was elected; the latter had been instructed by the Legislature to amend the Constitution relative to the emancipation of slaves, also to purify the ballot and bring such other amendments as they may deem essential for the promotion of the public good.

Of the first Convention eight-tenths of its members were born in the South, near two-tenths in the North and four members were born in Europe, but the New Convention showed a different complexion, for only 35 of its members were born in the South, 23 in the North and 11 in Europe. As to vocation, 15 were lawyers, 15 farmers, 14 physicians, 12 merchants and 13 from sundry other callings, and two-thirds of all the members were under 50 years of age, showing a much less conservative complexion than the first Convention. Their action very soon proved this estimate. First of all, they abrogated the measure of conditional emancipation passed on the 1st day of July, 1863, and on the 11th of January, 1865, they adopted the following ordinance:

"Be it ordained by the People of the State of Missouri in Convention assembled:

"That hereafter in this State there shall be neither Slavery nor

involuntary servitude, except in punishment of crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted; and all persons held to service or labor as slaves are hereby declared free." The Governor was asked to issue his proclamation that by the irrevocable action of the Convention Slavery is abolished in the State of Missouri now and forever.

The Convention adjourned April 10, 1865, after receiving a telegram that Lee had surrendered at Appomattox.

CONCLUSION.

In giving the causes of the Civil War, the original elements which shaped the minds of the parties to it, and the emancipation proclamation initiated at St. Louis in 1861, an epitome of the greatest tragedy in modern History has been presented. While the events in the entire Union were on a larger scale, affected more people and greater values, they bore the same character, followed the same lines of development, proved the same principles and led to the same results.

It was not the purpose of this sketch to cast blame or vindicate glory for either side, but to find the causes and trace the development, which, with the certainty of fate, led to an inevitable result. Influences of climate, derivation, ethical views, agricultural, industrial and labor relations, were all potent factors in developing, step by step, those conditions, which brought the final issue. History, as the supreme judge of right and wrong, has condemned Slavery as the cause of the Civil War, not only because it was a grievous injustice to the slave, but much more so because it unfitted the slave owner and his retainers to be members of a representative free Government. Such will be the result of every aristocracy, whether the same is based on labor or money, on birth or privileges; for each of these will engender a sickly selfishness, which preys upon the energies of the oppressed and degenerates the oppressor, who deteriorates in human worth, as there can be no happiness in store for any one who is all concentrated in self. Obligations to fellow-men grow with the capacity and ability to be useful, and such activities elevate our sentiments and enjoyments beyond the reach of the egotist; they imbue us with that patriotism extolled by the sages of all nations and all ages, which leads true men to shun no sacrifice in defense of the

commonweal. Nor can a glowing self-sacrificing patriotism be denied to the champions of the Southern cause; but it was locally restricted to their State, their section, their institutions, and was not based on the glorious principle that every man is born free and has equal rights before the law.

In trying to be just to the men of the Secession movement, we must consider the palliative circumstances under which the movement took place. Slavery was established in the Southern States by the authority of State laws; it was sanctioned by the preachers of that section; it was profitable to the men who owned slaves; it was inherited and had at least the tacit approval of the ancestors. Prejudice of color, aristocratic notions, absence of an independent middle class, a venal press and pulpit, aided other influences, and the impoverishment of the soil of the old States naturally caused the demand for new territory. The men brought up in the atmosphere of Slavery could not be different from what they were: proud, domineering, passionate, of necessity hostile to free speech, free press, free education at home, they could ill brook freedom in the national councils. Work, the great educator and health spender, was unknown to most of the Southern gentry, and all their other good qualities could not make up for the above deficiencies. Even the example of the fathers of the nation was often cited in support of the Southern institutions, and the question asked: Were not Washington and Jefferson and a number of most eminent men also slave-holders? It is true, such they were, and as such they were born. But those men clearly perceived the nature of the great evil and raised their warning voices in accents that could not be mistaken, and which should have formed a cardinal chapter in the political catechism of every Southerner. Was this done? Should not the views of our greatest men live in the memory of coming generations, even after the downfall of Slavery, for they apply equally to those evils which arise from any kind of aristocratic institutions, from class and race legislation, from privileged prerogatives and monopolizing advantages, whose sinister consequences have of late been sorely felt by the entire nation.

How *George Washington* looked at Slavery, his words, in a letter addressed to Robert Morris on April 12, 1781, plainly show:

"I can only say that there is not a man living who wishes more sincerely than I do to see a plan adopted for the abolition of it." Again, in a letter of

September 9th, 1786, he states: 'It being among my first wishes to see some plan adopted by which Slavery in this country may be abolished by law.'

Thomas Jefferson was even more emphatic in his notes on Virginia, when he wrote:

"With what execration should the statesman be loaded, who, permitting one-half the citizens thus to trample on the rights of the other, transform those into despots and these into enemies, destroys the morals of the one part and the amor patriæ of the other; for if a Slave can have a country in this world, it must be any other in preference to that in which he is born to live and labor for another."

In a letter of August 7, 1785, Jefferson wrote to Dr. Price, relating to emancipation in Virginia:

"This is the next State to which we may turn our eyes for the interesting spectacle of justice in conflict with avarice and oppression." At another place he writes: "We must wait with patience the workings of an overruling Providence, and hope that that is preparing the deliverance of these our brethren. When the measure of their tears shall be full, when their groans shall have involved heaven itself in darkness, doubtless a God of justice will awaken to their distress. Nothing is more certainly written in the Book of Fate, than that this people shall be free."

James Madison, the father of the Constitution, thought it wrong to admit in the Constitution the "idea that there could be property in men." He states in the *Federalist* that it is "the fundamental principle of the Revolution to rest all our political experiments on the capacity of mankind for self-government," and states at another place, "Where Slavery exists, the Republican theory becomes still more fallacious."

Henry Clay declared in the United States Senate, in 1850: "So long as God allows the vital current to flow through my veins, I would never, never, never, by word or thought, by mind or will, aid in admitting one rood of free territory to the everlasting curse of human bondage."

John Randolph, of Roanoke, states in his will: "I give to my Slaves their freedom, to which my conscience tells me they are justly entitled. It has a long time been a matter of the deepest regret to me, that the circumstances under which I inherited them, and the obstacles thrown in the way by the law of the land, have prevented my emancipating them in my lifetime, which is my full intention to do in case I can accomplish it."

The words of these sages of our nation passed unheeded, and these patriots went to their graves before their warning prophecies became verified by the greatest civil war ever suffered by any nation. Time has effaced the sacrifices and animosities of the war, and made our whole people again a nation of brothers; and the spirit of the

age and the dire lessons of the past admit the just expectation that our free institutions will not again be jeopardized by the introduction of new organic faults, nor by the toleration of unjust relations, made recently possible by a most wonderful material development that has far outstripped the necessary safeguards of organic and legal institutions. A political system, based upon the rule of majorities, conditions the enlightenment of the masses or the suffering of the Community. Nothing will assist more to attain the object in view than a thorough study of History, teaching the rational and ethical obligations of man to man, and the truth that virtue alone is not the foundation of republics, but virtue combined with intelligence. Thus we will find that our private and public duties grow with our capacity. While the trials of the future will not come in the same garb, they will come nevertheless. The authorities, doctrines and experiences of the past must evolve the correct actions of the future. The more complicated our private and public life becomes, the more difficult will be the task to meet its obligations, but also the greater will be the enjoyment and reward of a healthy and successful activity.

As for the past, it must be borne in mind that most of the people of St. Louis came from the Southern States. Still there were among the native American population of St. Louis a number of able unconditional Union men; but the great majority were either Secessionists or conditional Union men and outspoken Southern sympathizers, good many taking that direction in consequence of their previous political party affiliation and antagonism to the Republicans. Eight-tenths at least of the unconditional Union men in St. Louis were foreign-born citizens and their offspring most of them Germans. Politically, nearly all of these may be classed as Radicals, who favored energetic measures, indorsed Fremont's proclamation of emancipating the slaves of Secessionists and sorely criticized its partial repeal by President Lincoln, as well as the slow progress of military affairs.

It cannot be denied that in the beginning there was great deal of animosity between the parties to the contest, and that this was most evident in the men who did not verify their conviction by taking up arms on either side. National pride kept people clanishly segregated from getting acquainted with each others good qualities. Looking backward now, over a period of more than forty-eight

years, the eminent character of St. Louis men who went into both armies must be patent to the most casual observer, since, from the men actually engaged in the contest of 1861 in St. Louis, there emanated several Vice-Presidential candidates, United States Senators, Members of Congress, Governors, Legislators, Civil Engineers, Teachers, Public Officers, influential Bankers, great Merchants and Lawyers, Captains of industry who stand at the head of establishments controlling thousands of men and millions in property.

Enlarged views are mostly the sequel of generous sentiments, for spite and hatred have no room in a noble heart. A telling illustration of this was the action of Union men during the contest upon the "Drake Constitution," a document disfranchising all Southern sympathizers and subjecting voters and candidates to a humiliating test oath. This measure was energetically opposed by St. Louis Republicans, who had been in active service and who issued a call to the citizens to defeat the Drake Constitution by their vote. A Committee was selected of men active in the organization for the Union Military service in 1861; circulars were issued to all the Union people in the State, speakers sent out and delegates dispatched to Federal Missouri Regiments in the field, to bring home their vote, adverse to the proscriptive Constitution; for at that time the law enabled Missouri Volunteers to cast their votes even while on military duty in other States. St. Louis City and County cast good majorities against the proscriptive Constitution. The result showed a close vote, and it was generally believed that the Drake Constitution was counted in, and not voted in. Although St. Louisians were the first to rise for the Union cause, they were also the first to offer a brotherly hand of conciliation to their opponents in arms.

The generation of the men of 1861 is fast disappearing; the lessons of tradition from father to son will soon be mute. May this sketch, gathered from the writings of cotemporaries, from the actual experience of comrades, from public documents and from the author's recollection, continue to convey the events of a patriotic exertion and animate the men of the present generation to do their duty, by solving the difficult social and political questions before them, so that this great American Union may truly fulfill its destiny, and remain the refuge of the oppressed, the home of the free, and the brightest constellation among all civilized nations.

THE FIRST UNION REGIMENTS.

In presenting the names of men who in the spring of 1861 took up arms for the Union in St. Louis, and formed five Volunteer and five Reserve Regiments, a permanent keepsake is intended for their offsprings.

The action of the Union people of that period are worthy to be perpetuated beyond the mention of a few prominent men who rose upon the wave of a great popular upheaval. It is in the nature of important events that they are effected by great masses. The rising of 10,000 St. Louis loyalists is one of the most striking demonstrations of popular power, based on correct principles and wielded with the momentum of a systematic organization. No doubt it will be a matter of great interest to the many thousand descendants to find the names of their ancestors enrolled in the different Regiments and Companies of that period.

Official records, on account of their very size and location, are beyond the reach of most men, and, even under very restricted use, are fast going to pieces. A concise summary of names, based on the best official evidence that could be obtained, will, to a large extent, obviate this difficulty; but, with all due diligence, no claim can be laid to entire correctness. Missouri had no proper State officers when the important events of 1861 took place. Hostile armies traversed the State in every direction, and little heed was paid to recording while the fire burned on the nails. A fruitful source of error lay in the misspelling of names, in the very great number of transfers from one Company or Regiment to another, and in the repeated occurrence of two sets of Company letters, as "Company A" and "Company A Rifles," or "B and B Rifles," which, in case of reference to these lists, should both be consulted. Some of these double-lettered Companies had to be thrown together in these lists, as it was not practicable to separate them.

The enlistments of the three months' service, exceeding 10,000 men, may be classified as to nationality:

German and of German parentage	80 percent.
American	12 percent.
French, Irish, Bohemian and others	8 percent.

This exhibit verifies the statements made by the writer in the preceding sketch, whose aim was to give conditions, relations and events as they actually existed.

While the officers in every organization appear more prominent, justice prompts the statement that equal patriotic devotion animated all members of these Regiments, and many of the most energetic organizers declined to accept any office; in fact, the men of these Regiments were mostly of one cast, and many stood in the ranks who were qualified to take command. The Companies elected their officers, the latter the Field officers, and the Commander of the Regiment designated his staff.

The original muster-in rolls were not within reach of this compilation.

FIRST REGIMENT INFANTRY MISSOURI VOLUNTEERS

Companies A, B and C, called the Turner Battalion, were the first to enter the United States Arsenal, April 21, 1861. The Regiment was completed by the 27th of April and elected Francis P. Blair Colonel. It took part in the capture of Camp Jackson, and the ten Infantry Companies in the engagement of Boonville, some minor skirmishes and the battle of Wilson's Creek. It was reorganized June 10 of same year for the three years' Infantry service and again reorganized September 1 as an Artillery Regiment.

The lists available for this compilation gave the names of members of this Regiment for the end of August, including those who had joined the ten Infantry Companies after June 10, but neither the dead, transferred or those three months' men who did not re-enlist in this same Regiment. The names of the last, as far as they could be ascertained, are therefore reported on the subsequent separate list, commencing page 364.

The two Rifle Companies went on detached service to Southeast Missouri, and those not transferred to other Companies were honorably discharged at the St. Louis Arsenal on July 31 and August 2, 1861. Most of these also re-enlisted in other Regiments. In fact, during this whole period discharges, transfers and re-enlistments were often irregular, causing later on much difficulty in establishing correct records. To these irregularities omissions of some names in the lists are due.

Counting all members of the First Volunteers as originally constituted, it held 48 per cent Germans or German descendants, 44 per cent Americans and 8 per cent Irishmen. The list contains 1,217 names.

For names of men, who did not re-enlist in the First Regiment Three Years' service, see Complement List, page 364.

FIRST REGIMENT INFANTRY, MISSOURI VOLUNTEERS PARTLY THREE MONTHS' AND THREE YEARS' SERVICE.

FIELD AND STAFF.

Frank P. Blair, Colonel
George L. Andrews, Lt. Colonel
John M. Schofield, Major
Henry Hescock, Adjutant
Herbert M. Draper, Quartermaster
Florence Cornyn, Surgeon
Wm. Simon, Asst. Surgeon
Edward Feahan, Asst. Surgeon
Wm. A. Pile, Chaplain
Phil. F. Jenks, Com. Sergeant.
Thos. Mitchel, Quartermaster
Peter R. Tendick, Sergeant-Major
B. F. Gempp, Sergeant-Major.

Band and Unassigned.

Blum, Hy.
Bogle, Andrew
Boleska, Wm.
Byd, Wm.
Hocker, Franz
Hubert, Otto
Wittig, Charles
Katte, Rudolph
Klueber, Franz
Lustkandle, John

COMPANY A.

Rufus Saxton, Captain
Wm. A. Gordon, 1st Lieutenant
Ernst W. Decker, 2d Lieutenant
John E. Winter, 1st Sergeant
Roland T. Rombauer, Sergeant
Fred Schmitgen, Sergeant
Fred Wehe, Sergeant
Emil Knoll, Sergeant
Charles F. Schneider, Sergeant
Henry Hammel, Corporal
John Kassing, Corporal
Jacob Kohlhauf, Corporal
Louis Werz, Corporal
Adolph Schuster, Corporal
Ch. Reinhard Richter, Corporal
Christ Wigsch (Nigsch) Wagoner

Privates.

Bamberger, John
Barchler, Jacob
Barth, August
Barth, John Leonard
Betz, Charles
Blair, John
Bleichner, John
Blum, Robert
Bodner, John
Bornemann, Conrad
Bruner, Joseph
Ebscher, Charles
Ehrlich, Edward
Emanuel, Alex.
Fischer, Fred
Fuchs, Charles
Geiser, Anton
Gellichsheimer, Geo.
Gering, Henry
Greiner, August Adolph
Guth, John
Hageman, Hy.
Heddinghaus, Stephen
Heitmueller, Wm.
Hunker, Louis
Jost, Louis
Kleinschmidt, Otto A.
Kloepner, Hy.
Knoll, Louis
Koenig, Reinhold
Kohrt, Karl
Korrell, Fred
Kuhlmey, Edward
Kuhrt, John
Mangold, Fred
Milentz, Gustav
Mueller, Michael
Muhm, Peter
Neuman, Charles
Numan, Jacob
Numan, John
Paul, Jacob
Paul, Louis
Pesch, Joseph Louis
Poll, John
Rahaus, Christian
Rauschenplat, Emil
Renz, Jacob
Renz, Adam
Renz, John
Reuter, Sylvester
Riedy, John D.
Rosenbusch, Paul
Rothfuss, Fritz
Rothfuss, John
Ruff, Bernard
Schindelman, Geo.
Schmidt, Fred
Schmidt, Gottfried
Schnauffer, Fred
Schuster, Hugo
Schoening, Fred
Schurei, Fred
Stock, Charles
Stockli, Joseph
Strandler, John
Thomas, Adam
Toussaint, Fred
Unverzagt, Hy.
Wagenbrett, Traugott
Wagerley, Wm.
Weiss, Engelbert
Welker, Henry
Wetzer, Fred
Woermer, Jos.
Zepp, Louis

COMPANY B.

M. L. Lothrop, Captain
Thomas D. Maurice, Captain
Benjamin Tannrath, 1st Lieutenant
John L. Mathaei, 2d Lieutenant
Charles Epenreiter, 1st Sergeant
Henry Meyer, Sergeant
Fred Rink, Sergeant
Charles Manser, Sergeant
George Mennel, Corporal
Jacob Deschemeier, Corporal
George Paul, Corporal
Leonard Stuckert, Corporal
Jacob Gruen, Corporal
John Eswelnt, Corporal
Charles Krueger, Corporal
Louis Nast, Corporal
Fred Schoen, Musician
John Stock, Musician
Hy. Voigt, Wagoner

Privates.

Ambs, Jacob
Barnhard, John
Basse, Phillip
Bessmer, Hy.
Bockenberg, Charles
Brown, Wm. F.
Bruening, Hy.
Colbert, John
Collmeyer, Hy.
Dehaas, Casper
Dehaas, Fred
Dietrich, Joseph
Eschle, John
Evers, Julius
Fey, Henry
Frenger, Jacob
Frotscher, Louis
Gaertner, Andrew
Gieselman, John
Gessman, Ch.
Gevers, August
Hartman, Anton
Heim, George
Heinz, John
Heinzelmann, Rudolph
Herman, Louis
Hild, Adam
Hild, George
Hoelzle, Louis
Hoffman, Chas.
Hoffman, Wm.
Hollman, Wm.
Husman, Henry
Juenger, Wm.
Kaufman, Conrad
Kiefer, Louis
Kirchner, Jacob
Kollachny, Joseph
Leimkiehler, Fred
Leng, Wm.
Linden, Robert
Loeffler, Philip
Loesch, Philip
Martin, Wm.
Meinhold, Wm.
Meissmann, Chas.
Meltzow, August
Merritt, Anton
Mersch, Hy.
Mersch, John
Meyer, Gerhard
Moritz, Gustav
Naumann, John
Neumeyer, Louis
Oberl, Joseph
Obrecht, Michel
Papendick, Richard
Pfau, Jacob
Pfeiferling, John
Pregitzer, John
Rauch, John
Roth, Theodore
Sanders, Adam
Sautter, Fred
Schleif, Ch.
Schneider, Geo.
Schulte, Hy.
Stuthalter, Jos.
Thomas, Hy.
Tyller, Jos.
Vanluer, Theo.
Vohl, Geo.
Vohl, Louis
Warneke, Louis
Weber, Frank
Welker, Chas.
Wiese, Jos.
Wilde, Chas.
Wolf, Anton
Zieres, Geo.
Zwiesler, John Th.

COMPANY C.

G. Harry Stone, Captain
Gustavus A. Finkelnburg, 1st Lieut.
John H. Tiemeyer, 2d Lieutenant
Gustave Schuler, 1st Sergeant
Peter Bischoff, Sergeant
Phillip Fries, Sergeant
Frank White, Sergeant
Wm. Lindenschmidt, Sergeant
John E. Stolze, or Holze, Corporal
Alfred Clausen, Corporal
Wm. H. Hess, Corporal
Abraham Frankenstein, Corporal
Andrew Franklin, Corporal
Frank X. Weiss, Corporal
Gustave Vollmer, Corporal
Henry Mueller, Corporal
John Sickinger, Corporal
Jacob Voght, Corporal
John Kraehe, Musician
August Schmidt, Wagoner

Privates.

Anthes, Christian
Bader, Jacob
Bauer, John
Baumann, Leonhard
Bickel, John
Biegel, Louis
Dehnert, Adolph
Bothe, Fred
Dellit, Charles
Dvoraczyk, Frank
Euler, Ludwig
Flammger, Fred
Fritz, Frank
Geyler, Andrew
Gossman, Hy.
Gutting, John
Hage, Bernhard
Hauer, Lorenz
Heidenrich, Robert
Heil, John
Heinz, Nicolas
Heinemann, Wm.
Herchenbach, Geo.
Herkert, Fred
Herb, John
Herold, Adam
Hlawacek, Wendelin
Hittwen, Charles
Hoehn, Peter
Jentsch, John
Kalinowsky, Joseph
Kaltmeyer, Christ
Kaenther, Chas.
Klauss, George
Klemme, Fred
Knueppel, Wm.
Koenig, Christian
Koenig, Fred
Kraemer, Chas.
Kreyling, Conrad
Lauter, Wm.
Loeffler, Joseph
Lohner, Chas.
McBurney, Wm.
Mack, Fred
Mahler, John
Mahr, Frank
Medart, Fred
Milbach, Geo. P.
Mohr, Ludwig
Mehl, Thuisko
Mueller, Ulrich
Payrleitner, Geo.
Reiling, John
Rhein, Henry
Roehl, Theo.
Roemer, Edward
Ronnigke, Edward
Rosenthal, Moses
Sallman, Sigmund
Scharr, Jacob
Schulze, Ferdinand
Schumacher, John
Schwenger, Hy.
Schwinn, Charles
Sparks, Wm.
Staneky, Lucas
Storks, John
Stucke, Hy.
Voigt, John
Wawrzinowsky, Hy.
Weber, Hy. W.
Weyh, Wm.
Wiedrian, G. Fred
Wiegenstein, Anton
Wittig, Charles
Wittig, Maximilian
Wolf, Jacob

COMPANY D.

Charles W. Anderson, Captain
Henry Richardson, Captain
Stillman O. Fish, 1st Lieutenant
Fulton H. Johnson, 2d Lieutenant
M. Wm. DuTour, 1st Sergeant
John S. Anderson, Sergeant
Frank Schaefer, Sergeant
Daniel Boelling, Sergeant
Wm. G. Fletcher, Sergeant
Thos. H. Oliver, Sergeant
Wm. Stuart, Corporal
Chas. T. Wendler, Corporal
Norman W. Carr, Corporal
Edward Walker, Corporal
Jas. Crawley, Corporal
Chas. Stuelzmann, Corporal.
T. Percival Jones, Corporal
Sam J. Clark, Corporal
John H. Grace, Wagoner
Wm. Creutzman, Musician
John Smith, Corporal

Privates.

Boxer, Marcus
Brown, Louis
Bruce, Lawrence
Cameron, Chas.
Corby, Henry
Creamer, Hy.
Crome, Chas. W.
Cronenberg, August
Dixon, John O.
Donahue, Michael
Doyle, James
Doyle, Thomas H.
Eckert, John
Finnerty, James
Flynn, Patrick
Godfrey, Jas. D.
Good, John
Goody, Geo.
Goodall, Jas. S.
Haas, Anthony
Hackenrath, Albert
Hacker, Geo.
Hartford, Patrick
Haunschild, Gottlieb
Hausburg, Jos.
Hoehn, Ernst A.
Hashagen, Klaas
Kenner, Valentin
Kent, Hamilton
Kirkland, G. W'tn. D.
Kromer, John
Layfeld, Wm.
Leffingwell, Louis
Letz, Sam.
Lynch, Patrick
McGuire, Michael
Meisman, Ernst
Meister, Jos. P.
Morgan, Paul L.
Murphy, John
Murray, Robert
Nelson, Fred
Nolan, John
O'Donnell, Frank
O'Donnell, Hugh
Powers, Patrick
Powers, Thomas
Pretz, Nicholaus
Price, Michael
Rachor, Jacob
Reidner, Christopher
Reidner, Ferdinand
Reipschneider, Jos.
Reisz, Franz
Rider, Jas.
Reischmann, Peter
Schaerer, John R.
Schultz, Louis H.
Schoenefeldt, H. A.
Schaefer, Louis
Setz, Samuel
Shephard, Jasper
Smithy, John
Spooner, Wm. H.
Stander, John
Thompson, Geo. W.
Walker, Jacob
Watson, John
Wilson, Hy.
Wilson, Jos.
Wilson, Robert
Young, John

COMPANY E.

Nelson Cole, Captain
Joseph Foust, 1st Lieutenant
Jas. G. W. McMurray, 2d Lieutenant
John L. Walker, 1st Sergeant
Edward J. Rice, Sergeant
Chas. H. Wallace, Sergeant
Hy. B. Warren, Sergeant
Edward S. Rowland, Sergeant
Ben. W. Morrison, Corporal
Robert R. Clarkson, Corporal
John A. Duwall, Corporal
John Fitzgerald, Corporal
Phillip Lynch, Corporal
Abram S. Hoagland, Corporal
John Fanning, Corporal
Joseph Simmons, Corporal
Geo. W. Marshall, Corporal
Thomas Gay, Wagoner
Arthur Roth, Musician
John F. Dean, Musician

Privates.

Archers, Perry
Atkins, John
Austin, Wm.
Bascomb, John
Bennett, Jas.
Blanchard, Ferd.
Carlin, Arthur
Carlton, Geo. E.
Cardinal, Peter
Carney, Edward
Carrier, Octave
Carroll, John
Childers, John
Cline, Fred
Collins, John
Cronk, Wm. L.
Degough, Thos. L.
Derosen, Jas.
Demorest, Cornel
Dipley, Andrew
Drake, Thomas
Drennan, N.
Dwyer, Jeremiah
Earl, Jas.
Farren, Jas.
Finnegan, Barnes
Fuller, Wm.
Garrett, Hugh
Gaskill, John
Gibson, Albert
Heaton, Wm. A.
Henebury, John
Holden, Wm.
Jones, Edw. P.
Keenan, Hugh
Kelter, Peter
Kile, Milton
Lary, Jeremiah
Lefevre, Edw.
Liberty, B. W.
Lynch, Phil.
McBride, John
McCabe, Patrick
McCarthy, John
McChesney, Jas.
McKnight, Hiram
Miller, Daniel
Miller, John
Miller, Jos.
Moriarty, Michael
Olcott, Newton
Patterson, Jas.
Patterson, John
Pierson, Wm. H.
Purdy, Geo.
Quinlin, John
Ramsey, John
Rice, Mansfield
Rodgers, Sam
Rowland, Richard
Scherer, Andrew
Seaman, Barney
Seymour, Jos.
Sheridan, Thos.
Sheehan, John
Smilia, Phillip
Templer, Fred
Tunget, John
Wells, Wm. H.
Wilkinson, John D.
Windley, Jas.
Worth, John
Wright, Horace

COMPANY F.

Carry Gratz, Captain
Walter C. Gantt, Captain
Wm. S. Stewart, 1st Lieutenant
F. A. Howard, 1st Lieutenant
John D. Baldwin, 2d Lieutenant
George F. Meyers, 2d Lieutenant
Chas. F. Talcott, 1st Sergeant
Thos. Mitchell, 1st Sergeant
Jas. E. Cromwell, Sergeant
Thos. R. Cross, Sergeant
Albert Herkenrath, Sergeant
Albert S. Reigor, Sergeant
Wm. K. Smith, Sergeant
Ed. H. Stoddart, Corporal
John Stein, Corporal
Thos. McMeans, Corporal
Geo. W. Bailey, Corporal
Edw. Burk, Corporal
Louis Dorman, Corporal
Wm. Harper, Corporal
Alex. Russell, Corporal
Thos. F. Rumble, Musician
Hugh Roberts, Musician

Privates.

Alt, Conrad
Baltzer, Wm.
Bates, Alonzo
Belden, Hy.
Bollinger, Wm.
Brinckmann, Barney
Buckman, Delworth
Burchard, John R.
Burton, Frank
Calahan, Michael
Carlin
Castle, Asker
Chesholm, Jas.
Clifford, Jerry
Clifford, Frank
Clifford, John
Coffman, Eugene C.
Conroy, Michael
Coughlin, Dan
Cunningham, Patrick
Deal, John
Decker, John
Donnelly, Wm. B.
Elworthy, Wm.
Flohra, Fred
Garrothy, Thos.
Gleason, Patrick
Griffin, T. M.
Gully, Sebastian
Hacking, Jas.
Hogan, Michael
Jenkins, Geo.
Johann, F. A.
Johnson, Jas.
Lafille, Wm.
Lillman, Aug.
Lilly, Geo.
Lindsay, Gilbert
McNulty, Wm.
Muehlheim, Nic.
Miller, Geo.
Morris, Wm.
Nagle, John
Nealy, Chas. F.
Nicks, M. L.
O'Brien, John H.
O'Kabe, Otto
Reed, Robert
Ritchie, Jas.
Roche, Patrick
Robinson, Wm. C. L.
Shea, Dennis
Sheppard, Geo. E.
Schields, Patrick
Schilling, Jacob
Simpkins, Wm. H.
Smith, George
Spore, Jacob
Stafford, Stephen
Steigers, Hy.
Till, John
Wallace, John
Weidner, Aug.
Williams, Reese

COMPANY G.

John S. Cavender, Captain
Fred Welcker, 1st Lieutenant
Chas. L. Sheldon, 2d Lieutenant
Louis Beckman, 1st Sergeant
Edward Huther, Sergeant
Christ Conrad, Sergeant
Philibert Melenant, Sergeant
Bernhard Simner, Sergeant
John Sailfard, Corporal
Cornelius Maher, Corporal
Thomas Powell, Corporal
Wm. H. Rogers, Corporal
Ed. S. Chapman, Corporal
August Funk, Corporal
Silas Howard, Corporal
Etienne Hug, Corporal
Emil Rathplatz, Musician

Privates.

Aizaire, John
Ansermoy, Francois
Beller, John
Beneker, Hy.
Bernays, Hy.
Bernard, Andrew
Bertsch, Francois
Boenig, Hy.
Bonamie, Jno.
Bowman, John
Bronn, Anton
Bronn, Daniel
Beumer, Robert
Benner, Max
Cairn, John
Delvenne, Gottfried
Dennis, Peter
Ehrig, Geo.
Fink, Wm.
Follet, Jos. L.
Froment, Nicolas
Galmiche, Francois
Geiser, Louis
Goerig, Severin
Grubert, Peter
Horn, Chas.
Horn, Herman
Hubert, Randolph
Jacob, Jacques
Jalageas, Philibert
Keegan, James
Kropf, Christian
Lande, Hy.
Laurentz, Andrew
Mayol, Fred
Meier, John
Mesnier, Gaston
Meumer, Joseph
Monta, Charles
Mueller, John Jos.
Nazari, Jacques
Neumann, John
Peterson, Peter
Robert, John A.
Romanof, Emile
Rosis, Emile
Roth, Conrad
Schaeffer, Fred
Schaeffer, Henry
Selzen, Christian
Siess, Ignace
Shenan, Chas.
Stuefhacker, Fridolin
Streit, Wm.
Striely, Ulrich
Tebbens, Geo.
Tesson, Germain
Trautman, Hy.
VanNugen, John
Wack, Anthony
Walch, Daniel
Walker, John E.
Warner, Chas.
Weber, August
Weltz, Sebastian
Whitman, Chas.
Whitman, Fred
Whiske, Edward
Zay, Franzose

COMPANY H.

Theodore Yates, Captain
Francis H. Manter, 1st Lieutenant
Thomas Haynes, 2d Lieutenant
Harvey Hogan, 1st Sergeant
Wm. Drudy, Sergeant
Chas. M. Duffy, Sergeant
Frank Gorman, Sergeant
Wm. R. Donaldson, Corporal
James D. Stein, Corporal
Richard Mollencott, Corporal
T. Jeff'n Edwards, Corporal
John H. Connant, Corporal
Wm. A. Murrell, Corporal
Frank Stolz, Corporal
Augustus W. Colton, Corporal
Jesse D. Townsend, Wagoner
Wm. Schebe, Musician

Privates.

Allen, Thomas
Augusta, Wm.
Baldwin, Elijah D.
Blyholden, John B.
Brennan, Thomas
Brinton, Wm. L.
Brost, Geo. W.
Brown, Geo. W.
Brueggemann, Louis
Burns, Thomas
Caldwell, Andrew J.
Centner, Geo.
Conlin, Patrick
Coolidge, Marcus M.
Darelan, John
Davalar, John
Davis, Hy.
Dobyns, David H.
Earl, Geo.
Earl, Wm.
Early, James
Echo, Bernard
Edwards, Francis
Enders, Mathias H.
Engel, Mathias H.
Faer, Christian
Fish, John
Foubert, Edward
Gable, Louis
Giebler, Louis
Gronert, Jno. M.
Grouart, Jno. M.
Gudell, Herman
Harris, Geo. O.
Hartman, Richard
Hill, Robert
Hughes, Richard
Kemper, Bernard
Kepphard, Wm.
Lack, Wm. F.
Lock, Wm.
McFarland, Jno. D.
McGlennon, Hugh
McGlone, Francis
Miller, Jno.
Neun, August
Oaks, George
O'Kelly, Chas. D.
Pamy, Hy.
Pelche, Jno.
Peters, Chas.
Peters, John
Pownzer, Fritz
Rador, Chas.
Rheder, Hy.
Rickmann, Wm. W.
Rowe, Richard W.
Rupp, Conrad
Saler, Robert
Schlegle, Alexander
Schwanacher, Chas.
Schwartz, Christian
Seal, Joseph
Shell, Phillip
Stolle, August
Sullivan, Timothy
Tanner, Chas. K.
Walker, James
Welpley, Jas.
Weimer, Fred.
Wheatly, John
Wheatly, Wm. D.
Wick, Robt.
Wielhaupt, Hy. A.
Wolf, Frank
Woods, Andrew
Woodward, Chas. H.
Yost, Christian

COMPANY I.

Madison Miller, Captain
David Murphy, 1st Lieutenant
Jas. Mar, 2d Lieutenant
Edward Reily, 1st Sergeant
Daniel Leary, Sergeant
Frank Killian, Sergeant
Charles Borberg, Sergeant
Hinton Breman, Sergeant
Wm. H. Cooper, Corporal
Morris Fitzgerald, Corporal
Chas. Pretaboire, Corporal
Edward L. Donnelly, Corporal
Chas. Wandel, Corporal
Robert C. Foster, Corporal
Joseph Scott, Corporal
Charles Fendel, Corporal
Martin Toeppe, Wagoner
Jas. Robins, Musician
Dougal Ferguson, Musician

Privates.

Arms, Hy. S.
Atkins, Ben
Ball, Hy
Baumgartner, Jacob
Bloom, Hy.
Bryant, Wm.
Canning, Daniel
Casey, Wm. F.
Conley, Wm.
Crone, Robert
Dapron, Adolph
Davis, Jas. F.
Dieman, Fritz
Dilge, Nicolaus
Dobin, Baptiste
Dohrman, Christian
Donahue, John
Donahue, Michael
Fox, John
Fidler, Jas. M.
Gahn, John G.
Gallagher, John
Ganert, Conrad
Grand, Francis
Grow, Rudolph
Hankes, Frank
Harper, George
Henesey, John
Herman, Lorenz
Hughes, John M.
Hurd, Thomas
Ifinger, Hy.
Kearny, Martin
Koeln, Adam
Kroeger, Christian
Lindsay, Robt. L.
Lyon, Nelson J.
McCormack, Peter
McGarvey, John
McGarvey, Michael
McGuire, John
McKinnon, Archie
McSloy, Mathew
McSpirit, Terence
Maher, Patrick
Mahler, Aug.
Marshall, Jas.
Massner, Fred
Mathias, Nicolas
Meier, Christian
Mertz, Xavier
Miller, John
Miller, Wm. H.
Owens, Edward
O'Laughlin, John
Parish, Chas. G.
Pesold, Nicolaus
Pretaboire, Eli
Priester, John
Regner, John M.
Renkle, Jacob
Ryan, John
Schall, John D.
Schmidt, Jos.
Schubert, Wenzel
Smith, James
Smith, John
Spiedel, Aug.
Springer, Hy.
Stiegelmeyer, Fred
Stoner, Peter
Tochtermann, Chas.
Vorlage, Herman
Watson, John W.
Weber, John
Wolf, John
Wuerpel, Morris
Yaeger, Chas.
Zeppenfeld, Robt.
Zimmerman, Reinhard

COMPANY K.

Patrick E. Burke, Captain
Alonzo W. Webber, 1st Lieutenant
Robert C. Slow, 1st Lieutenant
Edward Madison, 2d Lieutenant
Andrew M. Brown, 2d Lieutenant
Andrew Hochstadler, 1st Sergeant
Chas. M. Callahan, Sergeant
Ezra S. Dodd, Sergeant
Geo. Dickinson, Sergeant
Wm. J. Erlanger, Sergeant
Geo. E. Martin, Corporal
Bernard Rodgers, Corporal
Richard Kane, Corporal
Arthur Suddath, Corporal
Thomas Morgan, Corporal
Chas. Seiler, Corporal
Thos. J. Fitzgerald, Corporal
Benjamin Joel, Corporal

Privates.

Adams, Louis
Bower, Adam
Boyd, George
Boyd, William
Brash, Nicolas
Brown, John
Carey, Peter
Clark, Leopold
Coleman, Fred
Coleman, Hy.
Conroy, John
Cota, Peter
Crisp, Arthur
Dailey, Dennis
Dicks, Wm. F.
Dodson, Jas.
Duff, Noel P.
Ferris, Peter
Filch, Conrad
Flynn, Patrick
Foley, John
Fowler, Wm.
Givens, John
Guerin, Fitz Wm.
Guerin, Francois
Halscher, F. Aug.
Hamilton, John
Hawkins, Thos.
Heaton, Wm. A.
Heinzelman, John
Hermans, Edmund
Jones, Louis C.
Kammerer, Oscar
Kelly, Patrick
King, John
Lamkins, John
Lynde, Herman
McNichol, Duncan
McQuillan, Chas.
Maguire, Patrick
Marlow, Enoch
Matthieu, Jos.
Matt, Leopold
Michel, Louis
Moritz, Fred W.
Mullins, John
Nolan, Thos.
O'Brien, Dennis
O'Connell, Jos.
O'Gorman, Jos.
O'Neil, Arthur
Orleans, Aug.
Overman, Chas.
Park, Daniel
Ransome, Francois
Reilley, Edw.
Reilley, Peter
Ryan, John
Sanders, Timothy
Schaeffer, Charles
Shadon, Robert
Shanon, Wm.
Sheehy, Wm. J.
Sheen, Patrick
Slough, Jacob
Smith, George
Stevens, Jno.
Straat, John
Sullivan, Mathias
Sullivan, Michael
Taylor, Marion
Tillman, Aug.
Towler, Jas.
Vaeth, Ferdinand
Van Horn, Chas. A.
Vintroviez, Alex.
Virth, Josepn
Vuerster, Louis
Wenthe, Charles
Wilmore, Ed.
Zimmerman, Geo.

RIFLE COMPANY A.

L. E. Koniuszeski, Captain
L. F. Mason, 1st Lieutenant
J. P. Hibler, 1st Lieutenant
Wm. D. Bowen, 2d Lieutenant
Geo. F. Meyers, 2d Lieutenant
W. Fallenstein, Sergeant
Fred Schoening, Corporal
Geo. F. Glaser, Corporal
Jas. B. How, Corporal
Jas. A. Humphrey, Corporal
Chas. B. Pulte, Corporal
Chas. R. Richter, Corporal
Engelbert Weiss, Corporal
Anton Franzel, Musician
Conrad Gieselmann, Musician

Privates.

Ahrensmann, Hy.
Armstrong, Wm. E.
Arnold, Florenz
Babka, Chas.
Backhaus, Conrad
Barada, Austin
Barth, Wendel
Beck, John F.
Beckmann, Bernard
Beinke, Herman
Bohrberg, Chas (Sergt.)
Braschler, Jacob
Brieglieb, Phil
Buschgert, Peter
Campbell, Frank
Canning, Daniel
Chess, Thos. R. (Sergt.)
Clairmont, Louis
Cleland, Wm. W. (Sergt.)
Cowperthwaith, J. W.
Crozet, Chas.
Dam, John
Damschroeder, Christ.
Dapron, Amable
Dewane, Fred
Dienstbier, John
Dierkauf, John
Dinninger, Michael
Donnelly, Edm. S.
Downer, Jas. W.
Duemler, Aug.
Duemler, John G.
Duemler, John H.
Eickhoff, Frank
Ellers, Phil.
Ewig, Robt.
Fischer, Francis
Fischer, Louis G.
Fletcher, Perry V.
Frances, Felix Jos.
Frances, James
Gaertner, Ferd.
Gates, Marvin
Gerkin, Hy.
Gibler, Thomas
Griffin, Boone
Grimmler, John
Haas, Andrew
Hartmann, Wm.
Hermann, Chas.
Hermann, Frank
Heihn, Jos.
Hostetter, Christoph
Hoyle, Mathew
Hug, George
Jacobet, Casper
Kaiser, Ambrose
Kasnitz, Herman
Keil, Friedrich
Kohlhauf, Jacob
Korring, Hy. John
Krause, Fred
Kummer, Christ
Kuhn, Jacob
Lange, Hy.
Larsen, Peters
Latournier, Louis
Loeffler, Hermann
Leisse, Fred
Lindner, Wm.
Lori, Chas.
Maupin, John W.
Merz, Louis
Meyer, Chas. G.
Meyersick, Wm.
Miller, Frank
Miller, John
Miller, Philip
Mittendorf, Hy.
Mueller, Ferd.
Nagel, Wm.
Nieb, Louis J.
Nigsch, Christ.
Obenhaus, Wm.
Obenhauf, Herman
Oesterle, Jos.
Ottman, Jacob
Ottman, John
Pack, Jas.
Pack, Anderson
Piening, Fred
Phinel, Alois
Quinn, Anderson
Roben, Ad.
Roe, John
Sautier, Alex.
Sautier, Eugene
Scheebaum, Hy.
Scheebaum, John
Schlacke, Edw.
Schmidt, Chas.

RIFLE COMPANY A.—*Con't.*

Schmidt, Jos.
Schneider, Paul
Schopp, Jos.
Schorn, Herman
Schreiner, Geo.
Schultheis, Martin
Simmermann, Reinh'rdt
Smith, Orlando C.
Spidel, Aug.
Solf, Aug.
Sonderman, Aug.
Steffan, Hy.
Stohlenberg, Nic.
Sumkiller, John
Swedensky, Martin
Tendick, Peter
Tochtermann, Christ
Uhrig, Stephan
Vitt, Alfred
Volasti, Herman
Voyard, Chas.
Weber, John
Weimann, Geo.
Wendell, Chas.
Witger, Fred
Wilke, Aug.
Wondrauschek, Jos.
Zimmermann, R.
Zoleski, Jas.

RIFLE COMPANY B.

John McFall, Captain
Frank Howard, Captain
George F. Meyers, 1st Lieutenant
James W. McMurray, 2d Lieutenant
Andrew Dyon, 1st Sergeant
John Hackmann, Sergeant
Paul Merenskey, Sergeant
Frederick Schnitzer, Sergeant
Robert Evans, Sergeant
Edward Boyce, Corporal
Chas. Bieger, Corporal
David Landrigan, Corporal
Jas. M. McClenahan, Corporal
Adam Trautman, Corporal
Jos. T. Parker, Musician
Richard Rapier, Musician

Privates.

Althoff, Fred
Beckmann, Hy.
Biermann, Herman
Blume, Louis
Bradly, F. H.
Brell, Andrew
Brown, Jas. T.
Brown, Sylvester
Chibnall, John
Crimins, Thomas
Dohn, Jacob
Dundas, John
Ebeling, Wm.
Ellis, Isaac
Enders, Mathias
Fahse, Daniel
Feustel, Louis
Fiedler, Joseph
Foster, John
Gaehner, Fred
Gilner, Aug.
Glenn, Jas.
Glenn, Patrick
Graff, Geo.
Harris, John
Heifel, Jacob
Heilmann, Geo.
Herman, Wm.
Hertzog, Julius
Holden, H. W.
Horst, Hy.
Hoyt, A. F.
Huether, Geo.
Justin, Nicolas
Kelly, Patrick
Kerksick, Hy.
Kerksick, Herman
Kerwin, Thomas
Knable, Michael
Kraft, Geo.
Krausch, Christian
Kruese, Hy.
Lambert, Amos
Leng, Wm.
Lewis, Edmond
Lewis, Geo. T.
Long, Justin
Long, Wm.
McCullough, Wm.
McHenry, John
McHenry, Wm.
Maulhardt, Aug.
Maurer, Zacharias
Mehl, Geo.
Metz, Norbert
Miller, Wm. H.
Morekamp, Hy.
Neville, Jos.
Nicholson, Theophil
Ott, Frederick

RIFLE COMPANY B.—*Cou't.*

Overmann, Ben
Peters, Chas.
Peters, Wm.
Reagher, Chas.
Regh, Fred
Regh, George
Rickers, Wm. H.
Ring, Richard
Risley, Sam H.
Sachlebend, Hy.
Sailor, Wm. J.
Schaeffer, Arnold
Schaeffer, Edward
Scheller, Cnas.
Schwidle, Wm.
Seiglemann, Hy.
Sickmann, Fred
Streckebein, John
Targee, John
Utt, L. H.
Vienup, Chas.
Voght, Wm.
Vollmar, Frank
Wallis, Wm.
Weber, Charles
Wegh, Lewis
Weigner, Jonn W.
Weissmeyer, John W.
Welker, Chas. (No. 2)
Wieda, Hy.
Wittmeyer, Aug.

COMPLETED LIST OF FIRST REGIMENT INFANTRY THREE MONTHS' VOLUNTEERS,

who enlisted under President Lincoln's call for 75,000 men in April, 1861, but did not wish to continue in their original Regiment for the Three Years' Service, on account of the manner of reorganization.

The Muster-In Rolls of the Three Months' Regiments could not be secured, and these members were not accounted for on the later Muster Rolls accessible to this compilation; but, having faithfully filled the obligations of service for which they volunteered and having been among the first to take up arms for their country, their names are deservedly reported on this list. Being transferred to different Companies, their original Company letter could not be noted and their names are given collectively. Most of them returned to the Arsenal with the Detachment of Lieutenant Colonel C. D. Wolff, who left Springfield July 24, arrived in St. Louis August 2, where the men were honorably discharged and most of them joined the service for three years in different Regiments.

After the expiration of their term of office, some left without securing the discharge due to them.

ENLISTED AT THE ST. LOUIS ARSENAL ON APRIL 22 AND 23, 1861, IN THE FIRST VOLUNTEER COMPANIES OF MISSOURI FOR THE THREE MONTHS' SERVICE.

Ahern, Thomas
Alter, Henry
Anderson, Andrew
Andrae, Wm., Sergeant
Baier, Franz
Balzing, John
Barchtler, Fred
Bates, Robert
Bauro, John
Beck, Robt. B., Captain
Becker, John
Becker, Wm.
Behland, John
Belmar, John
Benning, Jonn
Belke, Hermann
Betzar, Wm.
Biermann, H.
Bintz, Jacob
Blakely, Thos. B.
Boechtler, Aug.
Boehm, Hy.
Bonn, M. W.
Brendel, Hy.
Brockmann, Fred
Brokatrick, Hy.
Bronn, Louis
Byrne, Patrick
Byrne, Wm. H. (First Sergt.)
Byron, Hy.
Cady, Aug.
Calabraisi, Antoine
Cannon, Patrick
Capard, Alphonse
Carr, John
Carr, Philip
Casey, Michael
Castello, Peter
Chevalair, Jos.
Churchill, John
Clancey, Michael
Clarens, Jacob
Clerew, John
Clifton, Chas.
Colt, Philip
Cordes, John
Cutler, Geo.
Dahm, Wm.
Daily, Michael
Dawson, Sam B.
Deimler, Sam
Dickson, Chas.
Diemer, Fred
Eckert, Geo.
Elwanger, Wm.
Ernig, John Chas.
Fargo, Aloni
Fertel, Chas. L.
Fertel, John L.
Ferguson, John
Fischer, Frank
Fischer, John
Fitzgibbons, John
Flammger, Ludwig
Fox, David
Fries, Wm.
Fritsch, Bruno
Frohman, Hy.
Fuergotli, Jos.
Gan, Christian
Gartland, Wm.
Geier, Edward
Gemler, Hy.
Gerichten, Philip
Gesmeier, Frank
Greimer, Frank
Geyer, Henry
Gibson, Chas
Gillet, Eugene
Glockner, John
Golden, John
Gonmeier, Julius
Gonsha, Jeremia
Gottung, Christian
Grimm, Valentine (Sergt.)
Grimminger, Wm.
Grosse, Arnold
Grosse, Hy.
Grunden, Sam.
Guset, Chas.
Guyot, Chas.
Hachbaith, Julius
Hackbein, H.
Haley, Richard
Hartmann, Hy.
Hartmann, Jacob
Hartmann, Philip
Haughton, Geo.
Helmes, Wm.
Henley, John
Hesse, Fred
Hilbig, Aug.
Hoblitzel, Geo.
Hoffmann, Hy.
Hogan, John
Hook, Christian
Hubbard, Walter B.
Hubert, John
Hulgrave, A.
Hun, Michael
Hurley, John
Jacobs, Geo.
Jargon, Chas.
Kaiser, Hy.
Kaiser, Wm.
Keller, Chas.
Keller, Wm.
Kelly, Corn. A. (Fifer)
Kelly, John
Kelly, Patrick
Kelly, Thomas
Klein, Louis
Knecht, Edw. (Drummer)
Koch, Hermann
Koehler, Francis
Kornet, Fred
Kramel, Fred
Kramer, Wm.
Krauss, Frank

CONTINUED LIST.

Kuehn, August
Kuntz, Joseph
Lane, Wm.
Larkin, Thomas
Leahy, Dennis
Leary, Cornelius
Letcher, Nelson H.
Lewecke, Chas.
Lohrmann, Wm.
Lohmann, Wm.
McCarthy, J.
McClellan, Chas.
McCrelekin, Dave
McDougal, Robt.
McGiren, Jas. W.
McMillan, Jas.
McMillan, Patrick
Mack, John
Mark, Josepn
Martini, Hermann
Medart, Philip
Mehl, August
Mehl, George
Merkel, Conrad
Metzger, Emil
Meyer, Peter
Miles, John J.
Miller, Julius
Miller, Wm.
Mittendorf, David
Montgomery, Robert
Moser, Joseph
Mueller, Christ
Mueller, John
Mueller, Leo
Murphy, Morris
Myers, Edw.
Neuman, Carl L.
Neuman, Carl T.
Neumann, Wm.
Neun, Chas.
Neun, John
Neun, Hy. (Sergt.)
Neustaedter, Hy.
O'Brien, Francis
O'Brien, John
O'Brien, Richard
O'Neil, Jno. (Drummer)
Oesterling, Philip
Parson, T. T.
Paul, Fride
Pforitzer, Geo.
Phillips, Christian
Pinter, John
Presley, Peter
Priester, Baptiste
Prince, Henry
Quincy, Henry
Rane, Geo.
Raymond, John
Regner, Albert
Reichtenbach, Hugo
Reising, Anton
Reynolds, Jas.
Riley, Philip
Rittberg, Hugo
Ritterbach, Bernard
Robin, Emil
Rombauer, R. Guido, Sgt
Rone, Geo.
Ruprecht, Hugo
Ryan, Michael
Samson, Lem.
Saunders, Henry
Sausse, Charles
Schaffner, Benedict
Schafling, Albert
Schmidt, Adam
Schmidt, Henry
Schmidt, Joseph
Schnake, Fred (Sergt.)
Schramm, Louis
Schultz, Christian
Schultz, Joseph
Schwaeneck, Nic.
Seumig, Wm.
Sewing, Wm.
Shaughnessy, Patrick
Siever, Frank
Smith, Charles
Smith, Solomon
Somnia, John
Southwick, Louis C.
Steinecke, Hermann
Stepp, Carl
Stolle, Fred
Stucke, Carl
Sturgeon, Louis
Sutler, Fred
Sluter, Fred
Tappe, Hy.
Taylor, Wm.
Theby, Jacob
Thomas, Fred
Toohey, Timothy (Fifer)
Turner, Hy.
Ude, Geo.
Van Broeck, Fred
Van Broeck, Hy.
Vogel, Victor
Volk, Fred
Volkmeier, Clemens
Volmar, Louis
Walter, Hy.
Ward, Patrick
Warner, Allen L.
Watson, Fred
Weber, Alonzo W.
Weiden, Aug.
Weil, Philip
Wenzel, John
Wernairt, Carllow
Wheeling, Jos.
Wheeler, L. J.
Wherman, Hy.
Whitly, Thomas
Wiegand, Henry
Wilde, F.
Williams, Chas.
Wilson, Hy.
Woodruff, Arch. (Corporal)
Zanadill, W. C.
Zwadell, W. C.
Zeller, Chas.
Zurflueh, Jacob

SECOND REGIMENT INFANTRY, MISSOURI VOLUNTEERS,

organized end of April by electing Henry Boernstein Colonel. It had ten Infantry and two Rifle Companies; took part in the capture of Camp Jackson and went with General Lyon to Jefferson City, where its Colonel acted as provisional Governor of Missouri. Its Companies made frequent scouts into the surrounding disaffected districts and escorted steamboats on the Missouri River. Its Rifle Companies marched with Lyon to the engagement of Boonville, took part in several skirmishes and held an important position at the battle of Wilson's Creek, under their leader, Captain Peter J. Osterhaus, where, with the First Missouri Volunteers, they bore the brunt of the battle. The Regiment reorganized for three years' service September 10, 1861, under Colonel Friedrich Schaefer. With the exception of 3½ per cent, the Regiment was constituted entirely of Germans.

In the following lists the men of Company "A" and "A" Rifle, and those of "B" and "B" Rifle, are, according to best accessible evidence, listed together; all told, 1,286 men formed the Regiment.

FIELD AND STAFF.

Henry Boernstein, Colonel
Frederich Schaefer, Lt.-Colonel
Bernard Laibold, Major
Ernst Schmidt, Surgeon
Charles Cook, Asst Surgeon
G. G. Lyon, Asst. Surgeon
Julius Windsbecker, Adjutant
Phil Schmitt, Quartermaster
Chas. Boernstein, Sergt. Major
Adolph Pfau, Quartermaster Sergt.

Band.

Boehm, Christoph
Eckhardt, Frank
Eckhardt, Wm
Gecks, Frank
Gushing, George
Hachler, Fred
Kathrinus, August
Kiesewetter, Chas.
Kohlauf, Christian
Kohlauf, Fred
Myer, Chas
Myer, Wm.
Schaefer, August
Spindler, John
Stuck, Jacob

RIFLE COMPANY "A" AND INFANTRY COMPANY "A."

Otto Schadt, Captain.
Aug. F. Boernstein, Captain
Julius Windsbecker, 1st Lieutenant
Aug. Guentzel, 1st Lieutenant
Francis Ehrler, 2d Lieutenant
Hy. Steidle, 2d Lieutenant
Hy. F. Dietz, 1st Sergeant
Herman Cober, 1st Sergeant
John Kayser, Sergeant
Mathias Kramer, Sergeant
Louis Meuschke, Sergeant
Christian Mueller, Sergeant
Alex. Pfeiffer, Sergeant
Louis Yost, Sergeant
Aug. Zerman, Sergeant
Geo. Behnsen, Corporal
John Benzel, Corporal
Geo. Constanz, Corporal
Chas. Frank, Corporal
Chas. Fuelle, Corporal
Christoph Geisler, Corporal
August Hendrich, Corporal
Wm. F. Reinecke, Corporal
Gottlieb Rose, Corporal
Anthony Zopf, Musician
Chas. Lenz, Musician
Louis Bernays, Musician

Privates.

Aberle, Jos.
Adam, John
Adam, Philipp
Ahlfeld, Chas.
Auler, Hugo
Bader, Geo.
Baier, Alb.
Balz, Fred
Bange, Hermann
Banzhof, John
Barring, Francis
Bartels, Hy.
Basse, Wm.
Bassiner, Hy.
Baumgartner, Fred.
Behrends, John
Beiersdorfer, John
Benz, William
Berg, Jacob
Benthe, Gustav
Bigler, Joseph
Bild, Herman
Bleuel, Albert
Bohning, David
Bonz, Aug.
Borghard, Chas.
Borghard, Louis
Brandeis, Aug.
Braun, Henry
Brehmer, Christ
Buechel, Herm.
Bunning, Geo.
Burkamp, Aug.
Burkhardt, Jacob
Burmeister, Wm.
Cherouny, Hy.
Dietz, Francois
Eb, Frank
Ebert, Adolph
Eppler, Martin
Fassmann, John
Felix, John
Feuerbacher, Michel
Finger, Louis
Fink, Jacob
Fischer, Wm.
Fohrenbach, John
Frank, Aug.
Fuchs, Fred
Fuchs, Hy.
Fuller, Wm.
Gallagher, Francois
Gotselig, Francois
Graenzenberg, Herm.
Gross, Michel
Gruetzmann, Edw.
Gruenewalder, John
Hain, Aug.
Hansenburg, Francois
Hark, Wm.
Hartmann, Chas.
Harris, Hy.
Hartmann, Fred
Hartmann, Chas.
Hasser, Geo.
Hauser, Chas.
Hecht, Martin
Heilmann, Moritz
Heim, Wm.
Hellwig, Hy.
Henry, Louis
Hesse, Louis
Hirth, Valentin
Hoffmann, John
Hugo, Fred
Jackmann, Anton
Jogerst, Basilius
Jung, Peter
Kaltwasser, Louis
Keller, Peter
Kist, Adolphus
Klein, Theodor
Kling, Fred
Knoche, Aug.

RIFLE COMPANY "A" AND INFANTRY COMPANY "A".—*Con't.*

Kohler, Richard
Koster, Claus
Krause, Theo.
Krehmeier, Chas.
Kuehner, Wm.
Kurz, Ferdinand
Kreuter, Edward
Kreuter, Ferdinand
Kreuter, Henry
Lachner, Mathias
Lavale, Wm.
Lebbing, Herman
Lipps, Anton
Lipps, Tobias
Lochbuehler, Michael
Lochmeier, Aug.
Lory, Nicolaus
Luipoldt, Martin
Lupking, Peter
Malter, J. B.
Marks, Geo. B.
Martini, Wm.
Mayer, Claus
Mayer, Felix
Mayer, Fred
Mehlmann, Hy.
Meiffarth, Christoph
Menerich, Francois
Mennerich, Wm.
Meuschke, Louis
Mettbuch, Albert
Michel, Fred
Neuberth, Chas.
Nudson, John
Obrecht, Val.
Ott, Christian
Palmer, Otto
Pausch, Geo.
Pausch, John
Pettenpohl, Chas.
Pfau, Gustav Ad.
Pfeiffer, Peter
Pfluger, Adolph
Pharo, John
Pins, Hy
Pohlmann, Wm.
Rau, Nicolaus
Reed, Wm.
Reidel, John
Reinhard, Hy.
Reinken, John
Roesch, Otto
Rohrdanz, John
Rolfling, Louis
Romer, Hermann
Rolt, Anton
Reif, Jacques
Rumelin, Ferdinand
Ruppert, John
Ruprecht, Martin
Sante, Ferdinand
Schakel, Chas.
Schaumberg, Albert
Schuermann, Wolberth
Schlichter, John
Schmidt, Anton
Schmidt, Chas.
Schmieder, Stephan
Schnoerzle, Josiah
Schoenewolf, Wm.
Schorback, Emil
Schroeder, Ernst
Schwartz, Hy.
Segbarth, John
Siebert, Chas. 1
Siebert, Chas. 2
Stock, Hy.
Stoeker, Wm.
Sommers, Valentin
Spahn, August
Steinberg, James
Stirner, Frederick
Struble, Christoph
Sturm, Edward
Swind, John
Teusel, Hy.
Thompson, Christian
Trampenau, Theo.
Uhlig, George
Volker, Valentine
Waal, Chas.
Waaser, Jacob
Wagner, Adolph
Wagner, Geo.
Walter, Fred
Walter, John
Wedekind, Fred
Wehr, Fred
Wehle, Aug.
Wehrfritz, Hugo
Weidling, Theo.
Wenzel, John
Wenzel, Walker
Widner, Hy.
Wiesner, Louis
Wilson, Friderich
Winkler, Geo.
Wolff, Gustav
Wunsch, Hy.
Zacher, Christian
Zils, Lorenz
Zimmerman, John

RIFLE COMPANY "B" AND INFANTRY COMPANY "B."

Peter J. Osterhaus, Captain
Franz Kohr, Captain
George Weckherlin, Captain
Const. Von Haeseler, 1st Lieutenant
Fred Munger, 1st Lieutenant
Theo. Weller, 2d Lieutenant
John N. Auer, 2d Lieutenant
John Robert Kunz, 1st Sergeant
Jacob Kiburz, 1st Sergeant
Gustav Lightfoot, Sergeant
Louis Massow, Sergeant
Chas. Sarstedt, Sergeant
Christ. Schifferling, Sergeant
Anton Tanner, Sergeant
Wm. Volk, Sergeant
Rud. Feichert, Corporal
Jacob Kunz, Corporal
Adam Lonnert, Corporal
Chas. G. Maier, Corporal
John Meyer, Corporal
Rudolph Teichert, Corporal
Geo. Theby, Corporal
Herman Loehr, Musician
Fred Kierber, Musician
Johann Karb, Musician

Privates.

Ahlfeld, Louis
Auer, Theo.
Bader, Phil.
Baer, Ulrich
Becker, Andreas
Beger, August
Behre, Geo.
Bem, John
Bender, Ignatz
Bender, Valentin
Bergman, Peter
Bernhard, Fred
Bickmaier, Christ
Binninger, Geo.
Bircher, Rudolph
Biernstiel, Conrad
Borne, Henry
Braun, Jos.
Braunsteiner, Nic.
Brehmer, Fred
Breimfleck, Jos.
Breitenstein, Fred
Brosmer, John
Buchner, Geo.
Buck, Willibald
Buechly, John
Burgatzi, Sigmund
Burschell, Hy.
Conradi, John
Daiss, Wm.
Dalmer, Ben
Danner, Leopold
Detwyler, Jacob
Dewald, Nicolas
Doering, Carl
Durkes, Peter
Durnbach, Louis
Eggers, Christ
Eggert, Hy.
Eiss, Fred
Erxleben, Chas.
Fiege, Christian
Finke, Jacob
Fischer, Hy.
Fischer, John
Forst, John
Freyer, Hugo
Fritsche, Fred
Funk, Geo.
Ganahl, Christian
Ganahl, Conrad
Ganahl, Joseph
Geiger, Joseph
Gerardi, Peter
Godt, Chas.
Goetze, Adolph
Grote, Hy.
Haacke, Ernst
Hange, Hy.
Hardinger, Lorenz
Hanstein, John
Hardwig, Aug.
Hartle, Ignatz
Hasewander, Elias
Heinzmann, Jos.
Henkhaus, Hy.
Herzog, Dewald
Heynauer, John
Hilke, Wm.
Hoffman, Jacob
Horman, Theodore
Hunnicke, Johann
Hunnicke, Julius
Hunziker, John
Iberger, Theo.
Jacoby, Peter
Kaiser, Jacob
Kaldekiewitz, Franz
Kast, Adolph
Klein, John
Kline, Hy.
Klute, Fred
Kollmeyer, Louis
Kollmeyer, Theo.
Kollmeyer, Wm.
Kors, Nicolaus
Kramm, Edward

RIFLE COMPANY "B" AND INFANTRY COMPANY "B".—*Con't.*

Privates.

Krapp, George
Kriel, Martin
Kuhneman, Fritz
Kunz, Fred
Kunz, Jacob
Kunz, Wm.
Kunzler, Franz
Kurr, Hy.
Kusel, Friede
Lampe, Carl
Landsberger, Wolf
Lauer, Chas.
Lehman, Christ
Leichsering, Chas.
Lempke, Edw.
Lenher, Anton
Lenher, Edw.
Leu, Peter
Lisch, Jacob
Lohrum, Peter
Maier, Joseph
Mainhardt, Robt.
Marbeth, Jos.
Melzdorf, Anton
Miller, Albert
Miller, John
Mink, John
Mohr, Anton
Morris, Adolph
Morsheimer, Franz
Mueller, Bernhard
Mueller, Chas.
Mueller, Franz
Mueller, John Fred
Mussmann, Hy.
Nagel, Conrad
Ney, Peter
Nordhaus, Bernhard
Otto, Adolpn
Peters, Chas.
Petzhold, Chas.
Popp, Geo.
Rammelsdoerfer, Fr.
Rehm, Geo.
Reinhard, Valentin
Reiser, Jos.
Ricksner, Chas.
Rink, Wm.
Rodenwald, Edw.
Roh, Jos.
Rudolph, Ad.
Rueckem, Wm.
Ruppert, Gottlieb
Rust, Fritz
Salardin, Aug.
Schalter, Adam
Schellenberger, Christ
Schirmer, Jos.
Schlager, Jacob
Schleer, Moritz
Schmidt, Chas.
Schmitter, Jacob
Scholdt, John
Schumacher, John
Schulz, Louis
Semmelbrogge, Chas.
Sheby, Geo.
Siebenmann, Ferd.
Siebenmann, Chas.
Spencer, Bernhard
Steger, Franz
Steils, Mathias
Stockinger, Adam
Strumph, Wm.
Szweschke, Franz
Teske, Aug.
Tonnies, Aug.
Trabant, John
Voelkel, Nicolas
Vollmer, John
Wagner, Hy.
Wagner, Hy. Wm.
Wahl, Paul
Weber, John
Weckherlin, Fritz
Wenzel, Walter
Werley, John
Wessner, Lorenz
Wetke, Chas.
Wiesian, Aug.
Wilte, Wm. A.
Wolf, Israel
Wolfram, Carl
Woodley, Fred
Wuismer, Geo.
Wuertele, Phil.
Yennicke, Hy.
Zimmerman, John

COMPANY C.

Herman Bendel, Captain
Julius Sauer, 1st Lieutenant
John F. Wielandy, 2d Lieutenant
Aug. Gramme, 1st Sergeant
Chas. Doerge, Sergeant
John Heitz, Sergeant
Louis Leysaht, Sergeant
Wm. Stucke, Sergeant
Adolph Busse, Corporal
John Hauck, Corporal
Edw. Hunt, Corporal
Louis Mohr, Corporal
Louis Knorr, Musician

Privates.

Adler, Fred
Albrecht, Michael
Ambeyer, Jacob
Amsler, Jos.
Anslyn, Jac. H.
Arendt, Fred
Bauer, Wendel
Bechstein, Fred
Beimbauer, Chas.
Bergdorf, Ant.
Bestmann, H.
Bier, Gustav
Biermann, Fred
Biermann, Wm.
Blentz, Adam
Braun, Fritz
Braun, Jacob
Brendel, Michel
Bringer, Hy.
Brueggemann, Hy.
Bucheit, Michel
Carstedt, Chas.
Clement, Michel
Dirnberger, Wm.
Dude, Geo.
Durolf, Hy.
Eckhardt, Edw.
Eickelmann, Martin
England, John
Finck, Wm.
Flack, Peter
Frey, Jos.
Fricke, Christian
Fruet, John
Fuchs, Chas.
Giese, Hy.
Graff, Jacob
Guenther, Jos.
Hacke, Fred
Haeper, Ferd.
Hanhart, David
Hehr, Geo.
Heiness, John
Heinze, Herman
Hellner, Edw.
Hemmel, Wm.
Herzog, Emil
Heuer, Louis
Hiller, Wm.
Holliday, Edw.
Holtz, Herman
Huffmann, Albert
Huskamp, Aug.
Jaenger, Wm.
Juncker, Fritz
Kemp, John
Klein, John
Koch, Christian
Kuhs, Chas.
Kreutz, Peter
Laner, Anton
Lannert, John
Leibschuetz, Ad.
Mann, John
May, Martin
Meyer, Chas.
Meyer, Wm.
Minder, Hy.
Nollmann, Fred
Orth, Gustav
Peters, Hy.
Branil, Anton
Rein, Anton
Reinagel, Christian
Rodeman, Chas. Dave
Roeple, Michael
Rohlfing, Hy.
Roth, Felix
Schaefer, Hy.
Schander, John
Schanstein, Fred
Scheuhenk, Dave
Schlacht, Hy.
Schmidt, Jonn
Schneider, John A.
Schumann, Wm.
Schwartz, Fritz
Sevener, Martin
Stabener, Michael
Standenraus, Jos.
Stucke, Wm.
Tehmer, Aloys
Trautmann, Chas.
Trost, Leopold
Vogt, George
Wagner, Max
Werner, Paul
Weslhausen, Wm.
Wilbese, Jos.

COMPANY D.

Theo. Trauernicht, Captain
Gustav Boernstein, 1st Lieutenant
Herman Hartmann, 2d Lieutenant
Wm. Bergen, 1st Sergeant
Walther Hoppe, Sergeant
Julius Most, Sergeant
Albert Tomps, Sergeant
Ferdinand Kuss, Corporal
Louis Leisert, Corporal
Wm. Staabs, Corporal
Louis Wortmann, Corporal
Wm. Stroemer, Musician
Theo. Hemper, Musician

Privates.

Altgeier, Wm.
Bauch, John
Beck, Louis
Beehler, Fred
Beiser, Jos.
Biedermann, J. B.
Biedermann, J. R.
Blum, Jos.
Bornlitz, Fred
Brecht, Otto
Bullier, Michel
Christmann, Andr.
Conrades, Christian
Diesing, Jacob
Endres, Fred
Fischer, Anton
Frank, Chas.
Freese, Hy.
Frey, Jacob
Fritz, Jacob
Goesling, Wm.
Gruhn, John
Gusching, A. E.
Hahn, Fred
Hampe, Hy.
Hannecke, Wm.
Hansen, John
Heidtmann, Albert
Hellmert, Anton
Hellwig, Louis
Herkner, Christ
Hesse, Herman
Hoffmann, Geo.
Hoffman, John
Illig, Gustav
Illig, Wm.
Jaeger, Hy.
Kansenbach, Wm.
Kirchhoff, Christian
Klarner, Julius
Knappe, Chas.
Koehle, Hy.
Koehler, Hy.
Koehnemann, Fred
Kolb, Philip
Kornbrink, Ebert
Kramme, Wm.
Krueger, Aug.
Kuner, Jos.
Kuelger, John
Kuester, Emanuel
Lob, Julius
Lohmann, John
Ludwig, Chas.
Mennerich, Hy.
Meusching, Fred
Mogle, Allen
Mueller, John
Niemeier, Ernst
Ninas, Emil
Noese, John
Obermeier, Frank
Obuch, Wm.
Ossmann, Fred
Ossmann, Wm.
Pfister, Peter
Pick, John
Pick, Moritz
Preis, Fred
Rademacher, John
Rader, Christ
Ramakers, Hubert
Rade, Hy.
Reitz, Jacob
Roger, Jos.
Rollers, Mathias
Rollers, Chas.
Rommelitz, Fred
Rueter, Hy.
Rupp, Chas.
Schiebler, John C.
Schlegel, Emil
Schmidt, Fred
Schmidt, John
Schneider, Anton
Schmitzius, Julius
Schmitzius, Peter
Schwab, John
Schweninger, Stephen
Spaeth, Aug.
Strube, Hy.
Tinke, Hy.
Trauernicht, Hy.
Trocke, Herman
Tubke, Geo. H.
Uedinger, Philip
Vehrmann, Hy.
Wall, Jacob
Wehrle, John
Wiemann, Albert
Winter, Herman
Woltje, Wm.
Zehren, Peter

COMPANY E.

John Jaeklin, Captain
Ulrich Schwendener, 1st Lieutenant
John B. Huber, 2d Lieutenant
Math. Marschall, 1st Sergeant
Archie B. Freeburn, Sergeant
Geo. P. Kaiser, Sergeant
John Hirz, Sergeant
Barnhart Meier, Sergeant
Geo. Constans, Corporal
Adam Ranft, Corporal
Chas. Thery, Corporal
Julius Wagner, Corporal
Louis Walter, Musician
Chas. Lanz, Musician
Ludwig Iselhardt, Musician

Privates.

Alfeld, Chas.
Arendt, Fred
Baltz, Fred
Bange, Herman
Bassart, Daniel
Becker, Philipp
Behringer, Ernst
Berg, Frederick
Berkemeier, Herman
Bernhard, Peter
Bertheimer, H.
Beyer, Louis
Blesing, Godfred
Bohn, Chas.
Bolliger, Rud.
Bremer, Christ
Brueggeman, Hy.
Carstens, Alex
Doernberger, Wm.
Ebert, Adolph
Erne, Adam
Eikelman, Michel
Eiseler, Vincenz
Feldman, Hy.
Fleck, Peter
Flink, Joseph
Geiser, Samuel
Gerber, Christian
Graff, Jacob
Greiner, Conrad
Gubser, John
Halweis, Herman
Hambach, Jacob
Hanhard, David
Hark, Wm.
Haupt, Guenther
Hellner, Fred
Heser, Fred
Hesse, Christian
Hitzing, Wm.
Hoffman, Geo.
Hoffman, Herman
Indemark, Hy.
Jenner, John
Kahn, Bernhard
Kamdri, Fritz
Keller, John
Klein, John Martin
Kohler, Richard
Kreider, Andreas
Kremer, Hy.
Krety, Ferdinand
Krieg, Joseph
Lebbing, Herman
Leupp, Jacob
Leuthold, Valentin
Mannebach, Geo.
Meier, Aug.
Meinhold, Hy.
Mettbach, Albert
Meyer, Wm.
Mogge, Conrad
Mueller, Julius
Nemenich, J. D.
Noll, Wendelin
Pfalzgraff, Geo.
Pohlmann, Wm.
Posshardt, Daniel
Praseel, Anthony
Proske, John Julius
Proske, Louis
Ramther, Fritz
Reiner, Christoph
Reiner, David
Remer, Gottlieb
Reusch, Fred
Ried, John
Roeder, John
Rotty, Anthony
Sallenbach, John
Schauenberg, Ferd.
Scheven, Adolph
Schlichter, John
Schmidt, Edward
Schmitt, Wm.
Schmitt, Frank
Schneider, John
Schroeder, Wm.
Seewald, Franz
Seligman, Valentine
Semper, August
Siebke, Wm.
Sohn, Conrad
Spriesterbach, Wm.
Stabenow, Fred
Stender, Fred
Sterner, Chas.
Stockhammer, Ferd.
Stopp, Peter
Strassburger, Jacob
Tonnelly, Franz
Uhlig, Geo.
Walsh, Daniel
Weiffenbach, Wm.
Wiesinger, John
Willeboorse, Jac.
Winkeler, Bernhard
Wittmer, John
Wunsch, Joseph

COMPANY F.

Emil Rebhan, Captain
Jacob Straub, 1st Lieutenant
Gustav Lueckelmann, 2d Lieutenant
Chas Eichler, Sergeant
Conrad Soehlmann, Sergeant
Gottlieb Stoermer, Sergeant
Fred Thomas, Sergeant
Hy. Brown, Corporal
Geo. Ingold, Corporal
Wm. Rapp, Corporal
Martin Schroeder, Corporal
Chas. Lanz, Musician

Privates.

Adam, John
Acker, Fred
Bauer, Christian
Beck, Friedrich
Becker, John Wm.
Bernhardt, Christian
Bloenaker, Hy.
Bock, Carl
Brendel, Michael
Brockmeyer, Hy.
Brucker, Albert
Buchenau, John
Cort, Gotthold
Dohmer, Alois
Ebert, Fred
Ehrler, Fred
Ellmerich, Peter
Etter, John
Fausel, Chas.
Feuerstein, Jacob
Ficker, Gustav Adolph
Fischer, Hy.
Foltag, John
Frasch, Fred
Freiberg, Hy.
Frohs, Michael
Gaertner, Phil
Gautenbein, Christ
Grassmuck, Conrad
Grether, Wm.
Haffner, John
Hannan, John
Hartman, Geo.
Hartnecker, Hy.
Hesse, Hy.
Ittel, John
Jecko, Peter
Kahn, Isidor
Kaesehagen, Aug.
Kempf, Hy.
Klein, Louis
Klose, Chas.
Kniffel, Robt.
Krumholtz, Mathias
Kuhn, Francis Jos.
Kumpf, Louis
Langenbecker, Fred
Leach, Aug.
Leeker, Aug.
Leussler, Robt.
Linde, John
Loehle, Chas.
Lorenz, Hy.
Luhr, Fred
Metzger, Hy.
Miller, Daniel
Morris, Wm.
Otto, Heinrich
Pausch, Geo.
Peterson, Wm.
Pfauentz, Chas.
Rattemeyer, Hy.
Ratz, John
Rhein, Daniel
Robins, Rufus
Rose, Wm.
Ruf, John
Ruf, Stephan
Ryan, Edmund
Scherman, Wm.
Schlittenhardt, Louis
Schmidt, Aloys
Schneider, Anton
Schnelle, Diedrich
Schopp, Philip
Steiner, Joseph
Stenzel, Otto
Strubbe, Fred
Struckmann, Otto
Stuhahn, Aug.
Sulter, Sigismund
Sybertz, Joseph
Thoermer, G. B.
Triner, Jos.
Volz, Philip
Voss, John
Walldorf, Jacob
Wetzel, Frank
Wich, John
Wilbert, Suberturn
Wilson, Chas.
Wimesdorfer, Jos.
Wissing, George
Worms, Christian
Zobel, Chas.

COMPANY G.

Ernst Pfaff, Captain
Fred Wm. Weber, 1st Lieutenant
Clemens Landgraeber, 2d Lieutenant
Fritz Dinkelmann, 1st Sergeant
John Klein, Sergeant
Hy. Kraemer, Sergeant
John Shipper, Sergeant
Hy. Drees, Corporal
S. Hirlinger, Corporal
Chas. Lieder, Corporal
Theo. Wunderlich, Corporal
Christoph Oblinger, Musician

Privates.

Alberstadt, Fritz
Althof, Fritz
Alwer, Phil
Beckmann, Gottlieb
Bender, Peter
Berberich, Chas.
Berg, Jacob
Bockhof, Theo.
Boone, Frank
Bosh, Aug.
Bredemaier, Fritz
Bree, Simon
Bremser, Phil
Dahmke, Chas.
Deglow, Robt
Dettwiller, Herman
Fell, Michael
Feuerbacher, Michael
Flaick, Mathew
Foerster, John M.
Fuehrer, Fritz
Gabler, Alexander
Gaebler, Chas.
Gehrke, Bernhard
Grothaus, Chas.
Gueltemaier, Chas.
Hager, Fritz
Hahn, Hy.
Haimann, Hermann
Harrer, Geo.
Hase, Peter
Heil, Louis
Henkelbein, John
Hildebrandt, Peter
Kelling, Fred
Kempt, Andrew
Kenz, Andrew
Kenz, Chas.
Kling, Fritz
Koehler, John
Koenig, Gallus
Kraft, Phil
Kreuter, Edw.
Kreuter, Hy.
Kuhn, Michael
Lips, Anton
Lohmer, Peter
Lorenz, Pius
Lutz, Jacob
Miller, Herman
Miller, Peter
Moeller, John
Odrich, Chas.
Ott, Ferdinand
Priesmaier, Fritz
Schaaf, John
Schainemann, Aug.
Schmidt, Norman J.
Schubert, Christian
Schuette, Fritz
Schueler, Balthasar
Schwarz, Emil
Selig, Sam. S.
Swertmann, Herman
Spilker, Hermann
Struebing, Chas.
Schwab, Michael
Tempelmann, Sam.
Toebbe, Hy.
Vollert, Peter
Wagenbrett, Chas.
Walter, Jacob
Werner, Chas.
Werner, Edw.
Wiere, Fred
Wolf, Chas.
Worheide, John
Ziegler, Jacob

COMPANY H.

Hy. Landfried, Captain
Philip Wild, 1st Lieutenant
Chas. Mueller, 2d Lieutenant
Fred Jaensch, 1st Sergeant
Cas. Deyhle, Sergeant
Chas. Mueller, Sergeant
Wm. Sachse, Sergeant
Michael Deger, Corporal
Hy. Hutzfeld, Corporal
Fred Lenderking, Corporal
Jacob Schiess, Corporal
Valentin Deigler, Musician

Privates.

Bamberger, Jos.
Bartels, Anthony
Bartmann, Anthony
Berger, Fred
Berges, George
Bertrand, Peter
Beyer, Albert
Born, Wm.
Burkhart, Jac.
Dechler, Herman
Demorest, Cornelius
Dinges, Geo.
Dremeyer, Geo.
Eggemann, Herman
Enderle, David
Ettling, Werner
Fauth, Jacob
Figlang, Jacob
Fritz, Jos.
Fuchs, Lewis
Gahle, Hy.
Gaus, John
Gaus, Nicolas
Gebert, Theo.
Graentzenberg, Herman
Gritzmann, Edw.
Hammel, Fred
Hanf, Edw.
Hart, Sam.
Hauser, Julius
Haverkamp, Fred
Haverkamp, Hy.
Hecht, Martin
Heeman, Aug.
Heilman, Moritz
Henley, Steven
Hennel, John
Herbes, Theo.
Hinkelbein, Phil.
Hoffman, Conrad
Hull, Bernard
Ihms, Hy.
Kaebel, Jacob
Kaminsky, Jos.
Kehlenbring, Herman
Kessler, Gustav
Kleemann, Aug.
Koch, Herman
Kossmann, Isidor
Kunth, Leopold
Langlot, Daniel
Lubking, Peter
Luibold, Martin
Maurer, Jacob
Meyer, Hy.
Meyer, John
Moes, Jos.
Obrecht, Valentin
Offenhaeuser, John
Pauli, Wm.
Pestrup, Hy.
Ploen, Marcus
Rader, Bernard
Raum, Louis
Riebel, Andrew
Rollberg, John
Rudolf, Ferdinand
Sachse, Chas.
Sand, George
Scheuerman, Vollrath
Schleider, Alfred
Schleifarth, Paul
Schmidt, Gottfried
Schnatz, Adam
Schuchardt, Wm.
Schwab, Hy.
Seager, Wm.
Seymour, Jos.
Speiser, Jacob
Spohn, Aug.
Surubert, John
Ulrich, Hy.
Valter, John
Wehrfritz, Hugo
Weibert, John Chas.
Weigel, Andreas
Weiger, Joseph
Weiss, Gottfried
Werborn, Fred
Zoll, John

COMPANY I.

Benedict Schultz, Captain
Hy. Klurek, 1st Lieutenant
Christian Burkhard, 2d Lieutenant
Adolph Meyer, 1st Sergeant
Leopold Arndt, Sergeant
Wm. Meier, Sergeant
Aug. Schuler, Sergeant
John Bencel, Corporal
Martin Eberle, Corporal
Jacob Wagner, Corporal
Fred Wetzel, Corporal

Privates.

Bassinsky, Hy.
Benneke, Theo.
Benz, Wm.
Bichler, Alex
Blum, Geo.
Bolding, John
Brandler, Chas.
Brunkhaus, Hy.
De Werf, Hy.
Doran, Patrick
Eb, Frank
Fehrenbach, John
Felix, John
Fischer, John
Fischer, Wm.
Fricker, Christ.
Frombach, John
Gositer, Herman
Graf, Stephan
Grotz, Stephan
Gurius, Fritz
Haffner, Christ.
Heim, Aug.
Hertzog, Paul
Hirsch, Anton
Hirdt, Valentin
Huhn, John
Humpke, Leopold
Jung, Peter
Junger, Wm.
Kadel, Nicolas
Klaeges, Hy.
Kracker, Andrew
Kracker, Anton
Lohrum, John
Luhban, Christian
Malter, John B.
Mischler, Peter
Moritz, Peter
Mueller, Christian
Ochs, Anton
Oberle, John
Rau, Nicolas
Reed, Wm.
Reinagel, Martin
Reinhard, Hy.
Riedel, Phil.
Roos, Jacob
Roteck, Ferdinand
Schaefer, Aug.
Schaerer, Andrew
Schlaf, Peter
Schmalz, Geo.
Schmidt, Chas. I.
Schmidt, Chas. II.
Schmidt, Chas. III.
Schoen, Chas.
Schonewoll, Wm.
Schrodt, Adam
Schweitzer, Martin
Sommers, Valentin
Sommers, Wm.
Sorber, Fred
Stein, Bernhard
Strobel, Chas.
Ulmer, Gottlieb
Walter, Fred
Walter, John
Wetzel, Theo.
Wittenberg, Hy.
Wittmer, Hy.

COMPANY K.

Otto Stelzleny, Captain
Erich Hoppe, 1st Lieutenant
Nicholas Krone, 2d Lieutenant
Walter Hoppe, 1st Sergeant
Adolph Faber, Sergeant
John Hartman, Sergeant
Louis Inertel, Sergeant
Gottlieb Rose, Sergeant
Edm. Falkenstein, Corporal
Hy. Gieseker, Corporal
Aug. Kirchner, Corporal
Fred Seebach, Corporal
Andreas Schnell, Musician
Chas. Keller, Musician

Privates.

Abeln, Bernard
Althoff, Casper
Aselage, Wm.
Beckhardt, Edw.
Boeke, Aug.
Brandenburg, Ant.
Brenning, Hy.
Brockmeyer, Wm.
Buchholz, Hy.
Caspary, Wm.
Denkert, Christ.
Dettmering, Fred
Dungelt, John
Ebeling, Louis
Ehninger, Aug.
Ehninger, Aug.
Eikmann, Wm.
Eilers, Adam
Fessler, Benedict
Fiegemeyer, Anton
Fisher, Geo.
Flapp, Fred
Freistein, Hy.
Frey, Geo.
Froehlich, John
Fuller, Chas.
Gall, Chas.
Garrells, Hy.
Griffith, Wm.
Haehling, Chas.
Halzenberg, Fred
Hans, Peter
Hans, Wm.
Heberle, John
Heisser, John
Heitzmann, Wendelin
Henn, Ernest
Hirner, Fred
Hoefer, Paul
Hoelzke, Hy.
Huter, Geo.
Jasper, Hy.
Kell, Chas.
Kirst, Aug.
Koch, Friederich
Kraemer, Chas.
Krome, Louis
Krumwiede, Wm.
Leber, Jacob
Link, Hy.
Linkeman, Anton
Loehr, Adolph
Loehr, Hy.
Lunghausen, Peter
Meyer, Bernhard
Meyer, Henry
Meyer, John
Mohrman, John
Morse, John
Mueller, Hy.
Priece, Louis
Rabenek, Aug.
Rader, Christian
Roepke, Christian
Roth, Chas.
Samm, Phil
Samm, Wm.
Schoenstoke, Christ.
Schulz, Casper
Sellerhoff, Hy.
Sohler, Jos.
Steininger, John
Stroke, Chas.
Struwe, Fred
Stuewe, Fred
Suttmann, Casper
Trampenau, Theo.
Waltbillig, Nic.
Waters, Geo.
Weishardt, Frank
Weyland, Anton
Wieck, Joseph
Willin, Wm.

THIRD REGIMENT INFANTRY, MISSOURI VOLUNTEERS,

was completed towards the end of April by electing Francis Sigel Colonel. It took part in the capture of Camp Jackson, protected the Pacific & Southwest Branch (present Frisco) Railroads, and took up, June 12, the expedition to the Southwest, via Rolla, Lebanon, Springfield, Neosho; turning thence northward, to join Lyon, its rear guard of two Companies was surrounded and captured. The Third and Fifth Regiments, under command of Colonel Sigel, met a large force of the enemy ten miles north of Carthage, and, after a spirited engagement, made a successful retreat, via Carthage, Sarcoxie and Mount Vernon, to Springfield. From here a portion of the Regiment returned to St. Louis on the 25th of July, under command of Lieutenant Colonel Bischoff, to be mustered out on account of expiration of term of service. The other portion of the Regiment took part in the scouts and skirmishes to the Southwest and formed, with other troops, Sigel's Column in the battle of Wilson's Creek. The Regiment returned to St. Louis August 25. Some Companies reorganized immediately, and were, on January 8, 1862, consolidated for the three years' service under Colonel Isaac F. Shepard.

The three months' Regiment had twelve Companies, two of which hailed chiefly from Belleville, Ill.

The Third Missouri Volunteers was almost completely German. It listed 1,455 men.

FIELD AND STAFF.

Francis Sigel, Colonel
Francis Hassendeubel, Lt.-Colonel
Albert Anselm, Lt.-Colonel
Henry Bischoff, Major
Gustave Heinrich, Adjutant
Sebastian Engert, Quartermaster
Ferdinand Haeussler, Surgeon
Charles Ludwig, Asst. Surgeon
John Woss, Sergeant Major
Hauck, Lieutenant, Special Aide de Camp

COMPANY A.

John Fred Cramer, Captain
Wm. Osterhorn, 1st Lieutenant
Chas. Wustney, 2d Lieutenant
Chas. Schweizer, 1st Sergeant
Chas. G. Hausman, Sergeant
John Deckelman, Sergeant
Gustav Cramer, Sergeant
John Schweig, Corporal
James Haevens, Corporal
Hy. Siepp, Corporal
Fred Kossmann, Drummer
Albert Weber, Drummer
Hy. Mueller, Fifer
Adolph Koster, Fifer

Privates.

Ahles, Louis
Armbruster, Wm.
Baielke, Frederick
Bamberger, Phillip
Bartels, August
Bauer, Alexander
Behlke, Gottlieb
Behncy, Charles
Beiser, Anton
Bender, Rudolph
Berger, Frank Paul
Bints, Jacob
Bissenger, Stephan
Bock, Theodor
Boedelbraun, Fred
Brandt, William
Brede, Jacob
Bremer, Frederick
Bugel, John
Buhrman, Chas.
Bunginer, Christ.
Cole, Frank
Collinner, Chas.
Diehl, Conrad
Dreifuss, Fred
Drialyn, Adolphus
Ellersick, Charles
Faeger, William
Farber, John
Farber, Philip
Glaser, August
Glock, Daniel 1st
Glock, Daniel 2d
Glock, Joseph
Gossen, John
Grether, John
Gronenger, George
Gunthly, John
Guthes, August
Guthman, Charles
Gutjahr, John
Hanz, Joseph
Harloff, Charles
Hassenbehler, Nic.
Hausserman, Nic.
Haverstock, John
Heick, Claus
Hemgmann, Hy.
Henkel, Fred
Herzog, Bernard
Hodston, McCauly
Hoffmann, Christ.
Hoffmann, John
Hofle, Michael
Honer, Hy.
Hoppe, Ernst
Huebner, Edward
Jeffley, Joseph
Kadisch, Christ.
Kallmeier, Gotthold
Kans, Macholas
Kloth, Joseph
Koch, Anton
Kreiter, Wm.
Laschigk, Aug.
Lath, Stephen
Lehmann, Ernst Simon
Leithold, Gebhardt
Lilly, Andreas
Loeffler, Henry
Lorenz, Jacob
Lucker, Jacob
Lugenbothe, Wm.
Mass, John
Meyer, Christ
Michael, Frederick
Michl, Adam
Miesche, Fred
Miller, Ernst
Mueller, August
Neumann, Fred
Noll, Jacob
Olbert, Jacob
Oriane, Fred
Petus, Fred
Quillisch, Wm.
Reichard, Chas.
Roecklein, Hy.
Roedgin, Fred
Roeffel, Adam
Rohman, Phil
Roth, John
Rumpf, Daniel
Rumpf, Hy.
Schaffer, Peter
Schick, Wendelin
Schlegel, Trista M.
Schmidt, Chas.
Schmidt, Jacob
Schnieder, Geo. Peter
Schocht, Fred
Schoerl, Christian
Schumacher, Geo.
Schwarz, Theodor
Schwenk, Nicolas

COMPANY A.—*Con't.*

Simons, Fred.
Sligo, Hy.
Spohr, Herman Hy.
Stautem, Fred
Steinenger, Frank
Stereiner, Caspar
Strobel, Caspar
Sturzenberg, Gustav
Tacke, John
Tacke, Joseph
Trostorff, Fred.
Uellmer, John
Ulrich, August
Vorholz, Fred.
Wartha, George
Weber, Peter
Wigand, Jacob
Wellers, Nicolas
Williams, Chas.
Woell, Peter
Zerwes, John

RIFLE COMPANY A.

Joseph Indest, Captain
Leopold Helmle, 1st Lieutenant
William Roemer, 2d Lieutenant
Fred Wolf, 1st Sergeant
August Neufang, Sergeant
Anton Blanke, Sergeant
John Steiger, Sergeant
Geo. Schills, Corporal
Wm. Stark, Corporal
John Kaiser, Corporal
Fred Benkerk, Corporal
Gustav Hug, Drummer.
Hy. Dietrich, Bugler

Privates.

Albitz, Fritz
Albrecht, Henry
Arensmann, Geo.
Arensmann, Wm.
Badena, Anton
Batterman, Gustav
Bede, John
Bieclebe, Theodor
Bieland, Samuel
Bieleck, Adam
Bierwirth, August
Bleish, Christian
Blickensdorfer, Hy.
Borocsi, Hy.
Burger, David
Burger, John
Burri, Jacob
Bussow, Chas.
Dahlmann, Jacob
Danner, Chas.
Diffany, Lorenz
Diprebris, John
Dreibus, Jacob
Ealer, Adam
Ebert, Fred
Eissele, Louis
Engasser, Herman
Engert, Sebastian
Federle, Gustav
Federle, Moss
Ferman, John
Fuhrmann, Andreas
Gerner, Geo.
Geschwend, Albert
Gramb, Hy.
Greber, Michael
Gresehbach, Aug.
Grelter, Geo.
Guenzius, Christ.
Guhlner, Wm.
Hammel, Martin
Hanisch, Christ
Hartmann, Fred.
Hauck, Louis
Hebeler, Henry
Heder, Phillip
Heine, Henry
Henning, H. K.
Hennings, Otto
Herke, Paul
Herzig, Charles
Herzog, Jacob
Herzog, John
Heyer, Joseph
Jehle, Leopold
Jericho, Louis
Johler, Louis
Joos, Jacob
Kaiser, Peter
Karsch, August
Kassamer, Mainhold
Keller, Rudolph
Kessler, John
Kellerer, George
Knoblauch, Gustav
Kribs, John
Kuehner, Alexander
Kurtz, Stephan
Leefeld, Henry
Maes, Robert
May, John
Meier, Fred.
Mueller, Frank
Mueller, John
Nebel, John

RIFLE COMPANY A.—*Con't.*

Nehung, Fred.
Neucomme, Wm.
Oelfken, Wilhelm
Pauly, Joseph
Reckenbach, John
Reckenbach, M.
Reichenroth, Ferd.
Retz, Chas.
Regemueller, Fred.
Ritter, Henry
Roemer, Henry
Rose, Henry
Rosenbach, Peter
Salzman, Fred.
Schaper, Hy.
Schaub, Conrad
Schreiner, Fred.
Schmaiden, John
Schmidt, Louis
Schmidt, W. H.
Schultz, John
Schwarz, John
Schwenkner, Julius
Segely, Mathias
Stefany, Julius
Sellenstein, Adolph
Sengenberger, Geo.
Steitz, Louis
Soll, Henry
Spengler, Fred.
Spengler, Gottfried
Springeman, Hy.
Stockes, Barthold
Tannhaeuser, Hy.
Tailleur, Christ.
Thill, Martin
Thon, Henry
Uphof, Hy.
Vogel, Fred.
Walkenfoldt, John
Walz, Joseph
Weber, Otto
Weisshaupt, Chas.
Wender, Christoph
Weren, Samuel
Wittemberg, Chas.
Wollshagen, Louis
Worth, Jacob
Woyder, John
Zumsteg, Jacob

COMPANY B.

Joseph Conrad, Captain
Wm. Mettman, 1st Lieutenant
Geo. Dambde, 2d Lieutenant
John A. Fischer, 1st Sergeant
John Mueller, Sergeant
Fred Manker, Sergeant
John G. Brossmer, Sergeant
Wm. M. Harper, Sergeant
Phillip Biermann, Corporal
Herman Flock, Corporal
August Keepart, Corporal
Fr. August Schmidt, Corporal
August Kurris, Corporal
Chas. Winkler, Drummer
Chas. Grad, Fifer
Andreas Trulleib, Fifer

Privates.

Ackermann, Peter
Anheuser, Adolph
Arneker, Jacob
Baumeier, Hy.
Bayer, John
Betz, Albert
Blank, Louis
Boehmer, Heinrich
Brandson, Theodor
Braun, Leopold
Brown, Ludwig
Brunswerman, Geo.
Dauer, Geo.
Delos, Charles
Ellsasser, Conrad
Engal, Stephan
Fiege, Edward
Fischer, Jacob
Frei, Carl
Fuss, Ludwig
Ganter, Hugo
Geier, Martin
Gent, Henry
Gerhardt, John
Geske, Gottfried
Glaser, Wm.
Glente, Hyacinth
Godehart, Moritz
Gotze, Edward
Grad, Charles
Haefle, Adolph
Hammerstadt, Val.
Hansgen, Hy.
Hardigar, Adrian
Heldmann, Wm.
Helfer, Herman
Hoesde, Carl
Hoffarth, Franz
Hoffman, August

COMPANY B.—*Con't.*

Hoffman, Peter
Hoffmann, Phil.
Holyworth, Rudolph
Hoppeler, James
Hubold, George
Jenger, John
Kaeppe, August
Kafner, Caspar
Keistner, Hyeronim
Kemb, Fred
Kintorp, John
Kleine, Fred.
Kleinschmidt, Wm.
Klen, Fred. 1
Klen, Fred. 2
Klentz, Wm. 1
Klentz, Wm. 2
Koch, John 1
Koch, John 2
Kress, Nicolaus
Kromer, Michael
Kruse, Jacob
Kurrus, Herman
Kulten, John
Kuttler, Herman
Lang, George
Lange, Conrad
Lange, Fritz A.
Langewieschke, Jul.
Law, Gottfried
Maesch, Fred.
Mahr, Markins
Mathias, Henry
May, Jacob
Meyer, Fred.
Meyer, Henry
Meyer, Thomas
Michel, Charles
Mische, Fred.
Moi, Nicolas
Mueller, Adolph
Mueller, Carl
Mueller, Ernst
Mueller, Rudolph
Neubert, Hy.
Nickels, Wm.
Niemann, Geo.
Otto, John
Paffman, Geo.
Pfeiffer, Gottlieb
Phillip, Edw.
Rapp, Carl
Reuter, Charles
Rickert, John
Riegel, John
Rodemeier, Peter
Rotermund, Fred.
Runnemeln, Jos.
Rust, Herman
Schalick, August
Schlefke, Gustav
Schlitzberger, Louis
Schmidt, Hy. 1
Schmidt, Hy. 2
Schmidt, Hy. W.
Schmidt, John
Schoffer, Peter
Schuetzel, Andreas
Schultz, Wm. Jos.
Schulze, Robert
Seewald, John
Sellinter, Andreas
Soll, Henry
Speck, Jacob
Stabler, Peter
Stern, Joseph
Stoffler, John
Stricke, Hy.
Studer, Jos.
Thene, Geo.
Thomas, Fred.
Tischer, Herman
Trandrupp, Hy.
Volk, Conrad
Wallback, Albert
Waldweiler, John
Walkenfordt, Herman
Wasthus, Theodor
Weber, Henry
Wernse, Albert
Welts, John
Wetzel, August
Wetzel, Wm.
Winkler, Jos.
Wittenberg, Chas.
Zindel, Franz

RIFLE COMPANY B.

Henry Zeis, Captain
Joseph Fries, 1st Lieutenant
Peter Stever, 2d Lieutenant
Gustav Vohlman, 1st Sergeant
John Meyer, Sergeant
Phillip Kemp, Sergeant
Henry Schwarnaider, Sergeant
Joseph Hell, Corporal
Henry Hartman, Corporal
Gustav Ulrich, Corporal
Frederick Beck, Corporal
Michael Beschel, Musician
Ernest Hokel, Musician

RIFLE COMPANY B.—*Con't.*

Privates.

Ackermann, John
Altschuh, Phil
Bangar, Jos.
Bangen, Ambrose
Bauer, Louis
Baumann, John
Beir, Henry
Berneck, John
Bertz, Hy.
Birkenholtz, Franz
Bohne, Martin
Borgemann, Martin
Brasch, Henry 1
Brasch, Henry 2
Breitbeil, Caspar
Brynn, August
Bugler, Jacob
Busche, Fer.
Damot, Herman
Diedrich, Caspar
Dieterman, Jacob
Dietrich, Phillip
Drevis, Casimir
Dritschler, Phil.
Dude, Moritz
Eisenberger, Caspar
Fess, John
Fischer, August
Fischer, Henry
Fischer, Frederick
Flitsch, Jacob
Flitsch, John
Franke, Herman
Feuerstein, Geo.
Frey, Joseph
Friederich, Paul
Fuchs, Adam
Gatz, Francis
Geiger, Jean
Geisgen, Fred.
Goeher, Jacob
Grebe, Adam
Haack, Edward
Haas, Max
Haemerle, Caspar
Haeser, Lorenz
Hammer, Anton
Hammer, Nicolas
Hardalein, Hy.
Harr, Jacob
Hensler, Michael
Herter, Jacob
Hoffarth, George
Hoffmann, Francis
Hoffman, Jacob
Hohn, Phillip
Hoof, Phillip
Hubrecht, Jean
Huck, Ferd.
Infeld, Christ.
Kahn, Wm.
Kehle, Christ.
Kelle, Caspar
Kempf, John
Kleine, Adam
Klung, Daniel
Knaupper, Geo.
Knopp, William
Koch, Frederick
Koch, Henry
Koch, Kelom
Krein, Peter
Kuettler, Herman
Laib, John
Lamperman, B.
Lang, Louis
Lohrenzen, Xavier
Lorane, Jean
Lortz, John
Ludwig, Francis
McCabe, Patrick
Manger, Jacob
Marks, John
Marks, Levi
Markwart, Herman
May, Charles
Mayer, Francis
Mayer, Joseph
Miller, Wm.
Mueller, Conrad
Nebb, Phillip
Neisen, John
Redman, Wm.
Reimer, August
Reinschmidt, Chas.
Reiter, John
Remmert, Albert
Reppich, Christ.
Roos, Lorenz
Roth, George
Salfeld, Louis
Sander, Emanuel
Santo, Otto
Schaefler, Francis
Scheppert, Aug.
Schiller, Julius
Schilling, John 1
Schilling, John 2
Schlusselez, Elmo
Schmidt, John
Schmidt, Julius
Schmidt, Valentin
Schmidt, Wm.
Schneider, Samuel
Schreiber, Henry
Seifert, Moritz
Sickenzen, John
Simon, Bernhardt
Stork, Henry
Stengele, Marcy
Streits, Thomas
Surmann, Henry
Templer, Jacob
Thomas, Henry
Vochel, Conrad
Wachtel, John
Wachter, John
Wagener, Louis
Walter, Conrad
Walter, John
Walton, Theodor
Weir, Adolph
Woehrle, Henry
Wolf, George
Wullupp, Jacob
Zerbach, Joseph

COMPANY C.

Jacob Hartmann, Captain
Henry Bischoff, 1st Lieutenant
Zacharias Heckenlauer, 2d Lieutenant
Christopher Mayer, 1st Sergeant
George Buschman, Sergeant
Henry Dietrich, Sergeant
Frank Hedjergott, Corporal
Hy. Heidermayer, Corporal
Andreas Wachter, Corporal
Henry Busching, Corporal
John Engelhardt, Musician
Carl Weil, Musician

Privates.

Anschuetz, Aug.
Backhaus, Caspar
Baronovsky, Frank
Barth, Robert
Baumgartner, Theo.
Baumeyer, Henry
Beck, John
Beckman, Henry
Berger, Charles
Bernal, Michael
Beumer, Caspar
Bischoff, Louis
Blank, Joseph
Blank, Louis
Brandt, Hy.
Brasse, Hy.
Brinker, Louis
Brinkman, Hy.
Butler, John
Denkler, Wm.
Doepke, Wm.
Dressler, Fred.
Ebeler, Albert
Engel, Fred.
Engelbrecht, Wm.
Engelman, Chas.
Frein, John
Gizizky, Fred. Wm.
Glaser, Frederick
Goelpke, George
Greenekl, Louis
Hagenbach, Fred
Hansgen, Hy.
Hartung, John
Hartzig, Franz
Hasselbrink, John
Hartman, Albert
Heiligendorf, John
Heilmann, Hy.
Heinrich, Wm.
Heitz, Jacob
Hoppe, Henry
Hucknerkoff, Geo.
Hudsmann, Conrad
Kase, Henry
Kaspohl, Louis
Kins, John
Kipp, Phillip
Kliffman, Hy.
Knipper, Edward
Koener, Herman
Koos, Conrad
Krause, John
Kruger, Henry
Kuhl, William
Leiber, Christian
Leiner, Samuel
Lohman, August
Lohmeyer, Chas.
Ludes, Nicolas
Magrath, Martin
Maisch, Hubert
Mathias, Fritz
Matzer, Peter
Meltzon, August
Meyer, Henry
Meyer, John Fred
Mochster, Henry
Moritz, Henry
Mueller, August
Niekomm, Frank
Niewassner, Chas.
Nonnenkamp, Hy.
Obershelp, Phillip
Offer, Henry
Osemeyer, Fred.
Overthelp, Herman
Paern, Christian
Paulus, Peter
Pellmann, Wm.
Pepmeyer, Hy.
Plegge, Edward
Postman, Caspar
Rabunz, John
Rammers, Theodor
Regel, Hy.
Regenhard, Louis
Reinel, Fred.
Riepe, Fred.
Roskow, Fred.
Salzmann, Adolph
Schaeperkotter, Louis
Schartelmann, Hy.
Schmidt, Louis
Schmiz, John
Sellmayer, John
Spezig, Wm.
Stricker, Hy.
Tossea, Rudolph
Trentrup, Louis
Vasterling, Henry
Vollrath, Michael
Wacker, Henry
Wagemann, Louis
Wagner, John
Waismund, Chas.
Wassner, Henry
Welpot, Wm.
Woestendick, Louis
Wetzel, Louis
Wiese, William
Wiman, Simon
Wipking, John
Zahn, William
Zipp, Nicolas

COMPANY D.

August Hackman, Captain
Liberath Danner, 1st Lieutenant
Stephen Jehle, 2d Lieutenant
Charles Hager, 1st Sergeant
Wm. Schneeweis, Sergeant
John Botz, Sergeant
Charles Gieseler, Corporal
William Winkelmayer, Corporal
Frederick Simon, Corporal
Herman Flock, Corporal
Leopold Borger, Fifer

Privates.

Antony, Jacob
Baethke, Fred.
Bager, Benno
Berg, Ernst
Bohle, Hy. Wm.
Braun, Hy.
Brillhauer, Chas.
Conrath, Wm.
Depenbrock, Aug.
Diehl, Conrad
Elsasser, Conrad
Fischer, Jacob
Friedrich, Adam
Fruehlingsdorf, Julius
Geesler, Fred.
Gonser, Christian
Gotthard, Moritz
Grasse, Dietrich
Hager, Frank
Hassenflug, John
Heck, Phillip
Helmerich, Edw.
Helmke, Ludwig
Holz, John
Homan, Christofer
Hoppler, James
Hubaer, Edw.
Kauth, Nicolas
Kleeman, Peter
Koch, Jacob
Koneman, Frank
Kremer, Wm.
Kufner, Louis
Kuhlman, Edw.
Lang, George
Law, Gottfried
Mueller, Bader
Olp, Charles
Ott, John
Ottomayer, Christian
Pfaff, Jacob
Pulver, William
Reckort, John
Reichert, Charles
Reinschuter, Ch.
Rohrman, Phil.
Schaetzle, Martin
Scharz, Theodor
Schmidt, Herman
Schmidt, John
Schmidt, Wm.
Schollmeyer, Hy.
Schonek, John
Schwertzler, Geo.
Seifried, Chas.
Seifried, Wm.
Spring, August
Stadler, Charles
Stark, Louis
Stern, Leopold
Thieden, Michael
Thomas, Fred.
Tiney, Thomas Alb.
Tischer, Herman
Tonnor, Pierre
Ulrich, August
Wagner, Fred.
Wansch, Max
Weber, Geo.
Weber, Hy.
Weidner, Jacob
Werkmeister, Albert
Zenner, Martin
Zens, Andreas
Zieres, Henry

COMPANY E.

John E. Strodtkamp, Captain
E. H. Poten, 1st Lieutenant
Charles Schaerff, 2d Lieutenant
Gottlieb Schmidt, 1st Sergeant
Charles Stiesmeier, Sergeant
William Kossack, Sergeant
Wm. H. Godfrey, Sergeant
Christian Koemer, Sergeant
Otto C. Lademann, Sergeant
Frederick Hansen, Corporal
Fred Moltz, Corporal
Wm. Goetz, Corporal
Robert E. Fischer, Corporal
John Zeller, Corporal
Louis Hoffner, Musician
Andreas Weitzel, Musician

Privates.

Beier, Michael
Bemelberg, Edw.
Benecke, August
Bender, Jacob
Bihrle, Henry
Boeringer, Chas.
Borg, Jacob
Borstel, Geo. E.
Brandle, Louis
Brechtel, Martin
Burger, Charles
Danner, Anton
Deppe, August
Foerster, Michael
Foester, John
Fremer, Jacob
Gambs, Hy. F.
Gebhard, Andrew
Gelzleichter, Chas.
Geske, Gottfried
Gessner, John
Graff, William
Granar, Michael
Grase, Fred
Greb, Wm.
Harlman, Louis
Heinbach, Herman
Hemans, Henry
Hensen, Valentin
Hetzel, Chas.
Hieppert, Phil.
Hodepp, Sebastian
Hoever, August
Hogan, Edward
Hovert, Wm.
Ittman, Chas.
Jacobs, John
Jung, Peter
Kaegi, John
Kampmann, Chas.
Keller, Jacob
Kirchhoffer, Mathias
Klein, Rudolph
Knollhoff, Louis
Kortmann, Louis
Krese, Nicolas
Loew, Fred George
Mauer, Fred R.
Meier, Fred
Meier, Henry
Meier, Joseph
Meier, Martin
Merrem, Fred
Metzger, Wm.
Meur, George
Mick, Charles
Mick, Henry
Miller, Wm.
Mueller, Alex B.
Mussing, Chas.
Neimer, Martin
Pauly, Wm.
Preissle, Frank P.
Rake, John
Renn, Ambrose
Rodgers, Bernard
Rohlfing, Wm.
Rudolph, Julius
Rush, Thomas H.
Scheiner, Herman
Schmidt, Charles
Schmidt, John
Schneider, Frank
Schoenderfer, Christ
Schulte, Bernard
Schwertfeger, Wm.
Seibert, Phillip
Spanholz, Chas.
Starke, Rudolph
Strelow, Fred Wm.
Tomacz, Kieweiz
Westphal, Hy.
Zeerburg, Hy.

COMPANY F.

Constantin Blandovski, Captain
Hugo Gollmer, Captain
August Wm. Busche, 1st Lieutenant
John Fred Hohlfeld, 2d Lieutenant
Fred Hartenstein, 1st Sergeant
Ernst Hohlfeld, Sergeant
John Henning, Sergeant
Henry Sontag, Sergeant
Henry Lambert, Corporal
John Woelfert, Corporal
Adolph Baumann, Corporal
Geo. Elwerth, Corporal
Dietrich Fohrbach, Musician
Remigens Leber, Musician

Privates.

Arnold, Wm.
Bachmann, Gottlieb
Bauer, Henry
Baumeyer, Charles
Becker, Adam
Becker, John
Bender, George
Bentrop, Fred
Beser, Jacob
Betz, John
Beumer, Hy.
Bohns, John F.
Bolender, Jos.
Brawner, Emanuel
Brockmann, Wm.
Christ, Valentin
Cramer, John
Eichholtz, Hy.
Enderlein, Ernst
Engelhard, Martin
Festge, Herman
Feuerhalin, Valentin
Florch, Jacob
Florke, David
Fritz, Jacob
Gardee, Henry
Gerlach, Ferdinand
Geschwend, Francis
Grahl, Charles
Gronemeyer, Wm.
Gubser, Charles
Hauweg, Bernhard
Heitzman, Franz H.
Heller, Ernst
Hilkebaumer, Hy.
Hotches, John
Kaseman, John
Kastner, Erasmus
Kempter, Joseph
Koch, Henry
Koch, William
Kolzenberg, Wm.
Kulkebach, Fred
Kulkebach, Hy.
Kunz, Hy.
Lehmann, Fred. Chas.
Loebig, Michael
Lunigkorner, Hy.
Malmistrom, Chas.
Mauch, Chas.
Maus, George
Mueller, Herman
Munsch, Mathias
Neunzerling, Jacob
Niehaus, William
Perez, William
Pfeiffer, Fred
Pfister, Peter
Potthast, Fred
Puls, Christian
Reinhard, George
Ries, Henry
Rose, Adam
Roterman, Fred
Roth, Charles
Roth, Henry
Roth, Wm.
Saum, Adam
Schaarschek, Jas.
Schlee, Joseph
Schlosser, Henry
Schmidt, Jacob
Silberer, Lovemore
Silbermann, John
Simon, John
Stallmann, Jacob
Stange, Rudolph
Stangre, Otto Franz
Stumpe, Dietrich
Tallhaber, Jos.
Trulleib, Andreas
Waldweiler, John
Weig, Jacob
Weiss, Charles
Wenz, Gottfried
Werder, John
Westreider, Fred
Wetzel, August
Wilbermann, J. Hy.

COMPANY G.

Adolph Dengler, Captain
Charles Hoeny, 1st Lieutenant
Edward Krebe, 2d Lieutenant
John Lendroth, 1st Sergeant
Theodore Schneider, Sergeant
Charles Doll, Sergeant
Charles Duisenberg, Sergeant
Henry Meier, Corporal
Ernst Scheidig, Corporal
Louis Rauch, Corporal
Charles Zierath, Corporal
Fred Schuchmann, Drummer
Wilhelm Grill, Fifer

Privates.

Abel, John
Auer, Fred
Bastian, Joseph
Beck, John
Becker, John
Betzer, Fred
Bierwirth, Fred
Bonneberger, M.
Brod, Julius
Brumer, Joseph
Christen, Francis
Diesel, John
Esig, Michael
Faller, Lazarus
Fehrenbach, Sebastian
Fidler, Hy.
Fischer, Chas.
Fischer, August
Flug, Balthazar
Fricker, John
Gebhard, John
Geiger, Mathias
Gemund, Anton
Graff, Geo. P.
Grossmann, Jacob
Hahn, Henry
Hammer, Phillip
Heilig, John
Hess, Louis
Hockert, Samuel
Hoffman, Peter
Hofmeister, Wm.
Holdener, Joseph
Jung, Wilhelm
Junghaus, Herman
Kaiser, Fred
Keller, Hieronymus
Kesselring, Conrad
Kimmerl, Franz
Klaus, Franz
Klingenpis, Jonathan
Koppmann, Franz
Kremer, Hy.
Krim, John
Kuhn, Andreas
Kuhnl, Michael
Lammert, Louis
Leppert, Geo.
Lorenz, John
Ludescher, Franz
Martin, Geo.
Meier, Benjamin
Meinhardt, John B.
Metzger, Raimond
Missbach, Leopold
Mueller, Charles
Pfeifer, Peter
Rake, Fred
Rampenthold, Fred
Salterbach, Christian
Schibert, Wm.
Schlohmann, Fred
Schmitt, Carl
Schmitt, Carl Aug.
Schopp, Leonhard
Schroeder, Henry
Schuchard, Hy.
Schuekel, Anton
Seeman, John
Sendelbach, John
Siegrist, Charles
Siering, Jacob
Sueger, Fred
Sohn, Michael
Spatzer, Francis
Spiro, Simon
Steimel, Rupert
Strauss, Charles
Strittmatter, Jacob
Stutzel, Henry
Sutter, Rudolph
Tober, Joseph
Toepfer, Fred
Tritchler, Theo.
Waechter, Jacob
Wahl, Henry
Wallerman, John
Wand, John
Wangelin, Gustav
Wannemacher, Sebastian
Weber, Benjamin
Wiebel, Wm.
Wiegand, Herman
Winterwerl, Phil.
Wool, John
Zaumseil, Henry

COMPANY H.

George D. Friedlein, Captain
Geo. Marschall, 1st Lieutenant
John Kaegi, 2d Lieutenant
Chas Hayemann, 1st Sergeant
Christ. Trautman, Sergeant
Wm. Eisermann, Sergeant
Hugo Ropiquet, Sergeant
Phillip Scherer, Corporal
Wm. Ollomann, Corporal
Edward Thees, Corporal
Wendelin Burkhardt, Corporal
Wm. Richter, Fifer
Chas. Siebrecht, Drummer

Privates.

Adamski, Anton
Amberg, Michael
Angermann, Hy.
Armbruster, John
Auerswald, Herman
Bader, August
Baners, John
Behler, Franz
Behringhof, Max
Bering, John
Bertsch, Louis
Becks, Fred
Biehler, John
Bruder, Joseph
Butscher, Henry
Carl, Edward
Crepen, Joseph
Diebel, Louis
Ehrhard, Fred
Elkner, Edward
Emil, Joseph
Engelhardt, Martin
Faes, John
Findies, Louis
Funkhouser, Andrew
Fuderer, John
Furder, John
Gebensleben, Rudolph
Gemp, Ely
Genz, Friedolin
Goeschel, Albert
Gollez, John
Heeger, Wendelin
Helm, Julius
Hoffman, Phillip
Hoppman, Martin
Jung, John
Kackler, Emil
Kaes, Fred
Kahn, Fred
Kambert, William
Kapp, Phillip
Kappers, Valentin
Kapps, Rudolph
Kasten, Daniel
Koch, Bruno
Koerner, Herman
Kohle, Louis
Kohlmann, Fred
Koser, Fred
Kracht, John
Krause, August
Kunz, Fred
Ledermann, Jacob
Lempke, Charles
Lipps, Christian
Loescher, Jacob
Lohner, John
Lohrer, Michael
Loosen, Gottfried
Lott, John
Lubzeier, Joseph
Mathias, Henry
Mayforth, Fred
Meyer, Jacob
Meyer, Michael
Meyer, Stephen
Molitor, Jacob
Mueller, Andreas
Mueller, Anton
Mueller, Michael
Niedringhaus, Fred
Null, John
Nutzener, Chas.
Oster, Theodor
Pall, William
Plotscher, Frank
Ratz, Henry
Riegel, John
Roesch, Louis
Rohr, Robert
Rose, Gustav
Ruedlinger, Frank
Schaller, Valentin
Schaub, Jacob No. 1
Schaub, Jacob No. 2
Schavang, Rudolph
Schitting, John
Schoeppe, George
Schnitzler, Martin
Schutzler, Sebastian
Schwarz, Otto
Seiler, Jacob
Tupple, Sebastian
Ulrich, Albert
Vogel, Gottlieb
Volm, Wendelin
Voltz, Bernhard
Voss, Adrian
Weigmand, Phil.
Wenzel, Rudolph
Wiedmar, John
Wilde, Rudolph
Winder, John
Ziegler, Fred

COMPANY I.

Chas. H. Mannhardt, Captain
H. Klostermann, 1st Lieutenant
Joseph Priesner, 2d Lieutenant
Julius Gemmer, 1st Sergeant
Louis Gaurain, Sergeant
Wilhelm Kramer, Sergeant
Alexander Schrader, Sergeant
John Koegg, Corporal
Adolph Mallinkrodt, Corporal
Peter Quickert, Corporal
Ferd. Schrader, Corporal
Charles Derr, Drummer
Richard Schuchmann, Fifer

Privates.

Anike, Jacob
Baunneberg, John
Blinkensdorfer, Wm.
Bohn, Henry
Bomm, Conrad
Brand, John
Brockmann, Ernst
Brommelmeyer, Geo.
Bunn, Ludwig
Buetler, Andreas
Dannmann, Herman
Dantz, Peter
Dickmann, Herman
Dietz, Charles
Frontrup, Hy.
Geier, Martin
Glock, Peter
Goetz, Edward
Hassenritter, Herman
Heidemann, Albert
Heltmann, Wm.
Hensick, Caspar H.
Hensler, Frantz
Herman, Adolph
Herman, Charles
Heydt, Adolph
Heydt, John G.
Hoffarth, Franz
Hofner, Caspar
Just, Edward
Jensen, John C.
Kaegg, John
Kessler, Charles
Kessler, Herman
Kirchner, Albert
Kissing, Wm.
Klein, Fred
Koch, Ernst
Koch, Gustav
Koch, Otto
Koch, Wm.
Kruse, Jacob
Kuntz, Christian
Kittner, Herman
Lange, Frank
Leisler, Wm.
Limmert, Louis
Lohmann, Louis
Louis, Joseph
Mathias, Henry
Mathias, Herman
Maurer, Charles
May, Jacob
Meyer, Andreas
Meyer, John M.
Molitor, Jacob
Mueller, Geo. E.
Mukin, Adolph
Munch, Albert
Munch, Berthold
Munch, Ferdinand
Munding, Conrad
Munk, Henry
Otto, John C.
Pappenhauser, Hy.
Pfister, Christian
Pfund, Gottfried
Probst, Edward
Ruebling, Paul
Rupert, Wm.
Rust, Herman
Ryan, Patrick
Schaebert, August
Schaerf, Joseph
Schaub, Jacob
Schoeder, Louis
Schluter, Henry
Schmidt, Leonhardt
Schraeder, Adolph
Schroeder, Fritz
Schwarz, Otto
Seewald, Chas.
Spannaus, Henry
Steininger, Jacob
Steitz, Louis
Stern, Joseph
Stopping, Michael
Stuebler, Peter
Theene, George
Thiehlmann, Hy.
Thiehlmann, John F.
Wenker, Henry
Wetzel, Wm.

COMPANY K.

Theodor Meumann, Captain
Theodor Henck, 1st Lieutenant
George Schuster, 2d Lieutenant
William Wolf, 1st Sergeant
Charles Tillenger, Sergeant
Henry Beneke, Sergeant
Louis Coloman Lucas, Corporal
Fred Kolwatz, Corporal
Gustav Ritter, Corporal
Fred Krueger, Corporal
Christian R. Riebel, Corporal
Peter Hartman, Musician
Christian Helmer, Musician

Privates.

Abel, Geo. Alex
Allgier, Michael
Andree, Charles
Autenrieth, Herman
Becherer, Xavier
Beka, Benjamin
Beman, Phillip
Bemis, Chas. Aug.
Benzon, Andrew
Block, Rudolph
Blume, Franz
Bracke, William
Bruns, Henry
Danvil, William
Debusman, Chas.
Dietrich, Caspar
Dieu, John
Dozer, Edward
Dreinhoefer, Edw.
Dutsch, John
Eggus, Chas. Aug.
Eich, Wm.
Eiserman, Hy.
Elgars, Herman
Engfer, John
Faist, William
Faller, Edward
Fassler, Leopold
Fassler, William
Fencel, William
Fischer, Phillip
Fischer, Hugo
Flack, Richard
Frank, John
Freble, Jacob
Gebelein, John
Guedemann, Bethline
Hammer, Isaac
Happenberg, Gustav
Hecker, Arthur
Held, George
Heller, John
Henscheil, Bernhard
Herneise, Gottlieb
Hipp, Charles
Hoffman, Leonhard
Holzwarth, John
Horstbrink, Ludwig
Jobs, Jacob
Jungst, Henry
Kauffman, Wm.
Keelenberg, Charles
Kessler, Charles
Koch, Adam
Koster, Henry
Kowalsky, Theodore
Krette, Phillip
Lenze, Chas.
Macbeth, Jos.
Mark, Otto
May, Julius
Mayenberg, Fred
Mohr, Wm.
Mueller, Andreas
Nelgne, August
Olfers, Herman
Panse, Herman
Pretorius, Wm.
Pritzel, John
Reifurth, August
Reuss, Chas. Albert
Roeslein, Anton
Schamburger, Fred
Schell, George
Schlesp, John
Schmidt, Berne
Schmith, Louis
Schroeder, Anton
Schurmann, Fred
Seidler, Charles
Spridler, Julius
Stein, Charles
Steiner, Charles
Tending, Christopher
Todt, Charles
Twelbeck, John
Vielhack, August 1
Vielhack, August 2
Walter, Fred
Walthmann, Chas.
Wenze, Rudolph
Wuestner, Edmund
Zack, Wenzel
Zott, Arnim

FOURTH REGIMENT INFANTRY, MISSOURI VOLUNTEERS.

The Fourth Regiment Infantry, Missouri Volunteers, was organized with twelve Companies towards the end of April, 1861, by electing Nicolaus Schuettner Colonel. It was originally a hunting society of longer standing called "Die Schwarzen Jaeger," equipped with the usual outfit of a hunting society. This and the Schuetzen Section of the St. Louis Turnverein were the first armed Union volunteer bodies in St. Louis, even before President Lincoln's call for 75,000 men.

The Regiment took part in the capture of Camp Jackson and was soon thereafter sent down to protect Cairo and Birds Point. It made a fortified camp at the latter place and carried on a successful scouting in Southeast Missouri. On returning to St. Louis the Regiment was sent on a larger expedition to Callaway County, while two of its Companies were on detached service guarding the Pacific Railroad. The Regiment was mustered out at the expiration of its term of service on July 30, 1861, and those of its members who reenlisted joined different Regiments and Companies, but the original organization was not continued. Of its 1,037 members, 88 per cent were Germans, 8 per cent Bohemians, the balance Americans.

FIELD AND STAFF.

Nicholas Schuettner, Colonel
Adam Hammer, Lt.-Colonel
Fred Niegemann, Major
Sigmund Homburg, Adjutant
Christ. Grison, Quartermaster
Chas. Gus Louis Beck, Surgeon
Adolph Rosch, Asst. Surgeon
Gus R. Spannagel, Sergt.-Major
Aug. Boettcher, Quartermaster Sergt.

Band.

Ferdinand Knecht, Drum Major
Casper Herget, Fife Major

COMPANY A.

Geo. Dahmer, Captain
Jacob Kiburz, 1st Lieutenant
Frank Gulde, 2d Lieutenant
Geo. Mueller, 1st Sergeant
Wm. Hagen, Sergeant
Daniel Kaesten, Sergeant
Wm. Volmar, Sergeant
Louis Chouteau, Corporal
Julius Lachs, Corporal
John Schaub, Corporal
Robt. Venn, Corporal
Dietrich Wehrmann, Drummer
Jos. Dammermuth, Bugler

Privates.

Adam, August
Albrecht, John
Berg, Henry
Bischoff, Wm.
Brockmann, Hy.
Bucker, John
Busch, Jacob
Carroll, Louis Davis
Dreher, Henry
Drinker, George
Emmler, John
Erdsmannsdorfer, Chas.
Gebraetz, Aug.
Goetz, Anton
Goetz, John
Green, Geo. M.
Green, Hy.
Hauck, Alex
Hauck, Jacob
Heier, George
Heinze, Charles
Heitzmann, Jos.
Held, Christian
Helwig, Christian
Herwig, Wm.
Hettler, Joseph
Hofer, Conrad
Kaester, Edward
Keischt, Conrad
Koch, Henry
Krimenau, Henry
Metzerock, Albert
Meyer, Frederick
Meyer, John Rudolph
Meyer, Michael
Meyer, Phillipp
Muellerbach, Cornelius
Obrecht, Ferd.
Obrist, Rudolph
Poetting, Fred
Pries, Henry
Reinhardt, Fritz
Richard, Jacob
Riedel, Wm.
Ruedi, Wieland
Ruppol, Simon
Sand, John
Schaedler, Wm.
Schauble, Michael Jacob
Schlecht, Jacob
Schlumpf, Wm.
Schmidt, Ernst
Schnell, Reinhold
Schuler, Albert
Seibel, Nicolaus
Spindler, Andrew
Stroh, Ludwig
Sybolsky, John
Tamm, Henry
Tuchof, Friederich
Ulrich, Theodore
Vaulhaber, Val.
Voigt, Bernhardt
Wagner, Gottlieb
Walther, Henry
Walther, Michael
Weber, Joseph
Weigel, John
Widmann, Hy.
Wittig, Edward
Zinglin, Peter
Zipf, John

COMPANY B.

George Rieman, Captain, April 24
Ludwig Hofstedter, 1st Lieutenant
Conrad Grenzebach, 2d Lieutenant
Louis Holland, 1st Sergeant
Wm. Albrecht, Sergeant
Ferd. Hahn, Sergeant
Carl Kunst, Sergeant
Anton Thebus, Sergeant
Geo. Anschuetz, Corporal
John Gunther, Corporal
Wm. Ruge, Corporal
John Stemler, Corporal
Fred Weinig, Musician
Aug. Jones, Musician

Privates.

Ackermann, Paul
Ascherer, F. C.
Berlach or Burbach, E.H.
Berner, Louis
Besse, Hy.
Bindbeutel, Charles
Bisser, Conrad
Bisser, Rudolph
Blase, Wm.
Bock, Emil
Bohly, Wm.
Candle, Mathew
Christmann, John
Dahmer, Henry
Dewein, Michael
Doyn H. Van
Ebenhok or Ebenhaz, Louis
Ellenberger, Jacob
Engel, Jesse
Engel, John
Ernst, Chas.
Fahler, Adolph
Fahning, Harry
Fohrkolb, John
Gasche, Alois
Ginz, Louis
Glunk, Alois
Guenther, Hannibal
Gruenewald, Andrew
Gutting, Anton
Halter, Arnold
Halter, John
Hegeschweiler, F.
Hoffling, Anton
Kaufman, Peter
Kautz, Peter
Kellner, Charley
Kettelkamp, Hy.
Klein, Mich.
Kurtzeborn, Jacob
Lielig, Henry
Lotter, Ad
Maat, John Van
Marschall, G. A.
Menke, Frank
Mueller, Frank
Niederer, Gustav
Nyhouse, Wm.
Otto, Emil
Otzinger, Jacob
Preis, Justus
Raschel, Wm.
Reinert, Jacob
Reinecke, Ludwig
Ried, Julius
Rohrbach, John
Rotty, Ignatz
Rusterholz, John
Sauerwein, Adam
Schira, Conrad
Schoeneberg, Dan
Schull, Sam
Schulz, Chas.
Schwartz, Wm.
Stork, Andrew
Vander Maat, John
Vogel, Christoph
Walter, Wm.
Weber, Wm.
Weigand, Hy.
Weigel, Aug.
Wieneck, Andrew
Winter, John

COMPANY C.

Fred Schueddig, Captain
Ferdinand Schueddig, 1st Lieutenant
Anton Wald, 2d Lieutenant
Julius Hertz, 1st Sergeant
Carl Court, Sergeant
Carl Luttgens, Sergeant
Gottlieb Stossberg, Sergeant
Jacob Blatz, Corporal
Julius Conrades, Corporal
John Gutgemann, Corporal
John Hoefeler, Corporal
Carl Geldmacher, Bugler
Aug. Bredemeyer, Drummer

Privates.

Adrian, Ludwig
Andermadt, Geo.
Arns, Carl
Arnst, John
Bergert, Engelbert
Biek, Bernhardt
Brockmann, Hy.
Buntenbach, Samuel
Carle, Wm.
Court, Wm.
Demper, Philip
Ernzen, John
Evertz, Carl
Evertz, Fred
Falkenrath, Gottlieb
Fluegel, Jacob
Friederich, Hy.
Freiner, Fred
Geldmacher, Fred
Giebe, Fred
Gosker, Hy.
Graf. Carl
Graf, Paul
Gross, Andrew
Hack, John
Hamm, Joseph
Hartkopf, Julius
Hillerscheidt, Carl
Hinterschitt, John M.
Hunnius, Carl
Jannot, John
Jansen, Henry
Justus, Christian
Kasten, C. L.
Klarenbach, Gustav
Klee, Daniel
Klein, Albert
Kuhn, Valentin
Langenohl, Aug.
Leindecker, John
Lutz, Edward
Meier, Wm.
Melcher, Gustav
Memmler, Jos.
Metz, August
Mielke, Emil
Mueller, Ernst
Nack, Jacob
Paffrath, Caspar
Peter, Conrad
Rothenbucher, Conrad
Rumler, Peter
Sann, John
Schmidt, Gustav
Schmidt, Louis
Schroeder, Theo.
Schuddig, Ferd.
Siemens, Aug.
Simon, John
Simon, Peter
Sommer, Carl
Spohr, Christian
Stocker, Friederich
Stocker, Robert
Stossberg, Gottlieb
Teuber, Aug.
Tiegel, Fred.
Van Dawen, Ad.
Weber, John
Wirtz, Anton
Wittkorn, Theo.
Witzel, Magnus
Zepf, Franz

COMPANY D.

George Hassfurther, Captain
John Donertfort, 1st Lieutenant
John Rifer, 2d Lieutenant
Julius Zesch, 1st Sergeant
Francis Unger, Sergeant
Christian Wolf, Sergeant
Fred Arnold, Corporal
John Muckstadt, Corporal
August Obst, Corporal
Peter Spahn, Corporal
Blasius Schatz, Drummer
Aug. Puhlan, Bugler

Privates.

Andrew, Anton
Behrens, Henry
Bertsch, John
Blattner, Hy.
Borcherding, Christ.
Braun, Wm.
Caspary, Caspar
Clemens, Geo.
Conzelmann, Chas.
Doerr, Henry
Doersch, John
Eichele, Chas.
Erg, Wm.
Ernst, George
Fischbach, Francis
Gast, Andres
Gehauf, Christian
Goerthelman, Geo. Phil.
Gribke, Hy.
Grund, Adam
Hampe, Francis
Hechinger, Ignatz
Heil, Wm.
Hogarth, John
Holtzwarth, Daniel
Horcher, Louis
Horst, Charles
Hugelman, Bernard
Kern, John
Kornberger, Rudolph
Kulli, Charles
Kunzmann, Andreas
Leiman, John
Lieblanger, Nicolaus
Lielich, Conrad
Luecksfeld, Jacob
Muelhaus, Hy.
Mahrs, August
Matt, Jacob
Meier, Charles
Meier, Hermann
Meirer, Mathias
Meirer, Nicolaus
Messmer, Mathias
Mueller, Clemens
Mueller, Conrad
Mueller, Henry
Nax, Philip
Ohl, Wm.
Peter, Gottlieb
Probst, Aug.
Rolli, Peter
Rudolph, Fred.
Schadt, Phil.
Schatz, Marcus
Schenk, Frederich
Schilling, John
Schilling, Wm.
Schmidt, Adam
Scholl, Philip
Schummacher, Anton
Soloman, Hermann
Stall, Gustave
Steer, Jacob
Steiner, Jacob
Stoeber, George
Stoeber, Hy.
Stroh, Frederich
Ufen, Albert
Weiss, Michael
Weissbrod, Peter
Wetzel, Sebastian
Wolf, John
Wuertenbecher, Jacob
Zellweger, John
Zesch, Maurice
Zoore, Herman
Zuengler, Geo.

COMPANY E.

Theo. Fischbach, Captain
Ignatz Hunditzka, 1st Lieutenant
John Wildberger, 2d Lieutenant
Casper Sperber, 1st Sergeant
Claus Voege, Sergeant
Charles Weiss, Sergeant
Emanuel Wessely, Sergeant
Gustav Erhard, Corporal
Wenzel Moschna, Corporal
Wenzel (Henry) Schery, Corporal
Christoph Schwier, Corporal
Chas. Pelican, Musician
Frank Janot, Musician

Privates.

Andes, Conrad
Bruder, Wenzel
Bicha, Jacob
Buehler, John
Buehly, Lorenz
Bruner, Albert
Doerner, Hy.
Doerner, Jacob
Dollar, Frank
Eisenhuth, John
Entschelmeyer, Herman
Erchinger, Simon
Friedrich, Wm.
Gubser, Boniface
Hahn, John
Hayck, Vincent
Heilby, Joseph
Hildeberger, John
Hornbach, Nic.
Huhn, John
Hurka, Jacob
Icha, John
Jedicka, Frank
Karl, John
Kessle, Frank
Kletzan, Wenzel
Koran, Jack
Korel, Wenzel
Kram, Hy.
Krause, Aug.
Kubik, John
Kuerr, Michael
Kutschera, Mathias
Leber, John
Macha, Martin
Merkel, Andreas
Meyer, Wenzel (Henry)
Michael, John
Mrasik, Jos.
Nikola, Wm.
Obermeyer, Jos.
Peliowitz, John
Poenesch, Mathias
Priester, Michael
Rak, John
Rayek, Will
Riha, Martin
Riha, Mathias
Rosipal, Joseph
Scherny, John
Schub, John
Schwegla, Wenzel
Schymany, Walter
Stauh, Joseph
Stauh, Thomas
Stein, John
Stodola, Jos.
Stodola, Wenzel
Stromberger, Louis
Stroslick, Frank
Suda, Wenzel
Swazina, Jos.
Ulman, Peter
Viata, Frank
Walter, Andreas
Wenger, Christ.
Wenzlick, Peter
Werdich, John
Wetzel, Erhard
Woita, Tom
Worrel, John
Zerelin, Ignatz
Zingula, Joseph

COMPANY F.

George Berg, Captain
John Mockenhaupt, 1st Lieutenant
Edward Koenig, 2d Lieutenant
John Simon, 1st Sergeant
Louis Eisleben, Sergeant
Hy. Schulte, Sergeant
Hy. Wallman, Sergeant
Wm. Engel, Corporal
John Graf, Corporal
John Helgoth, Corporal
Jos. Vorst, Corporal
Leonard Fasshauer, Bugler
John Berg, Drummer

Privates.

Adam, Rudolph
Becherer, Joseph
Becker, Hy.
Broder, Conrad
Brodhack, Jacob
Buchle, Jacob
Buchlein, Hy.
Cahen, Ferdinand
Dallmeyer, Ferdinand
Deberle, Gottlieb
Eberts, Jacob
Fehl, George
Fluhler, Michael
Forster, Wm.
Goebe, John
Graseck, Ernest
Griesecker, Jos.
Grosch, Casper
Haller, Julius
Hercke or Herge, Hy.
Hoffman, George
Hyden, Louis
Hyer, Hy. I.
Hyer, Hy. II.
Jaeger, August
Kautz, Charles
Kuhne, Ernst
Lannert, Phil.
Laux, Louis
Meyer, John I.
Meyer, John II.
Moebus, Wm.
Mueller, Andrew
Mueller, Louis
Mund, Albert
Niemeyer, Wm.
Nueffer, Bernhard
Obermeyer, Bernhard
Otto, George
Preussgen, Robt.
Renn, Jacob
Rische, Aug.
Sauer, Edward
Schellkopf, Fred.
Schroeder, John
Schroeder, Robert
Schnermann, Wm.
Seehausen, Gittlieb
Siebel, August
Smalenberger, Fred.
Smith, Hy.
Spies, Hy.
Spies, Jacob
Stahlhut, Wm.
Steinberg, Chas.
Stocker, Ferd.
Templer, Wm.
Viehring, Wm.
Weiler, Wm.
Weinhagen, Edw.
Weinrich, John
Weiss, Conrad
Wilde, Jacob
Witt, Leonhard
Wolff, Valentin
Wolney, Rudolph
Weichner, John
Wunsch, Hy.
Wurst, Jos.
Zerlgett, Aug
Zulich, Hy.

COMPANY G.

Chas. Demny, Captain
Chas. Kutischauser, 1st Lieutenant
Wm. Fred Faust, 2d Lieutenant
Herman Tuerk, 1st Sergeant
Hy. Hagermann, Sergeant
Ferd Hasner, Sergeant
Jacob Metzger, Sergeant
Fred Havendick, Corporal
John Keis, Corporal
Christ Luckfield, Corporal
Herman Schierholz, Corporal
Emil Dosenbach, Musician
John Bear, Musician

Privates.

Ackermann, Edw.
Ahrens, Bernhard
Altzenz, Chas.
Andrae, Aug.
Angele, Wm.
Bauer, John
Baumgard, Gottlieb
Bender, John
Bernst, John
Bieckelberg, Fred.
Bietlingmeyer, John
Boullige, John
Bucher, Jos.
Diezel, Adam
Diezel, Hermann
Elbe, Gottlieb
Ester, Christian
Franke, Hy.
Franke, Wm.
Freese, Henry
Freyte, Alex.
Geers, Herman
Gerber, Henry
Gerdes, Herman
Giebel, Hy.
Greemann, Casper
Hartmann, Chas.
Herdt, Chas.
Hering, Peter
Hirschberger, Peter
Kayser, Chas.
Koester, Wm.
Lahmann, Wm.
Lapp, Louis
Meyer, Wm.
Mueller, Leonard
Nischwitz, Philip
Offel, Joseph
Pietz, Herman
Potthof, Hy.
Racky, Jos.
Rasmus, John
Riegelman, Conrad
Rohr, Casper
Rotter, Adolph
Russ, Ignatz
Saltenberger, John
Sandhoff, John
Schaeffer, Gottlieb
Schlenker, Jacob
Schmelzer, Wm.
Schmidt, George
Schmidt, Fred
Schneider, John
Schneiderwind, Hy.
Schott, Wm.
Schutz, Fred
Seeck, Claus
Speckmann, Fred
Spoerl, Christian
Stoffregen, Wm.
Tanner, Jos.
Ulrich, John
Weimann, Hy.
Wegener, Chas.
Wittig, Alexander
Wittig, Edward
Woehle, Louis
Wolf, Henry
Zurcher, Louis

COMPANY H.

Philip Frank, Captain
John Jos. Petri, 1st Lieutenant
Francis Jac Botz, 2d Lieutenant
Fred Bornefeld, 1st Sergeant
Paul Achenbach, Sergeant
T. Adam Fink, Sergeant
Louis Schweitzer, Sergeant
Chas. Butzinger, Corporal
Francis Hartmann, Corporal
John Huegerich, Corporal
Chas. Schoetz, Corporal
Chas. Schmidt, Musician
John A. Maier, Musician

Privates.

Algeier, Michael
Arzt, Wm.
Bauer, Phil.
Benshing, Wm.
Berkel, Michael
Bien, John
Bilger, Mary
Brandau, Adam
Brandau, Wm.
Busley, Fred.
Demuth, Wendelin
Ebel, Martin
Egener, Phil
Frank, Hy.
Frank, Lorenz
Frech, Hubert
Frey, Adam
Frey, Fred
Fridrickson, Fred
Gleich, Jacob
Gronemeyer, Dietrich
Hammer, John
Harst, Peter
Herzog, Adolph
Horn, Hy.
Huller, John
Jacob, Peter
Kaub, Francis
Keim, John
Kettel, Hubert
Kissling, Michael
Kilbs, Peter
Kloes, Nicolaus
Kraehe, Hy.
Krueger, Chas.
Kuepferle, Nicolas
Kuntz, Michael
Kutcher, Ferdinand
Leindecker, Michael
Leu, Balthazar
Licht, Jos.
Lohman, Wm.
Maag, Philip
Menzemer, Christ
Meuzemer, Geo.
Menzemer, Jacob
Meyer, Aug.
Nast, Chas.
Nees, Peter
Otte, George
Rahtert, Wm.
Remmert, John
Rinker, Andreas
Roffmann, Frederick
Scheibel, John
Schmahl, Gottfried
Schwend, Alois
Seiler, Gregory
Seitrig, Hy.
Siegrist, Chas.
Sievers, Geo.
Sondermann, Gottlieb
Städler, Martin
Stauffer, Jacob
Stoll, Hy.
Stutz, Pius
Uhl, Michael
Wagner, Lorenz
Weber, Julius
Wengender, Jos.
Werner, Basil
Wunsch, Max
Zeiger, Louis

COMPANY I.

Louis B. Hubbel, Captain
Chas. H. Warrens, 1st Lieutenant
Wm. P. Cousley, 2d Lieutenant
Jas. H. Chancey, Sergeant
John M. Hays, Sergeant
Sam N. Sluter, Sergeant
Martin Welfley, Sergeant
Frederic Davis, Corporal
Wm. Cordes, Corporal
Chas. Humpert, Corporal
John Speck, Corporal
Wm. Catts, or Cutts, Drummer
Nicolas Ambrose, Musician
Peter Decker, Bugler

Privates.

Alexander, Motley
Ash, Wm.
Ashburn, Jefferson
Bear, Wm.
Becker, John
Beem, Martin
Beiser, Nicolaus
Bell, James
Benzen, Christian
Bilger, John
Bollinger, John
Bonnell, Wm.
Borden, Conrad
Chamberlain, Albert
Connell, Jefries
Corra or Conrett, Louis
Crossman, Robt.
Dummeborn, Frank
Ebka, Louis
Elstrow, Frederick
Farrires, John
Ferdinand, Chas.
Fink, Aug.
Gill, Wm. W.
Hahn, Andrew
Hassler, Louis
Hood, Andrew
Horran, K.
Huston, Ben.
Kaiser, Robt.
Kerl, Silas
King, Ernst
Konning, Hy.
Kulber, Gustav
Laudenschlaeger, Ernst
Leuman, Sam. P.
McCabe, James
Merritt, Peter H.
Miller, Chas.
Millis, Michael
Morlan, Chas.
Myers, Wm.
Nay, Peter
Perrin, Thomas H.
Pearce, Hy. P.
Pfiffner, Jos.
Pogue, Hy.
Polack, Louis
Read, Chas.
Reaves, Aquilla
Reed, Chas. F.
Remer, John
Rodenburg, Christ
Roehrich, Herman
Ross, Conrad
Routcliffe, Wm.
Ruisia, Alex.
Rundel, Horace
Schriner, Herman
Schulte, Anton F.
Slater, Jas.
Smith, Francis
Stamps, Jas. B.
Stamps, John C.
Stillwell, John
Strickler, John H.
Sueter, John
Sullivan, Cornelius
Thompson, John
Vaupel, Louis
Wildermuth, David

COMPANY K.

Louis Rohrer, Captain
Geo. Glassner, 1st Lieutenant
Emil Luedecke, 2d Lieutenant
Andrew Wachtel, 1st Sergeant
Adolph Gerisher, Sergeant
Philipp Hohl, Sergeant
Aug. Stiller, Sergeant
Wm. Korsch, Corporal
Fred Meier, Corporal
Edw. Neiske, Corporal
Andrew Welsh, Corporal
Chas. Wagner, Musician
Xaver Hoferer, Musician

Privates.

Albrecht, Charles
Bengard, Prosper
Benz, Geo.
Bergmann, Hy.
Bergmann, Wm.
Bieger, Jos.
Bolchhoefner, Gustav
Brockmeyer, Christian
Bruening, Fred.
Busch, George
Dedeck, Paul
Dietrichs, George
Dreyer, Jacob
Dzengolewsky, Edw.
Ellersick, Hermann
Endler, Frederick
Fey, Justus
Fielde, Hy.
Foesst, Wm.
Fluri, Jacob
Franz, Lorenz
Fries, Albert
Firey, Charles
Gall, Anthony
Gansmann, Jos.
Goehns, Chas.
Guenther, Fred.
Habersaat, John
Heiligensetzer, Frank
Heim, Fred
Hofmeister, George
Jacob, Oswald
Just, Christ
Keck, John
Koch, Frederick
Koser, Hy.
Kratz, Fred.
Krebs, Chas.
Krey, Wm.
Kundinger, Theo.
Kurns, Anthony
Kurtz, Chas.
Lange, John
Langhoff, John
Lenz, Simon
Luhrmann, Hy.
McGuire, Jas.
McNeil, Hugh
Mehler, Aug.
Mueller, Ernst
Munn, John
Obenziske, Jos.
Oster, John
Prach, Peter
Rabien, Hy.
Reis, Adam
Ribsam, Gotthardt
Schillinger, John
Schlo, Wm.
Schmelzer, Wm.
Schmidt, Christoph
Schmidt, Edward
Schmidt, Gustav
Schultze, Wm.
Schulz, Christ.
Schulz, John
Schupp, Hy.
Thies, Hy.
Vogt, Anthony
Wedermeyer, John
Weiss, Hy.
Willauer, Peter
Zick, Frank
Zimmermann, Jos.

COMPANY L.

John Weber, Captain
Frank Romer, 1st Lieutenant
Chas. Kull, 2d Lieutenant
Frank Jos. Widmer, 1st Sergeant
Frank Fleischman, Sergeant
Ferd. Hermle, Sergeant
Christian Stieren, Sergeant
Nicolas Kariger, Corporal
Jos. Manhardt, Corporal
Stephan Sutter, Corporal
Mathew Willmann, Corporal
Mathew Strassner, Musician
Fridolin Meier, Musician

Privates.

Adolph, John
Ambros, Nicolas
Amsler, Samuel
Baker, Christian
Bakers, Nicolaus
Baumann, Francis
Baumgartner, Fred.
Bendixen, Jacob
Benot, Frederick
Bieser, Hy.
Bikel, Chas.
Bleichman, Jos.
Borsum, Hy.
Christmann, Jacob
Cook, John
Damermuth, Jos.
Dreher, Engelbert
Durch, Frederick
Durst, Anton
Ehrman, Chas.
Flamman, John
Flittner, Frederick
Frey, Henry
Gardhofner, Math.
Gardner, Christ.
Grueny, Michael
Gunther, Xavier
Hedinger, John
Heer, Jacob
Hesti, John
Hesti, Leonhardt
Hinterberger, Christian
Holdener, Melchoir
Jobs, Jacob
Kircher, Jacob
Koch, Leonhard
Koehler, Hy.
Kramer, Anton
Lang, Joseph
Leich, Gottlieb
Marbeth, Felix
Massbost, Jos.
Massboot
Mellony, Jas.
Meury, Gregory
Moes, Andrew
Muri, Casimir
Nelson, Hy.
Nesson, Vincenz
Richter, Gustav
Ripp, Charles
Ruedi, Frank
Rupp, Peter
Rutz, Abraham
Scheele, Edw.
Scherrer, Christian
Schleter, Henry
Schmieder, Sebastian
Schweizer, Henry
Sendel, Aug.
Sik, Peter
Spengelman, Casper
Troxler, Justin
Trutman, Frank
Vogtli, Jos.
Wagner, Jacob
Walter, Frank
Waly, Fred.
Widmer, Jos.
Wuhrman, John
Wumersdorf, Louis
Ziegler, John
Zik, Wm.
Zimmerman, Nic.
Zumsteg, John

COMPANY M.

Robt. M. Haney, Captain
Ferd. Wagenfuhr, 1st Lieutenant
Fred von Bodungen, 2d Lieutenant
Anton Boekling, 1st Sergeant
Philip Franklin, Sergeant
Th. Heiss, Sergeant
Chas. Frentel, Corporal
Julius A. Harrach, Corporal
Charles Notzel, Corporal
Gottlieb Stossberg, Corporal
Wm. Tell, Musician
Jos. Bucher, Musician

Privates.

Andreas, Frederick
Angst, Gebhardt
Bauman, John
Bender, Max
Bergman, Martin
Biermann, Anton
Block, Jacob
Blumeier, Herman
Bornler, Geo.
Boss, Caspar
Brown, Charles
Breitsche, Charles
Diesel, Peter
Eckhardt, Peter
Eifler, Chas.
Eisenhuth, John S.
Falbush, Fred. Hy.
Fischer, Christian
Fuchs, Andreas
Fuhrman, Hy.
Gautner, Jacob
Gardner, Hy.
Gieselman, John
Harter, Jacob
Hartroth, Louis
Hattimer, Bernhard
Heiss, Fred.
Hermann, John
Hugger, Max
Hulle, George
Imboden, Christian
Kacherer, Bernhardt
Kamleiter, Fred.
Kehl, Christian
Kleb, Christian
Klopp, Hy.
Knoche, George
Konigung, Gottlieb
Kumler, Fred.
Kupferschmidt, Jos.
Leitmeiler, Fred.
Meinhaus, Bernhard
Mueller, Frank
Nantz, Hy.
Niederer, Otto
Noll, Adam
Orzokowsky, Jos.
Osten, Geo.
Ott, Fred. Wm.
Price, Justus
Ruemler, Chas.
Rupertus, Peter
Schmidt, Wm.
Schmidt, Herman
Seiber, Fred.
Schiller, Julius
Schirmer, Herman
Schneider, Hy.
Schnider, John
Spatz, Philip
Stettin, Wm.
Strickler, Victor
Sassenguth, Aug.
Thomas, Mathias
Trummer, Wm.
Walter, John
Weavers, Bernhardt
Weber, John
Wettstein, Hy.
York, Hy.
Zwissler, Theo.

FIFTH REGIMENT INFANTRY, MISSOURI VOLUNTEERS.

The quota of Missouri under President Lincoln's call for 75,000 men, had been filled by the first four Regiments of Volunteers, but, in anticipation that more troops would be accepted, Companies of the Fifth Missouri Volunteers were organized and mustered in, at the time, when the President's Order of April 30 authorized enlistments in St. Louis up to 10,000 men. The Regiment was completed May 18 by electing C. E. Solomon Colonel. Companies of the Fifth Volunteers garrisoned the Arsenal on Camp Jackson Day.

The Regiment left St. Louis June 16 and marched Southwest, via Rolla, leaving one Company at Lebanon and two at Springfield. It reached Dry Forks, ten miles north of Carthage, took part in that engagement and creditably held its ground in the battle of Wilson's Creek, although the time of the men had expired.

Returning to St. Louis August 18, the Regiment was mustered out August 26, most of its members joining different organizations for the three years' service.

The Missouri Adjutant General's Report for 1863 states relative the Fifth Volunteer Regiment: "'A' no company." Another office record states: "Company 'A,' Fifth Missouri Volunteers, went, under Captain Nelson Cole, with Companies A and B Rifles of the First Missouri Volunteers, to the southeast of the State," and in the Adjutant General's Office of Missouri are recorded transfers, amounting to nearly a full Company, from Company A, Fifth Volunteers, to Captain Cole's Company E, First Regiment Volunteers, three years' service. To avoid duplication, the names are only reported in the latter list.

In the United States Records of the Civil War the report appears from St. Louis Arsenal, May 16, 1861, that Captain Nelson Cole, Company A, Fifth Regiment, Missouri Infantry, and Company A, Rifle Battalion, First Regiment Missouri Volunteers, went to Potosi, captured lead and some prisoners, and returned to St. Louis, leaving Lieutenant Murphy with 30 men at De Soto.

The Fifth Regiment had only 775 men, being reduced by Com-

pany "A" detachment. The nationality of its members was 65 per cent German, the balance American, Bohemian and Irish.

FIELD AND STAFF.

Chas. E. Solomon, Colonel
Christ D. Wolff, Lt.-Colonel
Fred W. Cronenbold, Major
Edward C. Franklin, Surgeon
Samuel H. Melcher, Asst. Surgeon
Bernard Meissner, Quartermaster
Wm. Gerlach, Adjutant
Joseph Nemeth, 1st Lieut., ext. duty
Fred Cassel, Quartermaster Sergt.
John A. Pranger, Drum Major
George Beck, Corporal

NO COMPANY A.

COMPANY B.

Louis Gottschalk, Captain
Emil Wachter, 1st Lieutenant
Wm. Bang, 2d Lieutenant
John C. Castelhuhn, 1st Sergeant
Henry Bedecker, Sergeant
Wm. Goetz, Sergeant
Conrad Hahn, Sergeant
Wm. Buchmer, Corporal
John Machin, Corporal
Peter Wirz, Corporal
George Beck, Corporal
Chas. Welker, Musician

Privates.

Alt, Charles
Anslinger, John
Baumhoeffner, Aug.
Beckerle, Valentin
Bergfeld, Frank
Bernhardt, David
Braun, Fred
Broham, John
Brown, Wm. F.
Burckhardt, Robt.
De Haas, Hy. Caspar
Firx, Fred
Frielingsdorf, Ewald
Gallagher, John
Gates, Hy.
Geimer, Fred.
Glatz, George
Grau, Rudolph
Griffin, Michael
Guenshoner, Anton
Guth, Geo. John
Halbrank, Hy.
Hankes, Frank
Hipp, Jacob
Hirschmann, Wm.
Hirzlin, Geo.
Hoffman, Adam
Horn, John
Jenter, Michael
Kaufman, John
Kehler, Louis
Klinge, Hy.
Kull, Fred.
Kunold, Hy.
Kunst, Hy.
Linnewirt, Christ.
Lynnot, Thomas
Markert, Chas.
Marquart, Joachim
Mayer, And.
Merkel, Chas.
Merz, John B.
Meschke, Hy.
Mueller, Jacob
Nestel, Jos.
Olte, Chas.
Paetz, Peter
Obrecht, Michael
Paul, Jacob
Paul, Louis
Praegizer, John
Reeg, Wm.
Regg, Louis
Reiter, Peter
Richter, Ernst
Rothfusz, John
Saul, Adam
Schauerte, Jos.
Schlingemann, Wm.
Schlosser, Jacob
Schmidt, Chas.
Schuller, Gustav
Schwab, Anton
Schweigler, Andrew
Spikermann, Jacob
Stadelmann, Geo.
Stelling, Wm.
Stohr, Louis
Strassner, Leonhardt
Trahant, Hy.
Voelpel, Ad. Phil.
Voelpel, Wm.
Vogt, Chas.
Vogt, Theodor
Wagner, Peter
Webers, Hy.
Wendel, Conrad
Wieners, Louis
Wolff, Hy.
Zeller, Hy.
Ziegler, Fred.
Zimmermann, Fred.

COMPANY C.

Fred Solomon, Captain
Wm. Kossack, 1st Lieutenant
Otto Venn, 2d Lieutenant
Julius Uhlenhut, 1st Sergeant
Victor Dehlinger, Sergeant
E. A. Stephan, Sergeant
Paul Andres, Sergeant
Fred Hohmann, Corporal
Otto Groeger, Corporal
Hy. Held, Corporal
Ferdinand Poettgen, Corporal
Hy. Phillips, Musician
Louis S. Phillips, Musician

Privates.

Abel, John
Anders, Chas.
Anselm, David
Babureck, Jos.
Berghofer, John
Blaha, Martin
Bollmann, Hy.
Brinkop, Hy.
Bruder, Nicolaus
Dain, John
Dierberger, John
Drescelius, Adam
Dewitz, Chas.
Eckerle, Lorenz
Ellerbeck, Fr. W.
Fialla, Wenzel
Gerwiner, Arnold
Goetz, Jacob
Grumm, Mathias
Haake, Wm.
Harsch, Phillip
Hlawatzek, Wendel
John, Frederick
Jost, August
Kristufest, Jacob
Krug, Edward
Kuhut, Herman
Leonhart, Sam.
Linhard, Ferd.
Lohrum, Jacob
Long, John
Ludy, Andrew
Mannwell, Aug.
Mueller, Ignatz
Nemetz, Wenzel
Niematz, Jos.
Nock, Nicolaus
Pfister, Victor A.
Punger, John
Rappensecker, L.
Rannowsky, John
Rauck, Jno. Nic.
Regiaz, Francis
Rehberg, John
Rice, Adam
Rotermund, Fred.
Rubi, John
Rudolph, Chas.
Rueckert, Phil.
Rupel, Andreas
Salatz, Anton
Sandau, Martin
Schmidt, Geo.
Selder, Felix
Siedler, Christ
Skalla, Adolph
Stuck, John
Stuck, Wenzel
Stevens, Theodor
Sushank, Wenzel
Tessary, Jos.
Waechter, Louis
Waterloo, Balthasar
Welch, Mathias
Welck, Francis
Will, Hy.
Wimer, Chas.
Wurster, Fred
Zauf, Joseph

COMPANY D.

Charles Mehl, Captain
Gustav Seebold, 1st Lieutenant
Christopher Stork, 2d Lieutenant
Wm. Kuhl, 1st Sergeant
Moritz Schilling, Sergeant
Peter Hufschmidt, Sergeant
Charles Betz, Sergeant
Valentin Knell, Corporal
George Stier, Corporal
Joseph Griener, Corporal
August Hinterthier, Corporal

Privates.

Aulbach, Adam
Bauer, Jos.
Bergemann, Aug.
Binder, Anton
Brauer, Conrad
Brauns, Aug.
Brendle, Rud.
Broring, Ferd.
Damm, Michael
Day, Friedrich
Eckhoff, Fred.
Ehing, Sebastian
Emig, Louis
Engelmann, Anton
Fischer, Chas. Fred.
Foeger, Johann
Foekle, Henry
Franke, Carl
Freier, Gottfried
Fuchs, Joseph
Geilsdorf, Carl
Greib, Andreas
Greim, Hy.
Greiner, Xavier
Grieser, Franz
Grundrich, Jos.
Grundamer, Andr.
Hambloch, Theo.
Henzleck, Hy.
Hesberg, Jacob
Hoffmann, John
Jost, Christoph
Keanter, Fritz
Kellikohl, Oswald
Klappinger, Peter
Kleibstein, Adolph
Kling, Jacob
Lammers, Hy.
Lamert, Valentin
List, Geo.
Lochbuehler, Michel
Meyer, Louis
Mick, Jackes
Mick, Jean
Mohle, Charles
Mohle, Wm.
Mueller, Fritz
Poppmeier, Mathias
Rauer, Hy.
Ravonsky, Adolph
Reming, Jean
Rosemeier, Jos.
Rothenbucher, Jac.
Rothfuss, David
Schaefer, Thos.
Schaller, Jacob
Schaller, Michael
Schlinger, Franz
Schmidt, Franz
Scholz, Louis
Schulz, Anton
Schulz, Carl
Spehn, Jacob
Stadtmann, Bernhard
Strobel, John
Weidemueller, Hy.
Wieland, Christ
Woldung, Fritz
Wonefahrt, John
Zapf, Jean
Zoller, Adolph
Zumsteg, Jos.

COMPANY E.

Carl Stephany, Captain
Jos. Ballhaus, 1st Lieutenant
Julius Nehrig, 2d Lieutenant
John Martin, 1st Sergeant
John Meurer, Sergeant
Dietrich Meyer, Sergeant
Christian Clement, Sergeant
Guttman Conrad, Sergeant
Phil Breiheuser, Corporal
Charles Dietz, Corporal
Franz Schifferle, Corporal
Louis Bergthold, Corporal
Christ Leimonstahl, Musician

Privates.

Adam, Hy.
Bassmann, John
Bechtler, Christ
Bergmann, Hy.
Bomes, Phillip
Bock, John
Bock, Ludwig
Bornnosky, Christ
Breitenbach, Gustav
Burkhard, Phillip
Burns, John
Dankert, John
Dolle, Wm.
Edler, Charles
Eisenlohr, Rudolph
Farren, James
Fleischhut, Fred.
Frenk, Hy.
Geier, Louis
Geiser, James
Grase, Christ
Grunkemeyer, Chas.
Guntensperger, Robt.
Haffner, Ludwig
Herr, Ferdinand
Hoffner, John
Holzapfel, Gottfried
Jicha, John
Koester, Fred.
Krapf, Valentin
Kuhl, Andreas
Langenthal, Edw.
Luhrs, Chas.
Magers, Hy.
Mansur, Carl
Mersch, Chas.
Meyer, George
Munnig, Urban
Oberbeck, Hy.
Papenhagen, Fred.
Peck, Charles
Poekler, Wm.
Saeger, Hy.
Schaefer, Mathias
Schanz, Christian
Schirmer, Edw.
Schulte, Chas.
Schwade, Adolph
Sewing, Fred.
Stark, Balthasar
Temsch, Alois
Volz, Alexander
Wenzel, Adam

COMPANY F.

Alfred Arnaud, Captain
Rudolph Schneider, 1st Lieutenant
Emil Thomas, 2d Lieutenant
John Etling, 1st Sergeant
Alex Lamouroux, Sergeant
Jacob Peters, Sergeant
Caspar Zimmermann, Sergeant
Andrew Hoffmann, Sergeant
Henry Erbe, Corporal
Anton Constant, Corporal
Peter Kerth, Corporal
John Vinchard, Corporal
Edw. Curtois, Corporal
Michael Meyer, Musician

Privates.

Beckman, John G.
Behrley, Fred.
Bloomer, John
Boncher, Ambrose
Boncher, Joseph
Bonnet, Pierre
Briard, David O.
Brothers, Nicolas
Coats, John
Collerant, Aug.
Dehler, Anthony
Dihner, Adolph
Dorn, Emil
Drost, G. H.
Eckerly, Lorenz
Enge, Joseph
Erdman, John
Forman, Jacob
Gehner, Philip
Geis, Francis
Geisthing, Fred.
German, John P.
Grasse, Michael
Gye, Joseph
Harding, Gottlieb
Hayet, Jno.
Herzog, Wm.
Hoesly, Hy.
Hook, Louis
Hossman, A.
Joseph, Andre
Kastens, Harvey
Klingler, Chas.
Koch, Gottfried
Lamotte, John P.
Laternicht, John
Lavandesky
Lanvert, Hy.
Lauday, John
Lenhard, Ferd.
Leonhard, Melchoir
Mattern, George
Matthieu, Jos.
Meyer, Chas.
Miller, John
Opel, Edward
Park, Dan A.
Pastor, Michael
Prack, Jno.
Prevot, Louis
Raisch, Jos.
Renaud, John
Robade, Jos.
Rothenberger, Robert
Rothenthaler, Fred.
Rudolph, B.
Schaad, Jno.
Schoenstein, Bert
Schoen, Henry
Sihonette, Wm.
Schulz, John
Schwalby, Fred.
Seliere, Victor
Sip, Gideon
Sweeney, Martin
Sweeney, Wm.
Thieling, Pierre
Thily, Phillip
Ushers, Robert
Verlay, Christ.
Vinchard, Chas.
Weigly, Jacob
Wohloch, John Jac.
Zimmerman, Frank

COMPANY G.

Chas. E. Stark, Captain
Nicolaus Fuester, 1st Lieutenant
Charles Weiss, 2d Lieutenant
Geo. Niebauer, 1st Sergeant
Conrad Beck, Sergeant
Peter Hellmuth, Sergeant
Frank Paschen, Sergeant
Henry Neuer, Sergeant
Chas. Critzmann, Corporal
Leopold Kingelbach, Corporal
Wm. Braun, Corporal
Edward Kroll, Corporal
Hy. Egbers, Musician

Privates.

Adolph, Henry
Barthel, Mathias
Bauer, Michael
Baumann, Jno.
Brerkle, Phil
Breuninger, Leonhard
Brey, Julius
Buermann, Wm.
Chase, Henry
Drenz, A.
Fischer, August
Flemm, Chas.
Fasmer, Wm.
Ganter, Wendelin
Gerber, Henry
Grimm, Jacob
Grundreich, Christ
Heimberger, Chas.
Heinz, Jno.
Hemp, Hy.
Huber, Aloys
Humbrecht, Aloys
Junger, Adam
Kaemerer, Anton
Kallhof, Theodor
Kleeberg, Rudolph
Knopp, Martin B.
Koch, John
Koch, Victor
Koeb, Frank
Lamp, Henry
Lang, Nicolas
Leingang, Peter
Loesch, August
Lohman, Jac.
Mavinger, Peter
Michelen, Mathias
Moor, Henry
Neubert, Caspar
Neumann, Louis
Olbert, Jacob
Pott, Michel
Purte, John
Reuter, Nicolas
Raesch, Frank
Saarsmann, Wm.
Schlatler, Jac.
Schmidt, Chas. 1
Schmidt, Chas. 2
Schmidt, George
Schmidt, John
Schmitz, Hermann
Schneider, Fred.
Schulenburg, Fred.
Steinle, Rudolph
Stock, Benedict
Sudbeck, Franz H.
Wehrle, Xavier
Weidner, Chas.
Weisbeck, Michael
Wildhaber, Meinrad
Wirth, John
Witte, Gerhard
Wolff, Anton
Zobelei, Stephan
Zoeller, Andrew

COMPANY H.

Wm. J. Chester, **Captain**
John Coleman, **1st Lieutenant**
Samuel Morris, **2d Lieutenant**
John L. Eager, **1st Sergeant**
Wm. Boker, Sergeant
Wyman Vonbeck, Sergeant
Jos. B. Ashton, Sergeant
Mathew Grover, Corporal
Jas. Healey, Corporal
Sam I. Brown, Corporal
Timothy Kinney, Corporal

Privates.

Armbrust, Bernard
Anderson, Brestby
Barber, Chas. E.
Bauer, Stephan
Becker, Fred.
Brenard, Henry
Bridgeford, Frank
Brogan, Patrick
Burner, Patrick
Burow, John
Bushby, Josiah
Carter, John
Clarkson, Jas.
Clas, Andreas
Cody, William
Connors, Daniel
Cosmelia, Robert
Curtis, John
Davis, W. W.
Dempsey, Andrew
Develin, Chas.
Dickson, Ison
Dorman, John
Douglas, Jos. W.
Feaney, John
Flatron, Louis J.
Gallagher, Mike
George, Mathew
Gimbel, Chas.
Goday, Chas.
Gracey, John E.
Gremtz, Louis
Griffin, John
Grimes, Richard
Harbinson, Edward
Handlen, Larry
Harrison, Edward
Hayeck, John
Heinzelman, Valentin
Irwine, Chas.
Kelley, Daniel
Kelley, Wm.
Kerner, Leonard
Kimbel, Chas.
Kirea, Patrick
Knowlan, John
Laren, Hy. H.
Lynch, Thomas
McCartney, John
McGrath, Wm.
McKinney, Martin L.
Matheson, Jas.
Moog, Hy.
Mueller, Fred.
Murphy, Thomas
Oliver, Chas. R.
Owen, O. H.
Pierce, John
Preston, Wm. H.
Raule, Frank W.
Reid, Andrew J.
Renard, Eugene
Riley, Jos. J.
Runyon, Fred
Ruper, John
Ryan, Andrew
Ryan, Benjamin
Ryan, John
Shipley, Chas.
Sniff, Jos.
Vosse, Peter
Walker, Edw.
Weedon, John
Wegler, Chas.
Whiteside, Jas.
Woods, Jas.
Yoring, Jas.

COMPANY H. MARKED FOR TRANSFER TO SEVENTH MISSOURI VOLUNTEERS.

Wm. J. Hawkins, Captain
Monroe Harrison, 2d Lieutenant
Phil D. Foomer, 1st Sergeant
Barton Dear, Sergeant
James Butler, Sergeant
Jas. McGoffin, Corporal
Geo. Fairbanks, Corporal
John R. Taylor, Musician

Privates.

Bowman, J. A.
Campbell, Thos. J.
Conners, Patrick
Cowley, Cornelius
Cussick, Mike
Fairbanks, Hy.
Fairbanks, Wm.
Filbert, Sebastian
Flinn, Ben F.
Flynn, Daniel
Frail, Francis
Gan, Alex.
Gilet, Martin L.
Harper, Wm. H.
Harris, James
Hogan, James
Kinney, Henry
Knopp, Alvina E.
Lesser, Byron
McDonald, John
McIntyre, Thos.
McNamara, Jas.
Reams, Barthel
Roberts, W.
Rollins, Jos.
Scott, John
Smith, John
Sullivan, Mike
Terry, George
White, Patrick
Wills, Geo. N.
Winchell, Daniel
Wymer, Fred.

COMPANY I.

Chas. P. Meissner, Captain
G. Adam Bauer, 1st Lieutenant
Joseph Spiegelhalter, 2d Lieutenant
Anton Michaelis, 1st Sergeant
Franz Reichard, Sergeant
John Rossart, Sergeant
August Gottschalk, Sergeant
Bernard Breitenbach, Corporal
Herman Schafer, Corporal
Andreas Neimer, Corporal

Privates.

Bachmann, Louis
Backlein, Hy.
Bangert, Louis
Becker, Franz
Becker, Joseph
Behland, Adam
Bender, Rudolph
Bertram, Mathias
Besler, August
Biermann, Frank
Butz, Peter
Dan, John
Derbofen, Fred
Dessienso, Louis
Dieke, Lorenz
Dulle, Henry
Eckert, Otto
Eilman, Herman
Finke, Fred.
Fish, Math.
Flassack, Jos.
Fortkamp, Hy.
Foss, Charles
Frank, Jac.
Geister, Valentin
Geneke, Ernst
Hauberick, Jacob
Heinrich, Gottlieb
Hoeberle, Adam
Hoffman, Fred.
Huber, Jos.
Jaeger, Wm.
Johnson, George
Kaus, David
Koenemann, Hy.
Kurzeborn, Wm.
Lueders, Henry
Meier, Chas. F.
Mikers, Theo.
Mueller, Francis
Mueller, Fred.
Neuman, Fred.
Oberkamp, John
Ratz, Gustav
Renner, Albert
Roth, Fred
Sachse, Chas.
Schafer, Chas.
Schaub, Joseph
Schawinsky, Anton
Schmitz, Chas.
Schwarzwalder, Hy.
Stengel, Andreas
Stoll, Mathias
Topper, Wm.
Wahl, Hy.
Wessels, Bern.
Wingmann, Geo.
Woerner, John
Zittzmann, Emil

COMPANY K.

Samuel A. Flagg, Captain
Wm. S. Boyd, 1st Lieutenant
Wm. H. Thompson, 2d Lieutenant
Christ A. Whitmer, 1st Sergeant
Geo. Cleghorn, Sergeant
John W. Fisk, Sergeant
Comfort E. Rutherford, Sergeant
John F. White, Corporal
John C. Tuch, Corporal
Daniel Brady, Corporal
Hy. C. Thompson, Corporal
Wm. Sulivan, Musician

Privates.

Babler, John
Beach, Louis
Bell, Wm.
Belling, Wm.
Berman, Jno.
Bickford, Chas.
Boker, Chas.
Calef, Dan R.
Campbell, Jno. A.
Cane, James
Cane, John
Coniar, Jas.
Crade, Chas.
Crude, Wm.
Curtis, Jos.
Driscoll, John
Dulan, John
Eno, John
Fenlaron, Wm. H.
Fitzgerald, John
Gallagher, Thomas
Green, Phillip
Haack, John
Hench, Samuel
Hunter, Benj. R.
Karbs, Fred.
Lanfra, Wm., Jr.
Linn, Chas.
Long, Anthony
Lynch, Dan
Lynch, John
McAlister, Wm.
McFilly, Jas.
McKenzie, Hy.
McKnight, Wm.
Maher, John
Marrow, John H.
Miller, Fred.
Nelson, Andrew
Outerbridge, M. C.
Peterson, Martin
Petraw, Chas.
Roach, John
Ronte, Wm.
Rupple, Fritz
Rupple, Jos.
Ruzers, Andreas
Ryan, John
Schwarze, Aug.
Shannon, Frank
Shofe, Thomas
Siecke, Louis
Simpson, David F.
Sneider, Frank
Speckelburg, Sam.
Striegle, August
Syme, Thomas
Transfiel, John
Tuttle, Eugene

FIRST REGIMENT, UNITED STATES RESERVE CORPS, MISSOURI VOLUNTEERS,

was organized in the First Ward of St. Louis, south of Soulard street, under President Lincoln's Order of April 30, 1861, and mustered in for home service at the St. Louis Arsenal under Colonel Henry Almstedt on May 7. It had 1,200 men in 12 Companies. Its Armory was Jaeger's Garden on Sidney and Tenth streets. On May 10 six Companies marched to Camp Jackson and six were posted on Sidney street, guarding the avenues to the Arsenal. On May 18 a Cavalry Company from the same Ward joined, which did valuable scouting service. When the Volunteers moved from St. Louis part of the Regiment held the Arsenal, protected the railroad to Rolla, and garrisoned, for a short time, Jefferson City. Four Companies occupied Turner Hall during the absence of the Third Reserve, and six Companies followed Fremont to Birds Point until ordered to St. Louis to be mustered out on August 20. With the exception of 6 per cent Bohemians, the Regiment was almost entirely German.

The Three Months' Regiment consisted of 12 Infantry and 1 Cavalry Company, numbering 1,269 men.. It reorganized for a Three-Year Reserve Regiment by September 12 under Colonel Robert J. Rombauer.

FIRST REGIMENT U. S. RESERVE CORPS, MISSOURI VOLUNTEERS, MUSTERED FOR THREE MONTHS' SERVICE, ST. LOUIS ARSENAL, MAY 7, 1861.

Henry Almstedt, Colonel	Emil Seeman, Surgeon
Robert J. Rombauer, Lt. Colonel	John Heimbach, Ass't Surgeon
Philip J. Brimmer, Major	Wm. Waldschmidt, Adjutant

August Leussler, Quartermaster

COMPANY A.

Jacob Horn, Captain
Emil Mark, 1st Lieutenant
Wm. Waldschmidt, 2d Lieutenant
Michael Best, 1st Sergeant
Peter M. Dangler, Sergeant
Anton Herzog, Sergeant
Andreas Goetz, Sergeant
Valentine Schaaf, Corporal
Franz Doll, Corporal
Jacob Berberich, Corporal
Anton Unger, Corporal
Martin Neuhaus, Musician
Joseph Marx, Musician

Privates.

Bahr, Joseph
Berns, Fred.
Bitsch, George
Botts, John
Bressel, John
Brohammer, John
Bush, Fred.
Ehlet, Fred.
Decock, John
Ditzler, George
Doerr, Conrad
Dumet, Francis
Dusalt, Michael
Eck, P.
Elsner, Fred.
Eckerich, Martin
Findel, Henry
Firmbach, Philip
Flachmeyer, Casp.
Foester, Michael
Foetz, George
Freck, John
Freihaut, Hy.
Funk, Andreas
Gab, Jacob
Gack, George.
Geiger, Francis
Gruber, Michael
Gruber, Silvester
Haffner, Anton
Hahl, Michael
Hanser, Anselm
Hanser, George
Heins, Andreas
Heller, Daniel
Hinkel, John
Hofman, Christoph
Holstein, Christian
Holzford, Edmund
Huckshold, Gottlieb
Jacob, John
Kern, Daniel 1st
Kern, Daniel, 2d
Kescher, Lorenz
Killi, Isidor
Klein, Marx
Kling, Daniel
Koch, Jacob
Kochler, George
Koeling, George
Kornelius, Jacob
Krueger, Julius
Lang, John
Langendorf, Mathias
Lehmert, John
Lenther, P. Jos.
Lind, John
Machmeyer, John
Mangel, Hy.
Mayer, Conrad
Muencke, Geo.
Muencke, Isaac
Noll, John
Offermann, Geo.
Rehman, Emil
Rothermel, Wm.
Roessler, Gabriel
Schaaf, Andreas
Schaper, Daniel
Schaper, Fred
Scharbonier, John
Schilling, Anton
Schlichting, Aug.
Schlund, John
Schmidt, Xavier
Schmidt, Fred.
Schreiber, Fred.
Schultz, Christoph
Siess, Jacob
Sievers, William
Streif, Fred.
Supiner, Anton
Tanka, Hy.
Thomas, John J
Ulius, Hy.
Vanberi, Hy.
Vollmer, Hy.
Wieland, George
Wilhelm, Jacob
Winkler, Lorenz
Winkler, Wm.
Winkler, Edmund

COMPANY B.

Roderick E. Rombauer, Captain
Theobald Eckerle, 1st Lieutenant
Isaac Baer, 2nd Lieutenant
Leo Rassieur, 1st Sergeant
Lorenz Engelhorn, Sergeant
I. N. Heintz, Sergeant
Albert Beller, Sergeant
Wendelin Meyer, Sergeant
Frank Gitsen, Corporal
John Stadler, Corporal
Fred Schragg, Corporal
Ignatz Heuer, Corporal
N. John Eddelman, Musician
Alois Lieman, Musician

Privates.

Aschner, Nathan
Ast, John
Baer, Xavier
Bastian, Jacob
Biddermann, George
Bocklus, Nicholaus
Bockewitz, Geo. C.
Bonifer, Martin
Bolte, Henry
Buettner, George
Decker, Chas.
Decker, Geo.
Dermeyer, Hy.
Ditmar, Henry
Doerr, Caspar
Dueven, Francis
Durban, Andrew
Elsasser, Geo.
Fenner, Wm.
Fischer, Geo.
Fleischman, Pancratius
Foerstel, Nic
Frabks, Wm.
Giesen, Jacob
Goebel, John
Graeff, Baltasar
Grunder, Aug.
Haas, Baltazar
Haentges, John
Herder, Adam
Hillsdorf, Hy.
Hof, Martin
Jaeschke, Robert
Kalert, Wm.
Keller, Theo.
Kleibolt, Theo.
Klopper, Jos.
Kolb, Albert
Kolb, Charles
Kremer, John
Krauss, John
Lambert, Geo.
Landfried, Geo.
Landfried, Jacob
Landwehrmann, Peter
Langemann, Ernst
Langloth, Dan
Laschope, Michael
Laux, John
Leimgreber, John
Lepert, Hy.
Machmer, Jacob
Meyer, Charles
Meyer, Louis
Nolte, Anton
Ottenad, John P.
Paulus, John
Pfenninger, Jacob
Reis, Michael
Reith, George
Reith, Joseph
Roeder, Wm.
Sauerwein, Frank
Scheed, John
Schmitz, Ignatz
Schneider, John
Schobe, Geo.
Schoener, Norbert
Schwening, Xavier
Sexauer, Geo.
Segelke, Dietrich
Sicking, Wm. B.
Sipieser, John
Spengman, Hy.
Spuhle, Phillip
Stadel, Francis
Stahl, John
Stark, Geo.
Steinmeyer, Fred.
Streib, Geo.
Strittmatter, Chas.
Uhri, Andrew
Voelker, Christ.
Voester, Nicholas
Vogel, Hy.
Vollmer, Christoph
Weidburg, Edward
Wesseling, Bernhard
Weiss, Francis
Wettig, Fred.
Woehrle, John

COMPANY C.

Theodore Hildenbrandt, Captain
James F. Wodwarka, 1st Lieutenant
George Ost, 2d Lieutenant
Franz Howarka, 1st Sergeant
Fred Nischwitz, Sergeant
John Brosch, Sergeant
Wm. Reuss, Sergeant
Joseph Wuch, Corporal
Henry Kall, Corporal
Mathias Lohr, Corporal
Conrad Greff, Corporal
Wenzel Pfeiffer, Musician
Chas. Gebhardt, Musician

Privates.

Banhardt, Hy.
Becke, George
Bertram, John
Bileck, Joseph
Blaha, Frank 1st
Blaha, Frank 2d
Borecky, John
Deis, Jacob
Deitz, Hy.
Dirkes, Clemens
Drescher, Frank
Droschak, Frank
Ebert, Geo.
Erhardt, Friedrich
Fink, Louis
Fischer, Mehand
Forst, Anton
Frabks, Wm.
Frauenholzer, Christ
Gicha, Frank
Grahr, John
Halblaut, Hy.
Haneschek, Wenzel
Hauser, John
Hegela, Joseph
Hoff, Jacob
Hofmann, Henry
Holzer, Meinradt
Horst, John
Huffner, Peter
Huttler, Christian
Icha, Wenzel
Jobst, Alois
Jonas, John
Jung, Abraham
Jungel, Martin
Kadletz, Thomas
Kalinovsky, Jonas
Kiesela, John
Kiesela, John
Kiesle, Rudolph
Kirkawa, Martin
Koell, Frank
Koels, John
Koza, Mathias
Kurwitch, Anton
Kutina, Joseph
Lang, Andreas
Maag, John
Marecek, Jos.
Mathias, John
Miller, Egidius
Moser, Frederick
Opperman, Jacob
Paner, Solomon
Panuschka, Wenzel
Patz, Justus
Pelikan, Joseph
Peschek, Francis
Pohn, August
Pollack, Francis
Rank, Gottfried
Ritter, Nicholaus
Roth, Charles
Saba, Joseph
Samiel, Joseph
Schiepek, Joseph
Schlichter, Anton
Scholl, John
Schurr, John
Schwarz, Frank
Schwarz, John
Schwarz, Joseph
Schwarz, Wenzel
Stack, Otto
Stankowsky, Joseph
Trefung, John
Underhaten, Frank
Vollmer, Joseph
Waecht, Adam
Walovsky, Jacob
Wander, George
Weinheimer, Mathias
Westhausen, Aug.
Wickman, Frederick
Wirthel, John
Zerny, Wenzel
Ziegler, Andreas
Ziegler, Rochus
Zimraczek, Francis
Zournan, Richard

COMPANY D.

Leonhard Weindel, Captain
Fred. W. Henkels, 1st Lieutenant
Peter Schardin, 2d Lieutenant
Max Saettele, 1st Sergeant
Robert Mandel, Sergeant
August Hammerstein, Sergeant
John Lebbing, Corporal
Gustav Hammerstein, Corporal
Jacob Weindel, Corporal
Balthazar Lorch, Corporal
Frederick Volz, Musician
Robert Zumbo, Musician

Privates.

Albert, John
Bornscheid, Bernhardt
Buhler, Leopold
Byer, Francis
Dahl, Nicholaus
Davis, Henry
Depenhauer, Christian
Eberhardt, John Geo.
Ehnert, Frederick
Fath, Jacob
Fehl, Henry
Fedke, John
Gent, Frederick
Graff, Vincent
Gruenewald, John
Guethe, Henry
Harstick, Christian
Hauberich, Peter
Hertlinger, Michael
Hesch, Phillip
Hugegeb, Jacob
Jacob, Nicholas
Jacob, Philip
Junger, Geo.
Kauffman, Wm.
Klein, Hy.
Kraemer, Hy.
Krenzer, Louis
Krus, Andreas
Lecker, Wm.
Lieb, Andreas
Lorenz, Fred
Ludwig, Gustav
Maiberg, Hy.
Martin, Francis
Menches, John
Meyer, Bernhardt
Moeller, Henry
Moser, Jacob
Moskopf, Lorenz
Mutz, Ephraim
Nagel, Jacob
Nager, Charles
Nester, Christian
Netzer, Peter
Neustaedter, Fred.
Pappert, Eusebius
Pein, Wm.
Remmers, Christian
Roche, Wm.
Roehl, Lorenz
Roemer, Peter
Schittenhelm, Louis
Schlitter, Jacob
Schmeikel, John
Schroeder, Conrad
Schwartz, J.
Senti, Christopher
Siegmund, Andreas
Taussig, Moritz
Taylor, Fred.
Trauer, Samuel
Tschudi, Jacob
Wagner, Peter
Walzer, Jacob
Weidner, Wm.
Weiss, George
Welte, Wm.
Wirsz, Francis
Wirsz, George
Wolff, Christian
Zimmermann, Andreas
Zimmermann, Theodor

COMPANY E.

George Rothweiler, Captain
Lorenz Liebermann, 1st Lieutenant
Gustav Garrell, 2d Lieutenant
Frederich Tieman, 1st Sergeant
Valentin Fath, Sergeant
William Griselman, Sergeant
Hy. Scharringhausen, Sergeant
Henry Roth, Corporal
Henry Kohlman, Corporal
Wm. H. Taylor, Corporal
Hy. Bischoff, Corporal
Anton Heyer, Musician
John Schaefer, Musician

Privates.

Bauer, Charles
Bauer, John
Baumgarten, Benedict
Belz, John
Besch, Christian
Besch, Peter
Bierman, Wm.
Boll, Mathias
Burkadt, Leonhart
Buckler, Henry
Casper, Christopher
Dicker, Adam
Diehl, August
Disch, Xavier
Ens, August
Elsner, Frederick
Fessel, Adam
Foell, Christopher
Frank, Francis
Frank, Christopher
Freitag, Hy.
Fuchs, Joseph
Gerdes, Theobald
Gieselmann, Gottlieb
Grave, Wm.
Guth, Wm.
Hahn, John
Hahne, Hy.
Haller, Hy.
Hampe, Charles
Hampe, Wm.
Harding, Conrad
Hettler, Chas.
Heyer, John
Hindeman, John
Hoge, Frederick
Kahlenbeck, Hy.
Kasten, Wm.
Keltner, Emanuel
Kirchhaus, Geo.
Klaas, Henry
Koehler, Basilius
Kramer, Adam
Krausnick, Edward
Krautsch, Aug.
Leue, Henry
Levy, Fred.
Luth, Louis
Meyer, Hermann
Miller, Fred. 1
Miller, Fred. 2
Moeller, George
Moller, Wm.
Nieman, Rudolph
Reems, Gerhard
Risse, Nicholaus
Roef, Conrad
Roth, John
Rothe, Henry
Rudolph, Henry
Rudolph, Wm.
Ruggs, John
Russler, Hy.
Schaefer, J.
Scharringhausen, Dietrich
Scharringhausen, Fred
Schaumberg, Phil.
Scherer, Xavier
Schlichter, Peter
Schmidt, Hy.
Schmidt, John
Schnier, Henry
Schramm, Friederich
Schuerman, Herman
Schulz, Hy.
Spieswiger, Frank
Staehle, Jacob
Staehlin, Christ.
Standt, J.
Stickler, David
Stuckenberg, Hermann
Stuckenberg, John
Stucker, August
Stutz, Anton H.
Toma, Gallas
Unverdorben, Louis
Vorenbach, Charles
Wacker, John
Weilmunster, Conrad
Wehmuller, Fred.
Wendt, Fred.
Wetteroth, Louis
Werder, Jacob
Wirthlin, Louis
Woldt, Fred.
Wuchlhausen, John
Zeus, Charles
Zimmermann, Joseph

COMPANY F.

Wiliam Balz, Captain
Geo. Reinhardt, 1st Lieutenant
Jacob Reinhardt, 2d Lieutenant
Stephan Freckmann, 1st Sergeant
Conrad Breitenbach, Sergeant
Chas. Schumann, Sergeant
Moritz Bauer, Corporal
Bernhardt Bolzenthal, Corporal
Frederick Basch, Corporal
Peter Kriegsbaum, Corporal
Wm. Hassenpflug, Musician
Henry Hedrich, Musician

Privates.

Anschuetz, Aug.
Appuhn, Wm.
Arras, Peter
Bloecher, Christ.
Boemler, Hy.
Boerger, Balthasar
Boschoff, Martin
Brenchel, Henry
Brobst, Fidel
Brockmeyer, Christian
Bungdorf, Christian
Dauber, Phillip
Dauber, Wm.
Ditgen, Jacob
Dutte, Wm.
Dunkel, Louis
Eberle, Charles
Eckerle, Charles
Eckert, Hy.
Eichhorn, Christian
Elsperman, John
Enghauser, Anton
Enzinger, P. H. M.
Eubler, Francis
Evers, Fred.
Fey, Anton
Fey, Michael
Florg, Edward
Francis, David
Freyse, Fred
Fritzshe, August
Gatting, John
Geitmar, Martin
Giesecke, Christ
Goetz, Martin
Grunow, Fred.
Hanewinkel, John
Held, Henry
Helmbacher, Michael
Hummel, John
Kehrer, William
Kick, Charles
Korber, Phillip
Krach, Henry
Krusius, Jacob
Lander, Geo.
Limburg, Christian
Loehr, Phillip
Manterfeld, Henry
Mauver, Michael
Meisbach, Conrad
Meyer, Ludwig
Mollenpage, Conrad
Mueller, Francis
Niehaus, Henry
Nussbaum, Levy
Ochs, Henry
Oetting, Ferdinand
Pannert, John
Pausback, Phillip
Pohnert, Ludwig
Quenyen, Christian
Ragenaw, Phillip
Reid, John
Rohlfing, Hy. 1st
Rohlfing, Hy. 2d
Roll, Hy.
Sartorius, Martin
Sauerwine, Charles
Saum, Nicolaus
Schaaf, Phillip
Schall, Michael
Schallmeyer, Ludwig
Schepp, Peter
Schettler, Adolph
Schleifstein, John
Schindler, Valentin
Seele, Christ.
Soldmann, John
Stengel, John
Steigewald, Adam
Steuber, Francis
Strele, George
Strele, Wm
Voelker, Hy.
Wagner, Phillip
Wald, Fred.
Warneke, John
Winfeld, Wm.
Wolf, Ludwig
Wolff, Joseph

COMPANY G.

Charles Hartig, Captain
Arnold P. Roetter, 1st Lieutenant
George Clemens, 2d Lieutenant
Henry Wand, 1st Sergeant
Louis Bonlin, Sergeant
Chas. Bechtlieft, Sergeant
Henry Buehler, Sergeant
Louis Suesdorf, Sergeant
Fred Lohman, Corporal
Fred Bertram, Corporal
Jacob Stemler, Corporal
Tobias Grewe, Corporal
John Staelski, Musician
Emil Balinger, Musician

Privates.

Almerodt, Adam
Aulback, Peter
Berblinger, Hy.
Bielefeld, Louis
Bleicher, Chas.
Blatz, Jacob
Bobe, Felix
Bobe, Peter
Boechur, Frank
Brandt, Charles
Brichoux, Peter
Broadhack, Wm.
Buehler, Conrad
Deffen, Louis
Diehl, Phillip
Fisher, Joseph
Fleish, Joseph
Frank, Nicolaus
Franz, Andreas
Franz, Ephraim
Fritsch, Fred.
Gebhard, Fred
Geis, John
Gerau, Andreas
Grampp, George
Greitler, August
Happel, Hartmann
Heidenthal, Egidius
Heinbach, Peter
Herurch, Henry
Hildebrandt, Stephen
Hoeveke, Gerard
Hohenschild, Fred.
Hupp, John
Huppmann, John
Huppner, John
Koehler, John
Kuehne, Albert
Kuehne, Edward
Kuepper, John
Kunz, Joseph
Laux, Michael
Leingruber, Hermann
Loider, Albert
Loos, Henry
Loux, Martin
Menges, Peter Ph.
Meyer, Hy.
Michaelis, Andreas
Mueth, August
Muth, Lorenz
Neckermann, Louis
Nuss, Christ
Orth, Peter
Ottenmeyer, Fred.
Padberg, August
Padberg, Lorenz
Picker, Charles
Reifeis, Fred.
Reis, John
Rohre, George
Rothaermel, Jacob
Schaab, Henry
Schill, Martin
Schill, Michael
Schilling, Robert
Schlingmann, Chas.
Schob, Ernst
Schopper, Fred.
Schweiss, Anton
Seibold, Hermann
Sinn, Leonhardt
Smidtiel, Sigmund
Still, Wendel
Straub, Xavier
Stubb, John
Thaler, John
Versen, Joseph
Vetter, John
Vollman, George
Wack, Wm.
Wagner, Fred.
Wagner, Phillip
Waldschmidt, Fred.
Waterla, Leopold
Weber, Gottfried
Wehling, John
Weiss, Fravens
Wille, John
Wintler, Henry
Winniger, John
Zeimere, Martin
Zimmer, John
Zimmermann, Jacob

COMPANY H.

Joseph Schubert, Captain
Casper Koehler, 1st Lieutenant
George Damner, 2d Lieutenant
August Etling, 1st Sergeant
Francis Stutz, Sergeant
Paul Holzscheiter, Sergeant
Ernst Kiesewetter, Sergeant
John Rinkle, Sergeant
Henry Perty, Corporal
John Blank, Corporal
Charles Hauck, Corporal
Anton Schminke, Corporal
Valentine Stocke, Corporal
Okel Conrad, Musician

Privates.

Altfeld, Hy.
Bauer, Adam
Beckemeier, Wm.
Becker, George
Beismann, Hy.
Boesch, Jacob
Boesch, Phillip
Bollinger, Valentine
Bollmann, Joseph
Bollwerk, Harvy
Breidenbach, Henry
Bruns, Charles
Bruns, Henry
Bugg, Jacob
Burgdorf, Chas.
Bush, Michael
Christopher, Fred.
Christopher, Wm.
Cornelius, Anton
Crone, Charles
Ducker, Fred.
Ehrler, John Geo.
Engelbrecht, Christoph.
Enger, George
Engau, Chas.
Etling, Chas.
Fansen, William
Flink, Hy.
Frank, Christoph.
Frey, Jacob
Frey, Nicolaus
Gartner, Caspar
Glassner, Geo.
Goesser, Aug.
Gubser, Frank
Hartmann, Lorenz
Hebel, Louis
Heck, Ignatz
Heinsrith, Chas.
Henke, Frederick
Hoffmann, Louis
Holls, Charles
Homer, Theobald
Horsche, Friederich
Huber, Ignatz
Ittel, Alexander
Jacobs, Phillip
Kartmann, Hermann
Kirchhof, Ludwig
Koch, Albert
Kohlebruck, Louis
Leitner, Joseph
Lennert, Conrad
Linnenfelser, Fred.
Lipphardt, Hy.
Loewenstein, Chas.
Mayer, Franz
Meier, John H.
Missemeier, John
Muegge, Wm.
Mueller, Henry
Peter, Jacob
Pfirman, Valentine
Rather, Christian
Rausch, Emil
Reifs, Adolpn
Reifeis, Wm.
Reisse, Charles
Reisse, Wm.
Renneberg, Geo.
Rinnert, Charles
Rolfing, Conrad
Rolfing, Hy.
Roselin, Chas.
Rosner, Henry
Sandmann, Hermann
Schadler, John
Schafer, Chas.
Schauer, Adam
Schildhelm, John
Schoenning, Mathias
Schrink, Gustavus
Schrot, John
Schweigler, Geo.
Settmeier, Fred.
Sommer, Jacob
Stephan, Michael
Stoll, Charles
Vich, John
Vogel, Anton
Vollmer, Gottlieb
Wagner, Fried.
Wagner, Phillip
Walter, Carl H.
Weber, Chas. Fried.
Wehking, Chas.
Wiegand, Adam
Wiese, Christian
Wischt, Michael
Wisemann, John

COMPANY I.

Hermann T. Hesse, Captain
Clemens Gutgesell, 1st Lieutenant
Frederick Krenning, 2d Lieutenant
Ferd Schuchart, 1st Sergeant
Fred Pommer, Sergeant
Chas. Baer, Sergeant
August Feeder, Sergeant
Thomas Beyer, Corporal
Peter Bausback, Corporal
Albert Sanders, Corporal
Phillip Lauter, Corporal
Conrad Oppermann, Musician
Christian Mevisor, Musician

Privates.

Ameling, Wm.
Asshauer, Christ.
Auping, Hy.
Barthels, Aug.
Beyer, Charles
Beyer, Charles
Bindbeutel, Fred.
Breggmann, Herm.
Briesinger, John
Brindbeutel
Brinkschulte, Phil.
Brockmeyer, Hy.
Brustken, Mathias
Bucher, John
Buol, John
Dane, Ferdinand
Dienstbier, Hy.
Diren, John
Dobler, John
Dose, Henry
Douglass, Alex.
Essler, Geo.
Fedder, Wm.
Fritzinger, Chas. W.
Fritzinger, Hy.
Gis, John
Guensche, Chas.
Halblaut, Phillip
Hanks, John
Hanses, Peter
Harre, Fried.
Hartmann, John
Heim, John
Heim, Michael
Heitlauf, Jacob
Hellmann, John
Henne, Christian
Horst, Joseph
Jokel, Casper
Kasbari, Frank
Kayser, Fred.
Koenig, John
Koronan, Lorenz
Kraemer, Adam
Kraemer, John
Kuehnrich, Fred.
Kunz, Florian
Kustenreuter, John
Lempke, Chas.
Link, Jacob
Luettolf, Chas.
Lutz, Anton
Meyer, John
Meyer, John A.
Muehrle, Geo.
Nauman, Hy.
Nolte, Fred.
Nunn, Joseph
Paul, Fred.
Pflantz, Adam
Reisner, Geo.
Richard, Conrad
Roedel, Fred.
Roeth, Fred.
Roesch, Michael
Rohmann, Hermann
Rotterman, Frank
Schaper, Ernst
Schaper, Jacob
Schaper, George
Schiffmann, John
Schneider, John
Schwarzkopf, Andreas
Seim, Charles
Sommer, Jacob
Spahn, Hy.
Stockamp, Wm.
Stonmeier, Wm.
Stuber, John
Them, Fred.
Temme, Ernst
Traber, Edward
Traubel, Nicolaus
Trautmann, Andreas
Ude, August
Williamson, Francis
Wind, John
Winter, Bernard
Wollenweber, Christian
Zwick, Gottlieb

COMPANY K.

William Hahn, Captain
Henry Debus, 1st Lieutenant
Joseph Witzel, 2d Lieutenant
George Lung, 1st Sergeant
Hy. Battermann, Sergeant
John Pelletier, Sergeant
Chas. Fichtemeier, Corporal
Hy. Fath, Corporal
Ignatz Reich, Corporal
Henry Wicking, Corporal
John Gubrie, Musician
John Kiburz, Musician

Privates.

Arnold, Michael
Barmatius, John
Baumgartner, J.
Baumann, Joseph
Beckmeyer, Fred.
Behrle, Protas
Beschner, John
Biege, Jacob
Boothe, Michael
Christen, Michael
Corcoran, William
Dreyer, Wm.
Ehred, Fred.
Elmer, Joseph
Faude, Jacob
Firmbach, Stanislaus
Frey, George
Frey, Patrick
Gall, Jacob
Gautner, Casper
Goss, Jacob
Harting, Henry
Haupt, Frank
Heb, Frank
Heinicke, Henry
Heitz, George
Heitz, Michael
Hermans, John
Hertz, Joseph
Hinkes, Theodore
Hof, Phillip
Hurlemann, Christ.
Jost, Wendelin
Kellerman, Wm.
Klein, Rudolph
Kleinhus, Franz
Koehler, Chas.
Kraft, John
Kreig, Michael
Kuper, Michael
Lachtrop, Christ.
Lamb, Michael
Leumenstahl, And. W.
Lorey, Tobias
Lungstrass, Rudolph
Mais, John
Maurer, Xavier
Meser, Christian
Meyer, Christian
Michael, Christian
Michael, Fred.
Mueller, Peter
Mueller, Bernhard
Muninger, Andr.
Ockel, Conrad
Pagel, Fred.
Pressler, Valentine
Remers, Henry
Redmeyer, Henry
Reinhard, Phillip
Rohlfing, Hy.
Rolfmeyer, Hy.
Sack, Peter
Schabacker, Bernard
Schaffner, Geo.
Schaper, Ernst
Schaper, Wm.
Schepp, Henry Nic.
Schmidgen, John
Schmidt, Adam
Seegar, John
Siedentopf, Wm.
Sellhofer, Hy.
Sohnlein, Wm.
Spitzfaden, M. W.
Steitz, Reinhardt
Stephan, Geo.
Stindker, Fred.
Sturm, Andreas
Tapp, Fred.
Teurer, Nicolaus
Vollmer, Fred.
Walter, Rudolph
Warbinsky, Theo.
Warings, Bernard
Wiegand, Adam
Zepp, Adam

COMPANY L.

William Rottermann, Captain
Jacob Bischoff, 1st Lieutenant
August Leussler, 2d Lieutenant
Dietrich Cordes, 1st Sergeant
Fred Kunst, Sergeant
John Toepper, Sergeant
Michael Obenauer, Sergeant
John Leimehuegel, Corporal
John Petow, Corporal
Geo. Kessler, Corporal
And. Eberhardt, Corporal
Phil M. Enzinger, Musician
William Zimmermann, Musician

Privates.

Abeln, T. Joseph
Barthold, Geo.
Batz, Eckhardt
Berghofer, Henry
Bohnmann, Fred
Brockschmidt, Herm.
Bruer, Fred
Conrad, George
Dennert, Anton
Dippel, Herman
Ellersick, Hy.
Ellrich, Christ.
Fischer, Charles
Fries, George
Frost, Sebastian
Geuthe, John
Gick, Henry
Gieselmann, Hy.
Gildehaus, John
Gilve, Paulus
Groesch, Sebastian
Haas, George
Habicht, Oswald
Hammersen, John
Heine, Jacob
Henning, Adam
Hensel, George
Kaldeway, Fred
Kasselbaum, Emerich
Keil, Leonhardt
Klink, Gottlieb
Koenneke, Fred
Krapp, Geo.
Kuberich, Ferdinand
Kubrick, Charles
Kunst, Wm.
Lennert, Sebastian
Lohrum, Peter
Mankel, Daniel
Metzger, Bernard
Moehle, Fred
Mueller, Joseph
Mueller, Martin
Nanert, Joseph
Nieman, Henry
Rieber, Sebastian
Ries, George
Roemer, Louis
Roseof, Wm.
Ruewe, Hermann
Salterbach, Pnillip
Sauerwein, Fred
Schatz, William
Schatzel, Geo.
Schlicker, Ohnst
Schmieder, Conrad
Schmidt, Gottlieb
Schoo, John Jacob
Schrieber, Christoph
Schroeder, Gottfried
Schubert, John
Schwimm, John
Sintel, Fred
Staus, Nicolaus
Steck, Bernard
Strebel, Andreas
Sutor, Andreas
Thurmel, John
Thomas, Frank
Vogth, Ignatz
Volger, Ignatz
Voth, Hermann
Walter, Jac. Fred
Weithner, Moritz
Zumkeller, John
Zumsteg, Joseph

COMPANY M.

Augustus Eichele, Captain
Chas. B. Gutjahr, 1st Lieutenant
Hermann Lautenschlaeger, 2d Lieutenant
Edward Herzog, 1st Sergeant
Peter Schmidt, Sergeant
Theo. Oppermann, Sergeant
Fred Frank, Sergeant
Christ Cornelius, Corporal
Peter Malig, Corporal
Ferd Spiekermann, Corporal
Ferd Heger, Corporal
Ludwig C. B. Schnell, Musician
Fred Kamueller, Musician

Privates.

Arandt, Phillip
Alsheimer, Peter
Bather, Nicolaus
Berners, Frank
Boele, Henry
Boeser, Henry
Bohle, Henry
Dietz, Andreas
Dietz, Henry
Dillman, Joseph
Dingler, Phillip
Doersch, Jacob
Dritsch, Chas.
Ecker, Wm.
Erhard, Jos.
Fahner, Tobias
Fischer, Henry
Foerstel, Michael
Foerster, Frank
Frickert, John
Garnier, Max.
Goeger, Joseph
Hambelson, Mathias
Hambelson, Peter
Hartmann, Geo.
Heher, Gottlieb
Herbst, Christian
Herbster, Jacob
Hertling, Henry
Hess, John
Heuer, Henry
Himmer, Chas.
Hoffman, Fred
Holseback, Peter
Holz, John
Jacob, Phillip
Jung, Mathias
Katle, Jacob
Keil, Nicolaus
Koch, Peter
Kroth, Casper
Lackmann, George
Langguth, Adam
Leonhard, Adam
Liebel, Geo. P.
Litzenroth, Hy.
Meinhard, John
Momberger, Casper
Nauroth, Christian
Nieman, Christian
Peffle, Jacob
Pelod, Frank
Pfister, Frank
Preiser, Geo.
Redel, John
Reiser, Christoph
Roth, Geo.
Scherer, Jacob
Schifferle, John E.
Schmidt, Adam
Schott, Christian
Schott, George
Schwarz, Fritz
Schwarzkoph, Christ
Seither, Theodor
Severan, John
Simon, Ferdinand
Suess, Geo.
Suess, Jacob
Thomas, Jacob
Vogel, Ernst
Walter, Jacob
Zimmer, Philip

COMPANY "A," CAVALRY, THREE MONTHS SERVICE.

Jacob Melter, Captain
John Traber, 1st Lieutenant
Anthony Jaeger, 2d Lieutenant
Louis Ost, 1st Sergeant
Charles Volling, Sergeant
Henry Stolle, Sergeant
Bernard Weber, Sergeant
Thomas Garney, Corporal
Henry Lohmann, Corporal
Charles Forstel, Corporal
John Weisertz, Corporal
Sebastian Weik, Musician
George Glock, Musician

Privates.

Amelung, Wm.
Balz, Xaver
Berger, Balthasar
Brokate, Philip
Emeling, Theobald
Eisick, Leopold
Fath, Jacob
Floriz, Edward
Gerhardt, Peter
Gieser, August
Groffmann, Chas.
Gutting, John
Hoffmeister, A.
Huttling, Wm.
Keller, John
Koch, Henry
Koehler, Conrad
Koehler, Ferdinand
Koenig, Henry
Krebs, George
Kuhl, Adolph
Langenecker, John
Leisenring, Edward
Linnes, Fritz
Lupfer, August
May, Gottlieb
Mink, Wm.
Reifeis, Wm.
Rindskopf, Isaac
Rose, Edward
Schaefer, George
Schneider, Chas.
Schneider, Michael
Schrader, Gustav
Schroeder, Henry
Schulde, Jno.
Seibert, John
Siegmund, Caspar
Wodicka, John
Wodicka, Joseph
Zadek, Frank
Zeigler, Frederick
Zepp, John
Zink, Valentine

SECOND REGIMENT, UNITED STATES RESERVE CORPS, MISSOURI VOLUNTEERS,

was organized for home service May 7, with nine Companies under President Lincoln's order of April 30, by citizens of the Second Ward living between Soulard and Chouteau avenue, by electing Herman Kallman Colonel and establishing Soulard Market their Headquarters and Armory. On May 10 one Battalion marched to Camp Jackson and the balance guarded the avenues leading to the Arsenal. In June the Regiment guarded the North Missouri Railroad, and on its homeward march was fired upon from a fire engine-house in the center of St. Louis. Later on portions guarded the Iron Mountain Railroad, while six Companies went with Fremont's Expedition to Bird's Point. On returning the Regiment was mustered out in August and reorganized early in September for three years' service in the State of Missouri, electing Hermann Kallmann Colonel.

With the exception of 8 per cent Bohemians, the Regiment was almost entirely German. The number of men on the Three Months' Lists were 785.

FIELD AND STAFF.

Herman Kallmann, Colonel
John T. Fiala, Lt. Colonel
Julius Rapp, Major
Anthony Zeitinger, Adjutant
Charles Gottschalk, Quartermaster
F. C. Castlehun, Surgeon
Charles Spinzig, Asst. Surgeon
Henry L. Rathjen, Sergt. Major
George Geholz, Q. M. Sergeant
Jacob Kost, Drum Major
Ferd Herwig, Musician

COMPANY A.

Bernard Essroger, Captain
Herman Bleeck, 1st Lieutenant
Leonhard Zwanziger, 2d Lieutenant
Fred Zaehrich, 1st Sergeant
Hy. Wm. Volkers, Sergeant
Nicholas Doering, Sergeant
Otto Stickel, Corporal
Michael Puhl, Corporal
Fred Hunricks, Corporal
Emil Ulrici, Corporal
H. E. Suschizki, Musician
Jac. Bauer, Musician

Privates.

Aschner, Adolph
Bastian, Joseph
Becherer, Lambrecht
Becherle, John
Berman, Carl
Berneker, Fred
Bidur, Francis
Biebinger, Fred
Blanc, Larment
Blum, Peter
Blumenberg, Hy.
Brunner, Franz
Buerger, Bernhard
Bunzenthal, Carl
Butterniek, Fred
Cassen, Schoon
Doering, Benjamin
Dormitzer, Joseph
Eckhardt, Otto
Eicke, Wm.
Fehl, Hy.
Flick, Louis
Fluegel, H.
Gabare, Louis
Geiger, Henry
Geiss, Jacob
Giestemeyer, John
Goetz, Fred
Graff, John
Groschell, Michael
Gutjahr, Peter
Haas, Peter
Haentges, John
Heckwolff, Fred
Helmer, Wm.
Hertel, Wolfgang
Hildebrand, Aug.
Hocherl, James
Hoge, Henry
Holderle, Casper
Hunold, Carl
Juppier, James
Kern, Xaver
Kirchner, David
Koelling, Chas.
Koelling, Fred
Koerchel, Anton
Kosser, John
Kress, Joseph
Krug, Michael
Lauffert, John
Lindecker, Mathias
Lindwig, Anton
Masse, George
Matter, John
Maurath, Dennis
Menden, Wm.
Meyer, A. F.
Meyer, Chas.
Mueller, John
Nitz, Phil.
Osterkamp, Hy.
Ranquet, Chas. Louis
Rothenhagen, Louis
Scherer, Christ
Schinitsschnieder, Geo.
Schmidt, Joseph
Schneider, Christ.
Schnerr, Const.
Schortten, Chas.
Schroer, Henry
Schroer, Wm.
Schultheis, Peter
Schwartz, John
Setzer, August
Spindler, Leonhard
Tice, Henry
Ulrici, Rudolph
Wacherle, Fred
Walkenhorst, Fred
Weithopp, Henry
Wincent, Henry
Yarpun, Benjamin
Zahn, Franz
Zorrus, Fred

COMPANY B.

Edmund Wuerpel, Captain
Joseph Gerwiner, 1st Lieutenant
Franz Schindler, 2d Lieutenant
Fred Brueggerhoff, 1st Sergeant
Phillip Diekenhoff, Sergeant
Mathias Gerner, Sergeant
Henry Rauschenplatt, Sergeant
Henry Stumpf, Corporal
Fred Cassel, Corporal
John Reihn, Corporal
Henry Breystedt, Musician
Severn Sauter, Musician

Privates.

Albrecht, Julius
Anheuser, Peter
Baumann, John
Bechmann, Hy.
Bender, Christian
Bilmeyer, Joseph
Brandenburger, A.
Breidenbach, Christ.
Buckner, Henry
Dammert, Chas.
Doll, Gerhard
Dormitzer, Joseph
Fiesellmann, Henry
Fischer, Julius
Flammger, John
Flammger, Paul
Freiner, John
Frey, August
Fritz, Louis
Goebel, Franz
Gruennagel, Adam
Gruennagel, Geo.
Gundlach, Hy.
Hausmann, John
Helbling, Henry
Helgoth, John
Herget, Phillip
Hiemenz, Jacob
Hinspeter, Fred.
Hoffman, Henry
Hoppius, Wm.
Huehl, John
Kahlbaum, John
Kaltwasser, J. Phillip
Klungmann, Gottfried
Koerner, Julius
Korte, Herman
Kriechelt, Geo.
Lanz, John
Lavin, Franz
Lehrn, August
Lerchenmissler, John
Lindell, John
Mellenbeck, Hermann
Meyer, Anton
Meyer, Charles
Morhardt, George
Mueller, John
Nolte, Hermann
Reedlin, Jeremias
Rueckert, Dietrich
Schmalz, Michael
Schmiech, John
Schuler, Hy.
Siferth, Joseph
Stamm, Fried.
Stamm, Wm.
Stock, Peter
Stoll, Ferdinand
Stumpf, John
Taussig, Edward
Tschigner, Ernst
Voesterling, Fried.
Volz, Fried.
Weber, John
Woehrle, John
Wohlschlager, B.
Zauener, Christian
Zrueki, H.

COMPANY C.

Herman Schroeders, Captain
Fred Mueller, 1st Lieutenant
Fred Cratz, 2d Lieutenant
Christ Niemann, 1st Sergeant
Christ Klubscheid, Sergeant
Herman Mardorf, Sergeant
Christ Rohlfing, Sergeant
Gregor Lingg, Corporal
Geo. Doerr, Corporal
Lorenz Zeller, Corporal
Chas. Jeremias, Corporal
John Erhardt, Musician
August Kanne, Musician

Privates.

Albrecht, Wm.
Armbrust, John
Bang, Adolph
Bang, Charles
Bange, Henry
Bauman, Julius
Behrens, Hy.
Beisch, Geo.
Borrell, Geo.
Bruder, John
Buxot, Fred.
Dernbacher, John
Epstein, Heyman
Erhard, John Geo.
Feuchtenbemer, Mich.
Fohr, Jacob
Grieshaber, Adolf
Haering, John
Harbniann, Conrad
Hartmann, Conrad
Henrichsen, John
Hoffmann, Alex.
Hoffmann, Geo.
Holzscheiter, Herbert
Hoppe, Henry
Huffnagel, Henry
Israel, S.
Jehlen, Geo. H.
Johann, Michael
Kaltwasser, John
Kiefer, Geo.
Kissell, Valentine
Klemm, Michael
Klotz, John
Kowancyk, Franz
Kraemer, Christ
Kraemer, G. J.
Krause, Geo.
Kreidenmacher, John
Leitner, Michael
Leva, Christ
Lustig, Joseph
Mack, Friederich
Manhorst, Adam
Maul, J. H.
Mohrardt, Geo.
Mueller, August
Mueller, John
Mueller, Martin
Mueller, Phillip
Pfund, L. F.
Rasp, Matthew
Reisch, Geo.
Reisch, Joseph
Rohlfing, Fred.
Ruppert, Franz
Scheek, John
Schmitz, Alex.
Schnurmacher, Elias
Schulz, Jacob
Schuster, Florian
Schuster, Hermann
Schuster, Hugo
Schwarztrouble, Nic.
Seiter, Fred.
Shupmann, Aug.
Sicher, Wm.
Spuhler, Henry
Uebel, Henry
Uhrig, Joseph
Vohrwinker, Jacob
Weber, John
Weinlein, Joseph
Welge, Theodor
Winkler, Joseph
Zeisler, Stephan
Zipf, Sebastian
Zumsteg, John

COMPANY D.

F. M. Wotke, Captain
Bernard Klein, 1st Lieutenant
Fred Gottschalk, 2d Lieutenant
H. H. Bodemann, 1st Sergeant
John P. Liphard, Sergeant
John C. Koerner, Sergeant
Christ Mehl, Sergeant
W. T. Cronde, Corporal
Ferdinand Heiser, Corporal
Aug. Kriekenbaum, Corporal
Hermann Gelsheuser, Corporal
John Fries, Musician
C. Surborn, Musician

Privates.

Altenberend, Christ
Altschul, Charles
Amsler, Casimir
Auswahl, Frank
Bapp, John
Bassali, Wm.
Becker, Louis
Benkler, Joseph
Bissner, Geo.
Bleidorn, Frank
Boldswey, Hy.
Borngesser, Fred.
Borngesser, Peter
Conrad, Wm.
Deitz, Chas. V.
Disener, Wm.
Emanuel, David
Figgo, Fred.
Frieseke, Wm.
Gahl, Wm.
Gaussmann, John
Gebhardt, Gottfried
Gelsheuser, Hy.
Gleidrauff, Caesar
Grab, Henry
Grad, Andreas
Granvelur, Geo.
Groeser, Martin
Guesbach, Wm.
Haeneseh, Daniel
Hein, Conrad
Heinze, Henry
Hiltpold, John
Hoffman, Martin
Hold, Robert
Jehle, Wm.
Joss, Jacob
Kaltwasser, Chas.
Kaltwasser, Fred.
Kellner, Conrad
Kempe, Anson
Keppe, Henry
Kley, Wm.
Kolb, Andreas
Korhammer, Hy.
Koerner, Wm.
Kraus, Conrad
Kruser, Valentine
Leber, Joseph
Leva, Christian
Lindeker, John
Mees, Jacob
Meekbach, Hy.
Pucker, John
Rall, Ignatz
Razoze, Geo.
Rosemann, Frank
Schluter, E. H.
Schnell, Caspar
Schroeder, Henry
Zunz, Joseph

COMPANY E.

Felix Laies, Captain
Christian Ploeser, 1st Lieutenant
Phillip Michael, 2d Lieutenant
Henry Quellmalz, 1st Sergeant
Conrad Wetzel, Sergeant
George Drescher, Sergeant
Mathias Metz, Corporal
John Schork, Corporal
John Kree, Corporal
Fred Offenbecker, Corporal
Fred Stagier, Musician
Arnold Porbeck, Musician

Privates.

Amelung, Hy.
Andreas, Louis
Apel, Zacharias
Artmann, Michael
Berkerle, John
Binder, August
Blaick, Wm.
Bos, Geo.
Both, Henry
Boy, Clemens
Brugmeier, Bern.
Brugner, Thomas
Degenhardt, Jos.
Diehl, Henry
Feitsk, Ulrich
Feldman, John
Fetter, Jacob
Fey, George
Frank, Henry
Gessner, Christian
Gopel, Adam
Goth, Andreas
Hack, Franz
Helm, John
Herrel, David
Hertchen, John
Hoffmann, Joseph
Huhn, Peter
Kaenter, Wm.
Kehr, Karl
Kennicker, Wm.
Kessler, Edw.
Klatt, Wm.
Kling, Peter
Knopf, Nicolaus
Kohl, John
Kopf, Joseph
Kruger, Nicolaus
Kubler, Louis
Lambing, Fred.
Link, Hy.
Lorenz, Wilhelm
Meinberg, Aug.
Menn, Wilhelm
Mueller, Charles
Mueller, Henry
Mueller, Jacob
Noll, Henry
Osfing, Henry
Peis, John
Petz, Herman
Quellmalz, Arthur
Quitler, George
Rau, Joseph
Renhard, Valentine
Renkel, Jacob
Ritter, Joseph
Rockenbrod, Andreas
Schaaf, Paul
Scharding, Franz
Schmidt, John
Schurmer, Friederich
Sehr, George
Siebenmeyer, Ferd.
Stork, John
Stumpf, Bernhard
Tieber, Carl
Volbers, Wm.
Volker, Franz
Volkmar, Christ.
Wahl, Christoff
Waldemeier, Christ.
Waticke, Ignatz
Worner, John
Worner, Joseph

COMPANY F.

Theo. Boethelt, Captain
Alex Windmiller, 1st Lieutenant
Anthony Ochosky, 2d Lieutenant
Fred W. Plass, 1st Sergeant
Chas. W. Schickenberg, Sergeant
John Ranft, Sergeant
Chas. Dehaut, Sergeant
John Brink, Corporal
Aug. H. Meyer, Corporal
Fred Osborg, Corporal
Gottfried Voelkers, Corporal
Frank Bodwein, Musician
Benedict Weitzenecker, Musician

Privates.

Adler, Gustav
Arshlimon, Edw.
Bauer, Peter
Becker, Peter
Blumenberg, Julius
Bruderlin, Emil
Fantt, Martin
Grumme, Wm.
Hagan, Chas.
Haller, Caspar
Heidel, John
Heinz, August
Herflicker, Jacob
Hichler, Geo.
Holt, Gustav
Huhn, Peter
Koenig, Joseph
Kuehler, Gottfried
Lange, Ferdinand
Mauch, August
Meinhard, Hy.
Meissenbach, Gustave
Merkel, Egidius
Meyer, Ferdinand
Meyer, Fred.
Meyer, Henry
Muehs, Wm.
Muhs, August
Munslinger, Peter
Neff, John
Neuhaus, Jno. N.
Novack, Wm.
Ockronglowerus, Louis
Oestereicher, Hy.
Ott, Henry
Otto, Edward
Petermann, Valentin
Pohlmann, Theo.
Rattinger, Ranier
Roseller, Chas. H.
Rosenhaner, Edw.
Rupert, Wm.
Ruprecht, John
Schlesberger, S.
Schrirey, Geo.
Schornholz, Amsler
Schuelthoefer, Ph.
Schuman, George
Seibecker, Chas.
Slent, Charles
Spies, Ferdinand
Spilker, August
Staats, Fred
Strohmeyer, John
Stueck, John R.
Stumpf, Chas.
Stumpf, Fred.
Stumpf, Hy.
Taubener, John
Thomas, George
Tromant, Nic.
Volk, F.
Vondach, Fried.
Wagner, Phil.
Wambsgans, John
Weber, Andrew
Winderworth, Edw.
Winkler, John A.
Witzemann, Geo.
Wolbert, Sebastian
Zeller, Wm.
Zimmerer, Joseph
Zimmermann, Fred.

COMPANY G.

Hermann Zakrzewski, Captain
Gerhard Bensberg, 1st Lieutenant
Herman Moll, 2d Lieutenant
Geo. Schwerdt, 1st Sergeant
Balthazer Strahli, Sergeant
Carl Borkman, Sergeant
Adam Jost, Sergeant
James Vandeventer, Corporal
Franz Hecker, Corporal
Franz Hoefling, Corporal
H. L. Vanbel, Corporal
Henry Voght, Musician
G. K. Emmes, Musician

Privates.

Bebie, John
Bennet, Hy.
Benz, Wm.
Berthold, Jacob
Bischoff, John
Bracht, Franz
Burkhardt, Rudolph
Day, Adam
Degen, Adam
Dode, Wm.
Egemann, Wm.
Endlich, Peter
Frank, Michael
Franke, Hy.
Frentrop, Louis
Fritz, Max
Geislet, Oswald
Gerhard, George
Gernhardt, Aug.
Grampner, Hy.
Heneklau, Edw.
Hermann, Chas.
Hoffmann, Chas.
Hohmann, Nicolaus
Horn, Michael
Hufnagel, Wm.
Kenne, Fred.
Kentzer, Hy.
Kleintropp, Adam
Korbeli, Henry
Kozel, Jacob
Krass, John
Kreichelt, August
Kreubohn, Clemens
Lendowski, Michael
Loeffel, Wm.
Lucks, Wm.
Michel, Joseph
Mueller, Louis
Mueller, Wm.
Opermann, John
Peckmann, Wm.
Pfeil, Geo.
Ploeser, Louis
Ring, Jacob
Roehrig, Nicolaus
Rung, Otto
Sante, Wm.
Schaaf, Paul
Schneider, Hy.
Schroer, E. H. R.
Schulwig, Wm.
Simon, Joseph
Specht, August
Storch, Jacob
Strahli, Nicclaus
Suess, Wm.
Suschaner, Jos.
Taussig, James
Vetter, Alexander
Volberg, Wm.
Wessel, John
Weyers, John
Winkler, Hermann
Wunderlich, Wm.
Wurst, Phillip
Zeisler, Adam

COMPANY H.

Chr. Goerisch, Captain
Chas. Hoppe, 1st Lieutenant
John Hensack, 2d Lieutenant
Chas. H. Teichmann, 1st Sergeant
Ed. Kienle, Sergeant
Franz Steiger, Sergeant
John L. Nitzge, Sergeant
George Mogge, Corporal
Ad. Schild, Corporal
Franz Schmidt, Corporal
Adam Held, Corporal
Frank Smith, Musician
Wm. Roleschka, Musician

Privates.

Barbach, Leo
Bauer, John
Becker, Casper
Belz, John
Berry, Chas.
Bolin, Wm.
Bollmann, Michael
Borrel, George
Brandmeyer, Geo.
Brants, Fr.
Bravitz, Jos.
Bueri, John
Burrisch, Math.
Dewald, Peter
Doehne, Chas.
Foellner, Ernst
Frank, Geo.
Funk, Ad.
Gessert, Chr.
Gleich, Nic.
Goreke, Geo.
Goerisch, Jac.
Haller, Albert
Hartman, Wm.
Herschfeld, A.
Hoffmann, John
Hohlwey, A.
Hopes, Phil.
Hubert, John
Huhn, J.
Jorrus, Wm.
Jung, Christian
Kaufmann, Ch.
Kentzer, Welsh
Koepping, Ed.
Klier, Henry
Kuger, Ad.
Laux, Balthazar
Lueder, Ch.
Meyer, Anton
Michel, B.
Mueller, J. C.
Mueller, Wm. J.
Nickel, Anton
Nossel, M.
Pitzer, John
Prim, Jonn
Reibsam, John
Reinhard, Hy.
Reis, Jacob
Rott, Geo.
Sabath, Hy. W.
Sabath, Chas.
Scheuerer, Fritz
Schilling, Hermann
Schirms, Joseph
Schmidt, Conrad
Schreiber, David
Schultz, Anton
Seele, Fritz
Seele, Henry
Seibert, Jac.
Steinberg, Henry
Stocker, Andr.
Steubler, Valentine
Voigt, Joseph
Wachtel, A.
Weil, Robt.
Wunsch, Andrew
Zimmer, Conrad
Zuelsh, J. H.

COMPANY I.

Jacob Riseck, Captain
John Ruedi, 1st Lieutenant
August Frohnhaefer, 2d Lieutenant
Joseph Moser, 1st Sergeant
Christ H. Wacker, Sergeant
Chas. Wacker, Sergeant
Fr. Winkelmann, Corporal
John Bucheit, Corporal
John Bleitz, Corporal
Martin Meyer, Corporal
Hy. Bloscher, Musician
Chas. Vogel, Musician

Privates.

Amsler, Lorenz
Argast, Edward
Beck, Stephan
Binz, Jacob
Birkle, Balthazar
Boecke, Herman
Brankey, Christ.
Buercher, Andr.
Burkhardt, Geo.
Bushey, Frank
Carell, Phillip
Dangeisen, Jacob
Deinger, John
Eggart, Charles
Foerster, Herman
Frueh, Mathias
Fuchs, Charles
Gellert, Fried.
Grohammer, Fred.
Haenschen, Jobst
Hapstroetter, John
Heit, Bug
Heit, John
Holzer, Sigmund
Hueter, Jac.
Humer, Joseph
Kelfe, Fred.
Kewe, Chas. Aug.
Kleine, Henry
Koch, Peter
Krause, Ad.
Kumpf, Peter
Lauter, Phillip
Link, Ernst
Luther, Gustave
Machick, Wenzel
Maeler, Fred
Many, John
Martin, Henry
Meurer, Joseph
Meyer, Louis
Millinett, Bernard
Mueller, John W.
Mungenast, Bendt
Myer, John
Neckert, John
Ochs, Chas. M.
Pfiidringer, F. R.
Rapps, James
Rendenspacher, Fr.
Riemenschneider, Aug.
Riemenschneider, Hy.
Rolte, Joseph
Ruderhauser, Fred.
Sambach, Michael
Santer, Tho.
Schoeppner, Christ.
Schuchardt, Ed.
Schumacher, Aug.
Schwarz, Gottlieb
Seekler, Jacob
Steiger, Jacob
Steiner, Julius
Stille, Werner
Stroebel, Jacob
Sutter, Simon
Thibold, Phillip
Thorn, Nic.
Trapp, John
Uhrig, Fred.
Wehrle, Jos.
Weinrich, Geo.
Weizel, Conrad
Wenzel, Hy.
Wihl, Carl
Wunsch, Adolph

THIRD REGIMENT, UNITED STATES RESERVE CORPS, MISSOURI VOLUNTEERS,

mustered for home service May 8, under President Lincoln's order of April 30, with ten Companies, by electing John McNeil Colonel and establishing Headquarters and Armory at the St. Louis Turner Hall on Tenth and Walnut streets, where many of its members had been drilling before. Company "A" was formed of St. Louis Turners, who also largely entered into the formation of other Companies, as their numbers exceeded the original quota, which was rapidly filled up by the first four Volunteer Regiments. The Regiment marched out to Camp Jackson. It chiefly garrisoned the city until July 1, when three of its Companies joined the Southwest expedition, while on the 16th of July six Companies marched, via Jefferson, into Callaway County and defeated a Secession troop under Harris, after a short engagement, and took possession of Fulton, from where the Companies returned to St. Louis, to be mustered out at the expiration of service. The Regiment had among its members many prominent business men, whose offices in the center of town made Turner Hall a convenient place of assembly. The Regiment held 20 per cent Americans, 5 per cent other nationalities and 75 per cent Germans. It reorganized for the Three-Year Reserve Corps Service, under Colonel C. A. Fritz, in September and consolidated with other troops in January, 1862, forming the Fourth Missouri Volunteers. The Regiment listed for the Three Months' Service 1,028 men.

FIELD AND STAFF.

John McNeil, Colonel	Geo. E. Leighton, Quartermaster
Charles A. Fritz, Lt. Colonel	Wm. Arthur, Commissary
Charles W. Marsh, Major	Elery P. Smith, Surgeon
Samuel P. Simpson, Adjutant	Edmund Boemer, Ass't Surgeon

Band.

Martin Fryberthyser, Leader	Christopher Beau	John Richter
Conrad Fryberthyser	Sam Crawford	Fred Schmidt
Hy. Freiberthyser	James R. Gibson	Wm. D. Story
John Freiberthyser	Adolph Hoffman	Hy. Walquit
	Frederick Robold	Hy. Spindler

COMPANY A.

Charles W. Smith, Captain
Hy. Robert Serot, 1st Lieutenant
Frederick Lesser, 1st Lieutenant
Frederick Holst, 1st Lieutenant
Geo. Howard, Sr., 1st Lieutenant
Hy. Wiegand, 2d Lieutenant
Julius Friton, 1st Sergeant
W. B. Oken, Sergeant
Hy. Spaekler, Sergeant
Peter Loersch, Sergeant
Wm. Lenks, Sergeant
Hy. Schaffert, Corporal
Adolph Elbert, Corporal
Hy. Heidsick, Corporal
Louis Gerichten, Corporal
Michael Solomon, Musician

Privates.

Achenbach, Herman
Ahrens, John H.
Angermueller, Herm.
Anheuser, Conrad
Assman, Charles
Baesler, Geo.
Bakofen, Gottfried
Barth, Fred.
Becker, Francis P.
Becker, Geo.
Benerman, John
Brack, John
Braner, Geo.
Bruder, Adolph
Bruder, Edward
Bueshing, Fred.
Burkholtz, Wm.
Chors, Gustav
Dickroger, Henry
Diehl, Louis
Doebler, Louis
Evers, Adolph
Falkenheimer, Hy.
Feldbusch, Dietrich
Fluth, Geo.
Friedeking, Hy.
Glaser, John Y.
Goerke, Peter
Gossel, August
Greittner, Emil
Hahn, Emil
Haller, Fred
Helgoth, Lorenz
Helkenkamp, Wm.
Henricks, Julius
Heymeier, John
Hoffman, Ernst
Holtkamp, Wm.
Hortmann, Chas.
Kaiser, Louis
Klein, Jacob
Kleinschmidt, Franz
Kleinschmidt, Henry
Kleinschmidt, Theo.
Kloepner, Hy.
Koenig, Hy.
Kress, Francis
Lehman, Charles
Leiber, Charles
Leiber, Geo.
Lenck, John
Meiseman, Herman
Merkel, Wm.
Mestemacher, Chas.
Meyer, Hermann
Moergel, Rudolph
Mohrstedt, Chas.
Moll, Henry
Moller, Gustav
Muff, Ernst
Mueller, Emil
Naegler, Wm.
Nellmar, John
Norton, Henry
Quellmalz, Chas.
Rapsfiner, Nicolas
Rehbein, Adolph
Reiman, Gustav
Remler, Adolph
Renz, Fred.
Rose, Leo
Rottenbrock, Adolph
Ruof, Chas.
Rupert, Wm.
Schenk, Adolph
Schenker, Herman
Scherer, John
Schiffman, Herman
Schiller, Louis
Schoenthaler, John
Schultz, Jacob
Sporleder, Julius
Sumner, Chas.
Tittman, Edward
Upmeyer, Hy.
Vallet, Charles
Vogler, Julius
Welgoth, Francis
Wolf, Paul
Wolferkieler, Julius
Wyeges, Anthony

COMPANY B.

Charles Albert Warner, Captain
Louis Fuchs, 1st Sergeant
Geo. Adler, Sergeant
Geo. Miller, Sergeant
Paul Heith, Sergeant
Phillip Ittel, Sergeant
Fritz Otto, Corporal
Chas. Meddler, Corporal
John Krumholz, Corporal
Hugo Witter, Corporal
Anton Weiss, Corporal
William Spickman, Corporal
Nathan Bass, Musician
Phillip Gruber, Musician

Privates.

Arnheim, Adam
Bartman, Simon
Bauer, John
Bauman, Jacob
Beck, Louis
Benkler, Carl
Bentler, August
Benzinger, Chas.
Bert, Bernhardt
Beyer, Albert
Blattner, Andreas
Bock, Ferdinand
Boettger, Fritz
Bracke, Theo.
Braun, Wm.
Brickler, John
Chartmann, Wm.
Dames, John
Dann, Joseph
Detzel, John
Dommemuth, Charles
Durek, Geo.
Eispenhard, John
Enizer, Frank
Fluhrer, Henry
Franz, Bernhart
Fuchs, Charles
Gallenbach, Caspar
Glicker, Franz
Griesmeier, Herman
Guerther, Wm.
Guttmann, Herman
Haas, Fried.
Hahn, John
Hansmann, Jos.
Heder, Balthazar
Heid, Joseph
Hennings, Fred.
Hermann, Geo.
Hundstock, Geo.
Hunkenmiller, Geo.
Jaeger, Phillip
Kaufmann, Adam
Keil, Lenhardt
Keppler, Hermann
Kupper, Frank
Lang, John
Leich, Geo.
Lerzo, Adolph
Linharth, Chas.
Linharth, Jacob
Lohmann, Charles
Lowell, Wm.
Metzger, Engelbrecht
Metzelfeld, August
Meyer, Joseph
Michenfelder, Franz
Morrell, Hermann
Mueller, Jacob
Mueller, Pius
Mussler, Charles
Neumeister, Fred
Ockenfuss, John
Ofmann, Peter
Oppermann, Louis
Oppman, Louis
Orth, Henry
Other, John
Ott, Christian
Ox, Martin
Pulis, Frank
Rahm, George
Renz, Fred.
Reuter, John
Ringweld, Xavier
Roth, Adam
Ruck, Albert
Ruprecht, Louis
Schaper, Henry
Schmidt, Mark
Schneider, Henry
Schroeder, Hermann
Seitz, A.
Sorns, Valentine
Steibler, Nicolaus
Stoehn, Martin
Stumph, Joseph
Stuyk, Wm.
Suchof, Gerhardt
Thies, Theo.
Uebricht, John
Weber, Henry
Weber, Joseph
Weiss, Geo.
Weisshaar, Joseph
Westerick, Henry
Winter, Charles
Zeller, Charles
Zimmerer, John G.
Zudderrovest, Hy.

COMPANY C.

Tony Niederwieser, Captain
Henry P. Fabricius, 1st Lieutenant
Wm. Hirt, 2d Lieutenant
Wm. J. Lemp, 1st Sergeant
Hy. Kampe, Sergeant
Philip Dauernheim, Sergeant
Hy. Hock, Sergeant
Carl Monelius, Corporal
Nicolaus Mueller, Corporal
Oswald Roessel, Corporal
Guido Kalb, Corporal
Louis Heimbach, Musician
E. R. Evans, Musician

Privates.

Alles, Hy. J.
Ambs, Jacob
Anheuser, Eberhard
Baehler, Carl
Becker, Carl A.
Behne, Ernst J.
Bender, Francis
Bischoff, Jacob
Blattner, Jacob
Bliesner, William
Blind, Frederick
Boerker, Charles
Borgstede, Herman
Bornefeld, Chas.
Braut, Louis
Buettner, John H.
Caspar, Geo.
Chenery, August
Daffner, John M.
Debus, John
Deschamps, Guillaume
Detzel, Henry
Diehl, Conrad
Dienst, August
Dinius, Michael
Ehrmann, Gottfried
Feuerbacher, Max
Foerg, Henry
Gaertner, Xaver
Griesman, Valentin
Grossenheider, Julius
Haeusgen, Fred.
Handge, Gustav
Hartman, Julius
Hechler, Hy.
Heitmeyer, Hy.
Hemmer, August
Hennicke, Henry
Herrman, John
Hertle, Daniel
Hiob, Henry
Hoefele, Charles
Hofer, Charles
Jauch, Lorenz
Klee, William
Kollmeyer, J. T.
Krantz, Michael
Krebs, Hugo
Krug, Louis
Lagemann, Henry
Lendy, Francis
Lueg, Henry
Martini, August
Martini, Charles
Menne, Alois
Merkel, Ferdinand
Meyer, Fred.
Moehl, Charles
Moeller, Charles
Mueller, August
Mueller, Christian
Mueller, Herman
Nasse, August
Neff, Alexander
Oebicke, William
Raaf, George
Ravenberg, Michael
Rechtglaub, Herman
Rinne, Eime
Ritschy, Frederick
Rose, Charles
Schiffer, George
Schmedel, Hieronimus
Schmidt, Franz
Schroth, Peter A.
Schuhman, August
Schumacher, Casimir
Schwaneck, John
Schweickhardt, Bern.
Schweecke, Frederick
Sinner, George
Sommer, Herman
Spannagel, Gustav
Specht, Henry
Steck, Charles
Steinhaus, August
Sutter, John
Teuteberg, Charles
Theobald, George
Vallat, Ernst
Verman, Alex. J.
Werkman, Geo. C.
Wezler, Charles
Wilken, William
Wolf, Theodore

COMPANY D.

Merritt W. Griswold, Captain
Wm. M. Wherry, 1st Lieutenant
Charles P. Johnson, 2d Lieutenant
Henry T. Kroh, Sergeant
John M. Wherry, Sergeant
Joel Abbott, Sergeant
Louis Miller, Sergeant
Calvin Reed, Sergeant
Summ Haywood, Corporal
Henry Holmes, Corporal
Chas. Steubenaugh, Corporal
George Hessie, Corporal
John Liebig, Musician

Privates.

Abbott, James
Ashton, James
Bacon, Oliver N.
Beckerman, Henry
Bornefeld, Ch. B.
Brindle, James L.
Bright, Hy., Jr.
Bronson, Edw. J.
Buchanan, R. W.
Burnsides, James
Bywater, John C.
Castillo, Charles
Congers, Geo. P.
Cuddy, Wm.
Ebers, Louis B.
Ellis, Jas. R. W.
Flaescher, Bernard
Flint, Aggrippa
Ford, Alvin
Grimm, Henry
Hanke, John F.
Hannay, Annal M.
Heil, Jacob
Hill, Wm.
Hilton, Hy. A.
Hollibaugh, Geo. W.
Hunter, Samuel
Huss, Herman
Jeffs, Wm. S.
Kiebler, Dan'l. C.
Kirker, John
Kroeger, August
Liebig, Henry
Long, Phillip
McPherson, Benj.
Meyer, Joseph
Miller, Joseph McK.
Moehl, Charles
Moffit, Hy. C.
O'Kelly, D. J.
Otis, Edw. R.
Parsons, J. R.
Pearce, Daniel B.
Peck, Berwell
Pool, Wm.
Ralston, John C.
Reiley, Jos. D.
Robbins, Henry
Robertson, James M.
Ruckel, Wm.
Scannel, Wm.
Schwartz, Conrad
Scott, John T.
Seidell, Louis E.
Smith, John C.
Staeger, Ernst
Sterburt, David
Van Bramm, David
Van Bramm, Francis
Velde, Fred.
Wilson, W. H.
Wirt, David B.

COMPANY E.

Wm. A. Hequembourg, Captain
Felix Coste, 1st Lieutenant
Carl Rudolph Fritsch, 2d Lieutenant
Wm. Roever, 1st Sergeant
Wm. Heinrichshofen, Sergeant
Gustav Bolms, Sergeant
Alvin Schenker, Corporal
John G. Burkhard, Corporal
Adolphus Busch, Corporal
Geo. W. Blood, Corporal
John Ganter, Musician
Robert Lange, Musician

Privates.

Achilles, Victor
Berg, Wm.
Biggers, Chas. A.
Bittinger, Nicolas
Bland, Richard D.
Brann, Valentin
Brenner, Ferd.
Brocey, Conrad
Brocy, Henry
Burg, Louis
Burg, Phillip
Chaman, Hy.
Chawshaw, Edw.
Coolidge, John A.
Dobyns, D. P.
Doerner, August
Eidemann, John
Elbrecht, Hy.
Engelhardt, Wm.
Erhardt, Valentine
Ewald, Moritz
Follbert, Jos. L.
Forseil, Neil
Frank, Chas. H.
Goetting, Christian
Harding, Sam. W.
Hart, Charles
Herwitz, August
Huber, Michael
Jennings, David H.
Judd, Wm. H.
Koehl, Christian
Krause, Henry
Krupple, Herman
Leisse, G. Augustus
Louis, John
Lowry, Henry M.
Massar, Walter
Mussler, Joseph
Newman, Chas.
Ortt, John
Paul, John
Pfau, Theo.
Reichart, Chas.
Remmler, Chas.
Richter, Henry
Richter, Theo.
Rodgers, W. H.
Roessler, August
Sailer, Christian
Scheeper, Julius
Schlange, Clemens
Schmidt, Charles
Schwartz, Francis
Scott, John C.
Schackelford, Jno. E.
Sigle, Andrew
Snyder, Joseph
Spincerly, John H.
Sporleder, Louis
Stamm, Hermann
They, John
Thumann, Francis
Tiefenbrunn, Jas.
Treaselmann, Wm.
Unteimer, Henry
Vandemale, Victor
Vernitor, Fred.
Vormehr, John
Wellmann, Henry
Wellmann, Herman
Wells, Wm. J.
Whetmore, D. R.
Wilson, Thomas
Zander, Fred.
Zuercher, Jacob

COMPANY F.

Philip F. Weigel, Captain
John C. Blech, 1st Lieutenant
Max Koerner, 2d Lieutenant
Theodore Plate, 1st Sergeant
Rudolph Wagner, Sergeant
Louis Heide, Sergeant
Henry Lagemann, Sergeant
Wm. Spangenberg, Sergeant
Wm. Dickriede, Corporal
John G. Meyer, Corporal
Wendelein Straubinger, Corporal
Charles Killing, Corporal
Wm. Nelson, Musician

Privates.

Adam, Martin
Baily, Edw.
Berner, Christian
Borchert, Fred.
Boltinger, Martin
Casper, Johannes
Claus, Nicolas
Donnerberg, Hy.
Dortsch, John
Dunker, Caspar H.
Faust, Michael
Felber, Jacob
Fischer, Adam
Flad, Henry
Forthman, John H.
Frey, Anton
Gebhardt, Franz
Grimminger, Martin
Groninger, Fred.
Haag, Paul
Hahn, Louis
Hansen, Fred.
Heilwerk, Jacob
Hemminger, Fred
Hertel, Geo.
Hetlmann, Wm.
Hinz, August
Hohn, Geo.
Hutte, Lone
Isler, Christian
Isler, John
Jacoby, Adolph
Jacoby, Meyer
Kesselring, Henry
Kinderman, Hy.
Konemann, Henry
Koser, Fred. W.
Kramer, John Hy.
Krecht, Robert
Kubler, Jacob
Kuder, Henry
Kufner, Geo.
Limpert, Albert
Linstroth, Hy.
Loeffler, August
Loubach, Hy.
Lutz, Daniel
Lutz, Geo.
Mallinkrodt, Jas. T.
Martin, Albert
Maerzweiler, Adolph
Meyer, Fred. C.
Meyer, Gebhardt
Mueller, Jacob
Mueller, Wm.
Murdeubel, Ernst
Olfe, Henry
Osterholt, Anton
Petig, Nicholas
Pilz, John
Predicow, Herman
Rammelkamp, R.
Rocker, Henry
Roehn, Christin
Rosche, Nicolas
Sandwald, Fred.
Schapperkotter, Hy.
Schneeberger, John
Schwecke, Theo.
Sebold, Sebastian
Sepler, Michael
Statz, John
Speith, Franz
Squeschka, Chas.
Stein, Peter
Stender, Wm.
Stricker, Anton
Strim, August
Terre, Gottlieb
Thoroman, Joseph
Tinime, Herman
Ulbert, Phillip
Ulrich, Leopold
Warneke, Fred.
Warneke, Henry
Warneke, Jno. C.
Weidehaus, Peter
Weideman, Henry
Werner, Wendelin
Wetekamp, Aug.
Wild, Jacob
Woestendick, D.
Wohlfarth, Nicolaus
Zimmerer, Mathias

COMPANY G.

Geo. Dominick, Captain
Chas. Moeller, 1st Lieutenant
Samuel P. Simpson, 2d Lieutenant
Augustus Tille, 1st Sergeant
Charles Hessell, Sergeant
Fr. A. Hansteiner, Sergeant
Fred Folenius, Sergeant
Chas. Sampe, Sergeant
Geo. Richardt, Corporal
Geo. Saerber, Corporal
John Eichberger, Corporal
Conrad Leonhardt, Corporal
Gottlieb Seller, Musician
Martin Scherer, Musician

Privates.

Ackerman, Fred.
Aschmeyer, Hy.
Behrends, John
Beiter, John
Belzer, Fred.
Boekemann, Jno. W.
Boeker, Fred.
Berne, George
Bertsch, Geo.
Bohlinger, Paul
Borgstedt, Hy.
Brey, Ernst
Clay, John
Coerber, Henry
Dado, Joseph
Darks, Fred.
Darr, Christian
Dennins, Andreas
Denz, Clemens
Dietrich, Jacob
Disterhorst, Fred.
Duenewald, Andreas
Dueringhoff, Dan'l.
Ehlert, Adolph
Ernst, John
Franz, Henry
Ganter, Lorenz
Gay, Louis
Gramm, Simon
Grote, Adam
Guilmer, Claude
Haendel, Chas.
Ham, Fred.
Heimberger, Henry
Helmich, Hy.
Helrig, Fred.
Hoster, John
Huber, Joseph
Huentelman, Theo.
Jacobi, Henry H.
Jung, Mathias
Keller, Geo.
Keyerlebebe, Chas.
Kowendewer, Hy.
Kowendewer, John
Krafft, Fred.
Kretschmar, Jos.
Kull, Adolphus
Lenzen, Henry
Long, Adam
Lorenz, Henry
Luhn, Gustavus
Mack, Wm.
Marcoli, Francis
Mattock, Fred.
Meckfessel, Fred
Mersenheim, Christ.
Milliet, Francis
Mittenhauser, Henry
Muchlaupt, John
Munzlinger, Jno. M.
Murlock, Geo.
Muschleisen, Nicolas
Petri, Wm.
Poetner, Caspar
Poetner, Henry
Popp, Christian
Pringel, Michael
Rememam, Christ.
Rhein, Peter
Rohlfing, Wm.
Romelin, Joseph
Ruediman, Michael
Salzgeber, John C.
Schaeffer, Christ.
Scherr, Geo.
Schermeier, Francis
Schewitz, Charles
Schlachter, Chas.
Schlatteiler, Michael
Schlesinger, Michael
Schmidt, Adam
Schmidt, Jacob
Schmidt, John
Schorr, Adam
Schowing, Francis
Seibert, Augustus
Seibert, John A.
Seifert, Ernst F.
Steiger, Louis
Tanby, Geo.
Thiel, Wm.
Wack, Herman
Wahl, Francis
Wehner, Chas.
Werner, Geo.
Winkler, August
Wolff, Augustus
Wolz, Charles
Ziegler, Wm.

COMPANY H.

Henry Lischer, Captain
Theodore Kalb, 1st Lieutenant
Adolph Knipper, 2d Lieutenant
Wm. Herz, 1st Sergeant
John Mueller, Sergeant
Christ Santer, Sergeant
Louis Haenisch, Sergeant
Andreas Raub, Corporal
Edmund Giebel, Corporal
Bob Gebhard, Corporal
Phillip Goetz, Corporal
John B. Pfeffer, Corporal
Wm. Schister, Corporal
Phil Koeppling, Musician
Wm. Herz, Musician

Privates.

Aerchlumann, Fred.
Alles, Gottfried
Argast, Sebastian
Backer, Henry F.
Baer, Jacob
Barth, Jacob
Beele, August
Benner, Caspar
Bennert, Henry
Berker, Hy.
Boutzer, Hermann
Brening, Andreas
Brinkman, Henry
Carl, Jacob
Croisant, Fred
Derenbecker, Charles
Diehl, Daniel
Dilart, Frank
Dutz, Fred
Ehrlich, Hermann
Eisebraun, Jacob
Felber, Jacob
Fette, August
Foerster, Fred.
Gansmeier, Paul
Gauss, Thomas
Gerber, Francis
Gerfinger, Michael
Gordon, Louis
Goss, Jacob
Greder, Louis
Grohmann, Fred.
Gruffer, Charles
Guerdan, Francis
Hartmann, Wm.
Herter, Felix
Hoffmann, Adolph
Hoher, Joseph
Hunicke, Herman
Kautz, Joseph
Kessler, August
Knoblauch, Chas.
Krauthoff, Louis
Kummer, Phillip
Leonhardt, Christ
Lerdeh, Wm.
Lery, Abraham
Maer, August
Maritetzel, Wm.
Martin, Gottlieb
Mauer, Lorenz
Mehl, Peter
Meier, Henry
Meier, Wm.
Meine, August
Miller, John M.
Mueller, Gustav F.
Pander, Charles
Pliess, Jacob
Roederer, Phillip
Rosenthal, Fred. W.
Rossenbach, John
Rotty, Simon
Ruder, Chas.
Rueger, John
Sanbery, Theodor
Schaaf, Henry
Scheip, Fred
Schenk, John
Schmisser, Geo.
Schnell, John
Schwarz, Fred.
Seckingen, Mathias
Seibel, Charles
Seibel, Conrad
Stein, John
Steitz, William
Sulter, Gottfried
Ulrici, Bernhardt
Vogel, August
Vogel, Peter
Waldschmidt, Hy.
Walter, Jacob
Welzer, John
Werner, Cuno
Wettslies, Caspar
Wolter, Louis
Zumbehl, Henry

COMPANY I.

Robert Hundhausen, Captain
Louis Duestrow, 1st Lieutenant
J. Conrad Meyer, 2d Lieutenant
Paul Bush, 1st Sergeant
Charles Bosse, Sergeant
Hy. Gildehaus, Sergeant
Wm. Borgelt, Sergeant
Herman Kahman, Corporal
Herman Schepman, Corporal
Louis Koop, Corporal
John Brauer, Corporal
Charles Koop, Corporal
Daniel Schwenk, Musician
Chas. Brachers, Musician

Privates.

Acker, Pnillip
Ahrens, Chas. I.
Ahrens, Chas. II.
Bischop, Phil. Hy.
Boehme, Hy.
Bruenn, John
Crebs, Hermann
Denner, Paul
Feustel, Julius
Fink, Jurger
Flohr, William
Floyd, John
Frank, John A.
Freimuth, Fred.
Fuchs, Fred.
Griffhorn, Peter
Groesche, Fred
Groene, Louis
Hagedorn, John
Hallbaum, Chas.
Heitz, Charles
Helmholz, Henry
Hesselmeyer, Herman
Immer, Charles
Klingler, John
Kreinheeler, Henry
Krug, Max
Kuchenbuch, M.
Kunz, Henry
Kunz, Joseph
Landenberger Peter
Lindhorst, Henry
Margrander, Adam
Massman, Charles
Meisbach, Henry
Meisinger, Phillip
Mueller, Louis
Pahlman, Christ.
Pfeffer, Charles
Quartman, Joseph
Ribben, Mathias
Rickborn, Theo.
Ringhoff, Wm.
Rolfes, Henry
Ruesing, Fred.
Ruesing, John
Ruf, Chas.
Saner, Wm.
Schemper, Jacob
Schleier, Adam
Schmieding, Fred.
Schmidt, Charles
Schmidt, Henry
Schnur, Otto
Spahn, John
Spaulding, E. Paul
Steinmesch, John
Still, Werner
Strich, Peter
Sutor, Henry
Tamm, Theodor
Temme, George
Tiemann, Fred.
Tiemann, Hy.
Tiester, Martin
Veslage, G. Henry
Von Ahnen, Nicolas
Waechter, Fred.
Walz, Jacob
Weichner, Henry
Weider, Henry
Wesselman, Bernard
Wiche, Max
Wilhelm, Fred.
Witte, John F.
Wulf, Ernst
Wulfing, Fred

COMPANY K.

George A. Rowley, Captain
Edward J. Clark, 1st Lieutenant
George E. Leighton, 2d Lieutenant
Joseph P. Taylor, 1st Sergeant
James E. Clark, Sergeant
Lucien Eaton, Sergeant
Jacobs S. Wiliams, Sergeant
Wm. Zukoski, Sergeant
Wm. H. Hayden, Corporal
Truman W. Post, Corporal
Jesmore H. Bacon, Corporal
John McGinn, Corporal
Max Volkmann, Musician

Privates.

Armuth, Jos. G.
Arthur, Wm.
Ashton, James
Beaman, Geo. W.
Behr, Peter
Besber, Hy. E.
Biden, Ed. S.
Bigelow, Geo. H.
Brielle, John P.
Buchanan, Alex. J.
Burgh, Thomas
Cleveland, Hy.
Cohen, Chas. M.
Cohen, R. A.
Cook, Alfred H.
Cottan, John
Cottan, Richard
Cowdary, John W.
Crane, Arba N.
Crook, John B.
Deimling, F. C.
Delut, William
Evans, John B.
Finan, Thomas
Fisher, Calvin G.
Fisk, William
Fitscher, Jos. B.
Freeman, Elisha P.
Graham, John
Greene, Edw. R.
Hargate, Joseph
Hase, Josepn
Hart, Henry
Harting, Wm.
Hartwell, Alfred S.
Hayden, Charles
Hearsum, Fred. H.
Heath, Wm. H.
Hickey, James M.
Holmes, Henry
Holmes, Jno. H.
Hosler, Jacob
Howe, James F.
Howland, Chas. H.
Hull, Wm.
Jacobson, Augustus
Jeffs, Reuben
Jeffs, Wm. S.
Kehr, Edward C.
Kendall, Robert T.
Knight, Wm. K.
Kushke, Robert
Luthmann, Christ.
McBride, Theo.
McDonough, Alfred J.
McGunn, James E.
Mathews, Thomas
Menche, Ernst
Miller, Joseph
Mills, James
Mosly, Benjamin
Nagel, August
Parr, John A.
Patrick, Wm. K.
Reed, David
Rice, Edward
Richards, John L.
Rickford, William
Robbins, Henry
Rogers, John
Sanders, John
Scotter, John
Smith, John C.
Spencer, Robert C.
Spies, Fred.
Stone, Chas. H.
Stone, Theo. L.
Tomlinson, Alois
Tucker, Geo. W.
Turner, Timothy D.
Uder, Henry
Weichman, Fred.
Whitmore, Hy. R.
Whitney, Chas.
Woods, John L.
Young, John W.

FOURTH REGIMENT, UNITED STATES RESERVE CORPS, MISSOURI VOLUNTEERS,

mustered May 8, under President Lincoln's Order of April 30, with eleven Companies, chiefly from the immediate neighborhood of Franklin avenue, by electing B. Gratz Brown Colonel and establishing an Armory and Headquarters at Uhrig's Cave, southwest corner of Washington and Jefferson avenues. On May 10 it held the northeastern approaches of town to Camp Jackson. In June and July it secured the route, via Rolla, to the Southwest, where transports had to provision the Army over 120 miles of wagon road. The Regiment met Sigel on his retreat from Carthage to Springfield at Mount Vernon. Of the 11 Companies of the Regiment, one was composed almost entirely of Americans, and one of Frenchmen; of the entire body 75 per cent were Germans.

Mustered out at the expiration of service in August, six Companies reorganized for the Reserve Service in September, under Lieutenant Colonel John H. Herder, but were already, in January, 1862, consolidated with the Eighteenth Missouri Volunteers.

The Regiment mustered for the Three Months' Service 1,014 men.

FIELD AND STAFF.

B. Gratz Brown, Colonel
Rudolph Wesseling, Lt. Colonel
Samuel B. Shaw, Major
George Kaufbold, Adjutant
John C. Vogel, Quartermaster
Jacques Ravold, Surgeon
Wm. H. Koch, Assistant Surgeon
E. M. Joel, Quartermaster Sergeant
Edward Schultz, Commissary Sergeant
Fred A. M. Maschmeyer, Sergeant Major
John Schnell, Musician
Wm. F. Diedrich, Musician

COMPANY A.

Charles E. Adams, Captain
Geo. Kaufbold, 1st Lieutenant
Geo. Calvert, 2d Lieutenant
Frederick Doering, 1st Sergeant
Paul Rohr, Sergeant
E. B. Beyer, Sergeant
James Getty, Sergeant
Thomas Wilk, Corporal
John J. Sutter, Corporal
Samuel H. Titus, Corporal
Conrad Andreas, Corporal

Privates.

Albertis, Charles
Andre, Geo. H.
Bachman, Wm. L.
Becker, Phillip
Bohe, Adam
Bohlman, August
Bohlman, Charles
Born, George
Bope, Richard
Borkelsberger, Herman
Breltomen, Stephen
Brissick, Henry
Christman, Bernard
Dailey, John
Deutelmoser, Adolph
Dugan, Charles
Ebett, Joseph
Eckstein, George
Ewig, Conrad
Fennerbach, Jos.
Fischer, Frederick
Fischer, Henry
Florelch, Philip
Fury, Michael
Galvin, Alexander
Gartland, Thomas
Gelhard, George
Gerdelman, Rudolph
Gerhardt, Wm.
Gerkin, Clement
Guth, Louis
Halson, Oliver
Hartwig, Gustav
Hasse, Wm.
Hermann, John
Herming, Lorenz
Herzog, Edward
Hoffmann, Frederick
Ichtertz, John
Jurgen, Philip
Kane, Alexander
Kinmean, Robert
Kritzinger, Herman
Krulich, David
Kyler, George
Lang, Peter
Liepkin, Louis
Ludwig, Conrad
McArten, Daniel
Manheim, Joel
Mannewall, Charles
Mare, John
Merk, Pius
Morton, John
Morton, John J.
Nink, Andre
Norteman, Louis
Norton, Kennedy
Offenstein, Adam M.
Palmer, Charles
Peter, Phillip C.
Plitte, Gustav
Ramer, William
Reichsteiger, Henry
Reihn, Zepherino
Renns, Samuel J.
Rick, Louis
Riley, William
Rumler, Adam
Rumler, Peter
Runs, Joseph B.
Sauer, John
Schaeffer, Joseph
Scharp, Joseph
Schenk, Henry
Schuetz, Charles
Schuetz, Christian
Serigel, Wm.
Smithaus, John
Steininger, John G.
Thompson, James
Tower, Joel N.
Voges, Henry
Zell, George
Ziel, Wm.

COMPANY B.

Alex. G. Hequembourg, Captain
Louis Schnell, 1st Lieutenant
Charles Schnell, 2d Lieutenant
Charles A. Meyer, 1st Sergeant
Robert Oliver, Sergeant
Wm. H. Souerby, Sergeant
H. Scharringhausen, Sergeant
Wm. Drezer, Sergeant
August Overbeck, Corporal
Henry Beckmeier, Corporal
Nicolas Meyer, Corporal
Chas. Osburg, Corporal

Privates.

Ackermann, John
Appelbaum, John
Balmer, Charles
Bauer, Godfried
Barding, Robert
Begelsacher, August
Bergmann, Herman
Blanke, August
Bolling, Rudolph
Brecker, Frederick
Bredemeyer, Chas.
Brockrick, Frederick
Buecher, Frederick
Bunnemann, Charles
Christen, Frank
Christensen, Christian
Crawshaw, Joseph
Drescher, Wm.
Dressler, Henry
Dressler, Wm.
Egbert, Charles
Engler, Charles
Fischer, Andreas
Geistlich, Caspar
Gorden, Henry
Gusselman, Wm.
Hayesdorf, Charles
Hazmack, Jacob
Helfers, Henry
Hermann, Edward
Hermann, George
Herr, Mat.
Jones, Reiser H.
Kimbermann, Edw.
Kleingrus, Theodor
Koch, John
Kossick, Wm.
Kramer, John
Kruegar, Christian
Kruegar, Edward
Langhorst, Henry
Lasar, Hy. S.
Lum, Joseph
Maguire, Peter
Maritz, Frederick
Mathieu, Joseph
Meise, John F.
Mezer, Albert
Mullenfield, Wm.
Nenedeck, Charles
Oberle, Conrad
Osburne, Moses
Ottring, John
Pfeil, Jacob
Reahing, Charles
Reck, George
Rein, John
Reit, Mathias
Renner, Joseph
Reopen, Bernhardt
Rezan, Michael
Riecht, George
Rumph, Henry
Sagerhorn, Diedrich
Schaeffer, Charles
Schall, Joseph
Schatt, John
Schmarz, Ferdinand
Schmirot, Godfried
Schwarz, Charles
Schwer, Wm.
Sickman, Henry
Sieling, Hermann
Siglinger, John
Siler, Phillip
Spechs, Henry
Spengler, John
Steinkamp, Wm.
Steppelwirth, John
Stolte, Henry
Storch, John
Strauberg, Henry
Stuckman, Charles
Thiekmeyer, Christ.
Tunnelle, John
Turk, Bernhardt
Vanbrock, Hermann
Voelker, Frederick
Wagman, Henry
Welte, Jacob
Wilhelm, Andreas
Wilson, Edwin

COMPANY C.

John F. W. Gehner, Captain
Julius W. Koch, 1st Lieutenant
Louis Reicholz, 2d Lieutenant
Adolph Graser, 1st Sergeant
Louis Friedburg, Sergeant
August Zimmer, Sergeant
Rudolph Schmieding, Sergeant
Theodore Wippern, Corporal
Henry Sutemeyer, Corporal
Geo. Trorlicht, Corporal
Fred Schmidt, Jr., Corporal
Wm. G. Diederich, Musician
Henry Foelsing, Musician

Privates.

Ande, D. C.
Arnold, Chas.
Barth, G. Wm.
Bauman, Christof
Beechtuft, Alexander
Bechtufft, Fred. W.
Bieg, Valentine
Bird, Louis
Bornecker, Joseph L.
Bosh, Emil
Brand, Wm.
Bresch, Charles
Brode, August
Bruening, August
Budke, Conrad
Bull, John
Christman, Julius
Diedrichs, Henry
Druiding, Henry
Dunker, Henry
Emminghausen, Theo.
Fischer, Herman
Fleck, John
Fresel, Herman H.
Gehner, John F. W., Jr.
Geiss, Christ.
Gersel, Siegfried
Griesedick, Frank
Hahn, Alexander
Hapstedt, John
Hemm, Peter
Hempinger, Chas.
Henzing, Hy.
Hellmer, Henry
Holthaus
Kellmann, Otto
Klaus, Rudolph
Klein, Frederick
Kniederscheck, Thomas
Kortkamp, Edward
Maestens, Herman G.
Mathias, Adolph
Mauch, Henry
Medlar, Martin
Merkel, Ernst
Meyer, Fred. W.
Meyer, Henry
Millenghausen, Aug.
Mueller, Tonger W.
Niehaus, Frank H.
Osburg, Louis
Persbacher, Fritz
Pfeifer, Theodore
Peiper, Leop.
Roerig, Fritz
Rosemann, Fritz
Sanders, Wm.
Sandewein, Martin
Schlag, Bernhard
Schlicht, August
Schmidt, Fred.
Schmidt, Julius
Seckler, John
Sefert, Henry
Sorgenfrey, Henry
Stecker, Joseph
Steidemann, Martin
Steinbrugge, Conrad
Steinwender, Gustav
Steinwender, Hermann
Stoehr, Louis
Suhre, Fred W.
Tebbe, John H.
Timken, Henry
Trauernicht, Fred. C.
Trorlicht, Bernard
Uffman, Aug. E.
Valendy, Aug.
Valkened, John
Wagner, Henry
Wenzel, Adam
Wielandy, John
Wilcke, Henry
Witte, Fritz A.
Woermer, Louis W.

COMPANY D.

Louis Schneider, Captain
Christopher Winkle, 1st Lieutenant
John A. Bremsler, 2d Lieutenant
John Hilmer, 1st Sergeant
Gerhart H. Stockhoff, Sergeant
Robert Fenstel, Sergeant
Phillip Heick, Sergeant
Charles F. Schultze, Corporal
Fridolin Neef, Corporal
Henry Kellmer, Corporal
Peter Theis, Corporal
John Treck, Musician
Aug. Essner, Musician

Privates.

Ahlert, Henry
Ahrens, Chas.
Armbruster, Jas.
Beckerle, Mathew
Beneke, Herman
Bertsch, Augustus
Binder, Henry
Brueggemann, Aug.
Budde, Herman
Bushman, Henry
Cordes, Gottlried
Dickhoener, Wm. H.
Doerr, Fred.
Dorn, Andrew
Erbe, Phillip
Frogge, Fred.
Frohard, H. C.
Fiene, William
Fishel, Fred
Fisher, Ernst
Fuene, Henry
Germer, Fred
Gipperich, James
Goldstein, Robert
Graefe, Michael
Gutman, Martin
Hanrath, Henry G.
Hartman, David
Hauck, Julius
Hild, James
Hirsch, Fred.
Hock, Joseph
Hussman, Francis, Sr.
Hussman, Francis, Jr.
Joachim, Jacob
Kemp, Michael A.
Klages, Gustav C. W.
Kober, George
Koenig, John
Lahman, Fred.
Leyh, George H.
Meier, Herman H.
Montague, Victor
Mueller, Jacob
Muessler, Rudolph
Neimann, Christopher
Oberwenter, Phillip
Paskilowitz, Stanislaus
Past, Frederick
Perter, Chas.
Peters, Henry
Poelting, Wm.
Rall, Christopher
Raller, Fred
Ranch, George
Reidel, Valentine
Rothgang, Gottfried
Rueppel, Charles
Saegel, Louis
Schale, John G.
Scharnhorst, Fred
Schlosser, James
Schuchard, Godfried
Schumacher, Hy.
Seifried, Jacob
Siever, Wm.
Struebe, Louis
Thoene, Henry
Troll, Henry
Uhlhomm, Hy. F.
Waldman, Valentine
Wedig, Henry
Wehrman, Fred
Wendschil, George
Wiesehahn, Wm. G.
Wolff, Henry Fred.
Ziefle, John

COMPANY E.

Charles Zimmer, Captain
John Schenkel, 1st Lieutenant
H. Obermueller, 2d Lieutenant
Gustav Gest, 1st Sergeant
Gerhard Schneider, Sergeant
Jacob Greenewald, Sergeant
William Kelhoff, Sergeant
Jacob Greenewald, Jr., Corporal
Frederick Hirsch, Corporal
John Beeknemann, Corporal
Fred Busing, Corporal
Louis Mockel, Musician
Chas. J. Rithes, Musician

Privates.

Archenbacker, Wm.
Ackermann, Emanuel
Baxsold, Max
Beekemann, Fred
Beekemann,
Brand, Johann
Brinkman, Fred
Brocke, Henry
Buhler, Arnold
Conzelmann, John
Claus, George
Dang, Adam
Danz, Joseph
Droge, Hermann
Eiken, Fred
Emsichler, August
Fideldey, George
Fischer, Casper
Fischer, Charles
Green, Henry
Gildehaus, Henry
Haag, William
Haase, Fred
Hacke, Louis
Hassebaum, Fred
Hasselmann, Charles
Henmann, Herman
Hensick, Adam
Hermann, Gerhardt
Hillmann, Wm.
Hillsick, August
Hirsch, George
Hummert, Hy.
Jaeger, Michael
Joos, William
Kessler, John
Kicker, Fred
Kindermann, Hermann
King, Anton
Kinke, John
Klaus, Henry
Kloren, Fred
Kramer, William
Kreckel, Louis
Krein, Francis
Kriegman, Rudolph
Lang, Joseph
Lang, Josepn
Leimkuehler, Francis
Leimkuehler, Hy.
Leyler, George
Lohman, Chas.
Lorsch, John
Luffler, Gebhard
Mahs, Peter
Manken, John B.
Meier, John
Meyer, Henry
Meyer, Louis
Meyer, Simon
Moenminges,
Mueller, Christian
Obermueller, Fred
Opimus, Henry
Papse, John
Ratt, Bernhard
Rase, Bernhard
Rookenbach, Michael
Schabe, Henry
Schilling, Fritz
Schlottman, Hy.
Schmidt, John
Schmuck, Ferdinand
Schneider, George
Schott, George
Sieber, Fred
Spilken, William
Stamm, Balthazar
Timmermann, Christ.
Valliand, John
Wasmuth, Fred.
Weldemeyer, Henry
Wicke, John
Wiecke, William
Woener, George
Woener, William

COMPANY F.

Peter Helle, Captain
Valentine Merzweiler, 1st Lieutenant
Charles F. Knoll, 2d Lieutenant
Louis Voss, 1st Sergeant
George J. Weigel, Sergeant
Gustav Benrig, Sergeant
Jacob Jung, Sergeant
Nicolas King, Corporal
Henry Hahnmueller, Corporal
John Jung, Corporal
Carl Dellerman, Corporal
John Schnell, Musician
Charles Schellinger, Musician

Privates.

Albrant, Steppant
Beehrdt, Frank
Bertenstein, Louis
Berwig, Geo. P.
Broechel, August
Christman, Andreas
Claus, Nicolas
Demkes, Lamert
Dettmann, Gustave
Diel, Christian
Diel, John
Doerr, George
Esmus, Nicolas
Feuerbach, John
Fegbiel, Henry
Gillmer, John
Glass, John
Guede, Henry
Hacker, John
Hartmann, Frank
Hellenbach, John
Hess, Nicolas
Horne, Joseph
Kannell, Peter
Keth, Jacob
Klein, Louis
Klemm, Fred W.
Koch, Charles
Kraft, Adolph
Kuhn, John
Meyer, Peter
Mueller, Martin
Nicolas, Joseph
Ohme, William
Peters, Christian
Portmann, August
Raacke, Ferdinand
Rachel, Frederick
Reelig, John
Reinert, John
Reinstaedler, John
Reitz, Lorenz
Ries, Fritz
Rolfing, Fred. W.
Ruebel, Michael
Ruedemeyer, Christ.
Ruloff, Mathias
Samner, Ferdinand
Satt, John
Schaeffer, Louis
Scheman, Herman
Schmoll, George
Scholer, John
Schubert, George
Schumber, Peter
Schwagul, Jacob
Sopp, Andrew
Steinhoff, August
Sumpf, Frederick
Triebel, Henry
Tuenberg, Fred
Voelker, John
Weitzel,
Waltz, Conrad
Weltler, Wm.
Wessling, George
Wiegand, William
Wilcke, Jacob
Wilde, Julius
Witte, Henry
Wolfmeyer, Gerhard

COMPANY G.

John H. Diecher, Captain
Casper Kopp, 1st Lieutenant
Montague S. Hasse, 2d Lieutenant
F. W. Gieselmann, 1st Sergeant
Caspar Hatlo, Sergeant
Albert Buescher, Sergeant
Charles Soecker, Corporal
Henry Wolfmeyer, Corporal
Henry Eppmeier, Corporal
Christoph Peters, Corporal
Casper Woerheide, Musician

Privates.

Beckman, Ed.
Berbmann, Aug.
Bloebaum, Aug.
Boese, Reinhard
Bohmenkamp, Gottlieb
Bohmer, Charles
Bokamper, Fred
Brockman, Fred
Brund, Henry
Brunsman, Ernst
Budde, Henry
Docke, Charles
Doepke, Ernst
Doepke, Henry
Drane, Henry
Eggert, Henry
Engelmann, Herman
Evers, William
Evert, William
Feuerborn, Wm.
Fleischman, Chas.
Gehring, Wm.
Gruen, Charles
Hafmeister, Chas.
Hagemeyer, William
Hannebaum, Franz
Harland, George
Hassemeyer, Adam
Hatte, Frederick
Heid, Jacob
Heidbreder, Fred
Heidemann, Henry
Helmkamp, Henry
Hesse, George
Hinnenthal, Henry
Hinricks, Frank
Kaup, Fred
Keisker, Ernst
Kenning, Francis
Klusman, Ernst
Knichmeyer, August
Knichmeyer, Charles
Koenigkraemer, Henry
Konnemann, Henry
Koke, Wiliam
Kraemer, Charles
Krumwiele, Fred
Kunsemueller, Fritz
Lanmann, Fred
Linnemeyer, Rudolph
Lochmeller, Fritz
Luecking, Fred
Meyer, Fred
Meyer,
Mueller, Wm. H.
Municke, Henry
Nagel, John
Nolte, Christian
Nordbrock, John
Placke, August
Plattner, John
Puls, Chas.
Ralf, Gottlieb
Rane, Christian
Reinecke, John
Rippe, Charles
Ritter, August
Rodermund, Henry
Ruemler, Christ
Rummler, Alexander
Schneeck, Hermann
Schorfheide, Hermann
Schubert, Chas.
Siekmann, Wm.
Stahl, Joseph
Upmann, Chas.
Vogel, Christian
Waldecker, Christian
Werz, Henry
Westhold, Henry
Wetterau, John
Wilke, Frank
Wilke, T William
Wilken, Aug.
Woerheide, Henry
Wolfmeyer, Wiliam

COMPANY H.

William Heyl, Captain
Bernhard Loeblein, 1st Lieutenant
John M. Render, 2d Lieutenant
George H. Frank, 1st Sergeant
Samuel Smith, Sergeant
Alexander Schnurr, Sergeant
Henry Meinhardt, Corporal
Christian Wildesen, Corporal
Frank Bohrm, Corporal
George Koecheig, Corporal

Privates.

Apprederis, Emil
Bechter, Casimir
Beims, Frederick
Berger, Charles
Beymohr, John
Buehler, William
Dansch, Frank
Dhiemann, Casper
Duckstine, Henry
Duel, Henry
Erdschlag, Henry
Frank, Henry
Gaubatz, Fritz
Grafe, Herman
Held, Henry
Henge, Henry
Herold, Charles
Heyd, Henry
Huseman, Herman
Ihrach, Frederick
Kaiser, Henry
Kerzinger, Francis
Klein, Sebastian
Kleinhaus, Leonhard
Koehler, Louis
Koehnemann, Fred
Kollman, Henry
Lambert, Henry
Lentewith, Wm.
Meier, John B.
Menninger, Chas.
Mowton, Louis
Newkamp, Edward
Obernear, Wm.
Ockel, August
Pabst, Wm.
Pale, Frank
Reibel, George
Reinecke, Hermann
Ryder, James
Sander, Jacob
Schaeffer, Wm.
Schilling, John
Schrader, August
Schrader, George
Storbeck, Chas.
Strich, Henry
Striecher, Leo
Trost, Christoph
Varnhold, Fritz
Vierheller, Adam
Volz, Christian
Vossick, Henry
Walter, Geo.
Warters, Peter
Weisel, Frank
Wischmeier, Charles
Wolfers, Bernhard

COMPANY I.

Wm. C. Jones, Captain
John H. Stephens, 1st Lieutenant
John H. Hohlman, 2d Lieutenant
N. Everett Horton, 1st Sergeant
Isaac Balmer, Sergeant
W. H. Stephens, Sergeant
James C. Jones, Sergeant
Geo. W. Ellonhead, Corporal
Harvey S. Page, Corporal
John Mehagan, Corporal
James W. Pickup, Corporal
Wm. Mathews, Musician
James Mather, Musician

Privates.

Anderson, George
Atkinson, James
Bassett, Alfred
Bird, Geo. M.
Bowman, Chas. H.
Bruce, Elias V. B.
Burroughs, John
Butts, Wm. A.
Cahor, John
Cannon, Chas. P.
Cheney, Cyrus F.
Compton, Geo.
Constable, Nathaniel
Crouch, Geo. W.
Crowell, Benj. F.
Delaplain, Wm. P.
Delviny, John
Erhardt, Frederick
Estel, Martin
Fahn, Hermann
Ferrest, Peter
Feuerborn, John H.
Flynn, Thomas
Froecke, Joseph C.
Gissiker, Fred
Gleason, Geo. F.
Goode, W. I.
Goss, John
Hamilton, Thomas
Hartman, John
Harvey, Benjamin
Hendry, Edward
Hendry, Elihu E.
Hendry, Wm. J.
Herman, Charles
Himstedt, Conrad
Hosicke, Manuel M.
Houston, Charles
Hubbel, Monroe
Jasper, John
Johnson, Robert B.
Kaeshofer, John
Kayser, Cornelius
Kayser, Peter D.
Kennedy, Thomas
Ketraus, Thomas
Kilpatrick, Wm.
Klegis, Henry
Kleine, Leonard
Kurz, Ferdinand
Kurz, Henry
Laurence, Edward
Lonergan, Wm.
Loyd, Samuel W.
McClusky, Hy.
McDonald, Austin
McKinley, Thomas
McLain, George
McManus, John
McMillan, Wm.
Macke, Phillip
Malone, Edward
Malone, Luke
Marling, Jacob
Meinke, John
O'Brien, Patrick
Pheley, Isaac
Pierce, Wm. W.
Roach, Dan D.
Rourke, Wm.
Schneider, Adam
Schneider, Peter
Seymour, Geo. W.
Smith, Thomas
Sommers, Lymon C.
Stoddard, David W.
Sweeney, Martin R.
Sweeney, Wm. H.
Talbot, Jorel Z.
Trafton, Lysander B.
Ubrich, Christian
Van Deizer, Albert S.
Webster, Joseph H.
Wilson, Samuel O.
Wingert, Joseph E.
Whitton, James
Wood, Horatio D.
Young, John

COMPANY K.

Charles Osburg, Captain
Julius Glade, 1st Lieutenant
Henry Kleeman, Lieutenant
Edward Schulz, Lieutenant
John D. Torlina, 1st Sergeant
Henry Schaepperkotter, Sergeant
Henry Brandes, Sergeant
John Wolf, Sergeant
Wm. Noark, Corporal
Fred Kayser, Corporal
Fred Farhold, Corporal
Charles Mueller, Corporal

Privates.

Albermeyer, Fred
Ande, Charles
Bargstedt, John H.
Behrman, Martin
Bendorf, Hy.
Blancke, Hy.
Bleeckbaum, Chas.
Bovemmermann, Hy.
Brinckman, Christ
Brockman, John
Buchartring, Louis
Burgdorf, Christian
Deckert, Adam
Deickles, Fred
Demme, Adam
Dolde, John
Ehlmann, Dietrich
Eskmeyer, Henry
Funck, Ernst
Giesecke, Chas.
Hausschild, Chas.
Heber, Francis
Heber, Henry
Heisner, Fred B.
Henning, Francis
Hunger, Hermann
Imgrund, Herman
Kethe, Henry
Klett, Gottlieb
Kluls, August
Koch, Henry
Koring, Wm.
Kortes, Nicolas
Kramer, Henry
Krohne, Fred
Kumpt, Peter
Lammering, Rud.
Mail, Frederick
Melczer, Julius
Merten, Henry
Mette, Aug.
Meyer, Henry
Meyer, Henry H.
Meyer, John J.
Mueller, Herman H.
Nast, Frederick
Neff, John
Neuberth, Charles
Niehoff, Casper
Nolte, Jos. B.
Ochtebeck, Daniel
Reis, George
Reublinger, Dowie
Richards, Charles
Schmutter, Henry
Schnute, Ernst L.
Schorteke, Henry
Schultz, August
Schwartz, George
Sohrkamp, Christian
Specht, Michael
Steetner, Peter
Steinraef, John
Steinrauch, Balsar
Steinrauch, Louis
Strassheim, Jacob
Voss, Fred
Weideler, Henry
Weitkamp, Fred
Weiman, Henry
Weitz, Stephen
Wichaude, John
Wietz, Caspar
Wittenkamp, Jacob
Wortmann, Henry

COMPANY L.

Louis Loos, Captain
Christian Heilweck, 1st Lieutenant
Charles Guerine, 2d Lieutenant
Roland Hirsenbach, 1st Sergeant
Hermann Moos, Sergeant
John Wetzstein, Sergeant
Louis Gellett, Sergeant
Emil Bohn, Corporal
Charles Messner, Corporal
George Sauerbei, Corporal
Wm. Belzer, Corporal

Privates.

Banez, Geo.
Barbet, Pierce
Belschens, Adam
Bird, Wm.
Blaise, Gaspard
Bremer, Andreas
Burla, Pierce
Caspar, Nicolas
Castellon, Louis
Cigrand, Peter
Clades, Jules
Coffe, Vincent
Degois, Nicolas
Duerch, Pierce
Duhammel, Jean
Fagins, Alexander
Favervian, Pierre
Fetle, Joshua
Finoh, Jean
Foehr, Johann
Gelzer, Johann
Guillard, Antoine
Hook, Andrew
Isele, Thomas
Kales, Josepn
Kreemuth, Louis
Kroff, George
Kuehre, Ernst
Lautstruth, Wm.
Lavah, Jean
Lecontour, Hypolite
Lehoag, Michael
Leopold, Nicolas
Loble, August
Loiseau, Joseph
Loiseau, Marcel
Luft, Henry
Mathias, Ferdinand
Meier, Wendelin
Mercudier, Benjamin
Merringney, Francis
Mesnier, Charles
Meswand, Francis
Meyer, Louis
Muschling, Joachim
Paste, Antoine
Perria, Jean
Picard, Victor
Poireh, Alexis
Ramband, Louis
Revoire, Francis
Reynard, Charles
Reynard, Paul
Rertry, August
Rock, George
Rossbach, Charles
Sainton, Felix
Salariner, Noel
Sauree, Arsine
Souping, Mathieu
Spach, Polasius
Vogt, Theo.
Wich, Paul

FIFTH REGIMENT, UNITED STATES RESERVE CORPS, MISSOURI VOLUNTEERS,

organized under President Lincoln's Order of April 30, for home service, the men living chiefly in the old Tenth Ward of St. Louis, which included the northwestern part of the city; they elected Chas. G. Stifel Colonel and established their Armory and Headquarters at his brewery on Eighteenth and Howard streets. The Regiment mustered into service May 11 and on returning from the Arsenal was attacked by a mob on corner of Walnut and Broadway; shots were exchanged and a number of men lost their lives. In June three Companies went to Jefferson City to guard the Penitentiary and to escort provisions to Lyon's Army at Boonville, from where the whole Regiment took up a steamboat scouting service up the Missouri River; it helped to fortify Lexington, organized Home Guard Companies for its defense, secured arms from Fort Leavenworth and routed Secession bands along the river. Returning to St. Louis, the Regiment was mustered out at the end of August; seven Companies of it reorganized for home service in September, under Lieutenant Colonel John Jacob Fischer, were consolidated with other troops, retaining the privileges of the Reserve Service; of the original Regiment 83 per cent were Germans, 14 per cent Americans. The Three-Months' Regiment mustered 1,130 men.

FIELD AND STAFF.

Charles G. Stifel, Colonel
Robert White, Lt. Colonel
John J. Fisher, Major
John K. Cummings, Adjutant
John B. Mears, Quartermaster
Adalbert Gemmer, Surgeon
Wm. Drechsler, Assistant Surgeon
Rudolph Doehn, Chaplain
Caspar Bachner, Leader of Band
Basilius Ruthard, Leader of Band
John Kupferle, Sergeant Major
James K. Hall, Quartermaster Sergeant
William Leffmann, Commissary Sergeant

COMPANY A.

Ernst W. Steinmann, Captain
Henry Wilke (Wilks), 1st Lieutenant
Otto Grassmer, 2d Lieutenant
Frederick Siefker, 1st Sergeant
John Holland, Sergeant
George Koch, Sergeant
George Rubelmann, Sergeant
Wm. Obermeyer, Sergeant
Charles Salamon, Sergeant
Friederich Kemper, Corporal
Valentine Koenig, Corporal
Ernst Eschmann, Corporal
William Kirby, Musician
William Weinbieth, Musician
John Ackermann, Artificer

Privates.

Alexander, Jacob
Aller, Christian
Baumann, Wm.
Beckmann, August
Bergmann, Wm.
Binenger, Henry
Boeschen, Herman
Bohn, August
Brocke, Charles
Brocke, Edward
Broer, Conrad
Broemmelsich, Fred
Conrades, Jacob
Cramer, Adam
Denper, John A.
Deppe, Henry
Dewein, George
Dickmann, Frederick
Dillong, Cornelius
Donnerberg, Frederick
Frahlmann, Henry
Frohrmann, Hy.
Gauger, Jacob
Gespuhl, Andreas
Gestring, Charles
Greiner, Moritz
Grieser, Xavier
Hahn, William
Heidemann, Hermann
Hemen, Henry
Hensted, Conrad
Hensel, August
Hoevel, Henry
Hoffmann, David
Hospes, Richard
Kasten, Charles
Kertzel, Wm.
Kinkmeyer, Hy.
Kleeman, Charles
Klokenbrink, Ernst
Krauss, Charles
Kupferle, John
Kurfinke, Wm.
Ladenberger, Charles
Leidner, Phillip
Lindhorst, Henry
Lueking, Henry
Marx, Frederick
Mathias, Wm.
Mertz, David
Meyer, Bernard
Meyer, Charles
Meyer, Charles N.
Meyer, William
Michael, August
Michael, Frederick
Milgest, Ernst
Millage, Christoph
Miller, Charles
Moeller, John F.
Mudler, Schwethart
Mueller, John
Neiber, Frederick
Pars, Frederick
Peter, Christian
Plenger, Adolph H.
Plenger, Wm.
Poos, Wm.
Protzmann, Wm.
Rehkamp, Henry
Remmelkamp, Rudolph
Ringeling, Charles
Roehl, Fred. W.
Ruhland, Wm.
Schade, Gottfried
Schaeffer, Henry
Scheele, Gottlieb
Schenkfeir, Louis
Schlingmann, Fred
Schlingmann, Henry I.
Schlingmann, Henry II.
Schlueter, Charles
Schmidt, August
Schwoepper, William
Seeklouberg, Moritz
Seidler, Fred R.
Sessinghaus, Gustav
Sessinghaus, Theodore
Sessinghaus, William
Seupberg, Justus
Sommerfruechte, D.
Steinbruege, Fred
Stiffen, Dietrich
Stockhaus, Wm.
Sulz, John
Uhlmeyer, Wm.
Vornberg, George
Wagner, John
Wagner, Louis
Wehmeyer, Henry
Weiser, Henry
Wise, Christian

COMPANY B.

Julius Krusch, Captain
George Dietrich, 1st Lieutenant
Fred Forthman, 2d Lieutenant
Hartman Moeller, 1st Sergeant
Henry Mulfemeier, Sergeant
Fred Baumhoefer, Sergeant
Francis Boeding, Sergeant
William Witthoeft, Corporal
John Lieberau, Corporal
Wm. Thorever, Corporal
Christian Schoenhardt, Corporal
Peter Verhorst, Musician
Bernhardt, Walter, Musician

Privates.

Althorn, William
Altmeier, Herman
Bartels, Fred
Bellerson, Henry
Beste, Gottlieb
Bockstiegel, John
Borgenkamp, Hy.
Brandt, William
Buckruman, William
Buetner, Henry
Cordes, Louis
Crallman, Casper
Culman, Henry
Eneke, Bernhard
Fleer, Caspar
Fueser, Phillip
Gerding, Fred
Gerspacker, Mazoe M.
Gethardt, Robert
Hackman, Fred
Hackman, Henry
Harding, Wm.
Hassebrock, George
Hayemann, Wm.
Helmkamp, Wm.
Henger, Wm.
Herdeman, Henry
Herdeman, Herman
Heuerman, Henry
Heuerman, Wm.
Heyde, Herman
Hoberg, Fred
Hoffman, Andrew
Kamp, Fred
Kassing, Herman
Klein, Christian
Klingmeier, Hy.
Klute, Rudolph
Kombrink, Wm.
Kralemann, Wm.
Kronsbein, Jacob
Lange, Henry
Latthalm, Fred
Liepold, Wm.
Lindhorst, Wm.
Luderwink, Rudolph
Mehrnert, Hy.
Meier, Albert
Meier, Ernst
Meier, Fred I.
Meier, Fred II.
Mertz, Fred
Mester, Fred
Muckermann, Hy.
Niemueller, Fred
Papenbrock, Fred
Paser, Wm.
Passe, Christian
Pilgrimm, Hy.
Pohlmann, Caspar
Rabeneck, Christ.
Rake, Fred
Rauschenbach, Christ.
Roedicker, Wm.
Rose, Henry
Sandrock, Gustav
Schleef, Hy.
Schloemermann, Her.
Schlueter, Hy.
Schlute, Francis
Schlueter, Louis
Schneider, Andrew
Schnellbacher, Phillip
Schuepzles, Herman
Schwendt, Joseph
Soeker, Bernhardt
Stochner, Fred
Stodeck, Charles
Strothman, Hy.
Sudhoelter, Henry
Thein, Henry
Tieman, Fred
Tiepel, Francis
Tilker, Zacharias
Tilling, Charles
Van Steenwygh, Wm.
Vogel, Fred
Vogelsang, Henry
Vogt, Casper
Volmer, Henry
Vostler, Michael
Wellmeier, John
Wenz, John
Westerheide, August
Wetzel, Conrad
Whiltcock, Wm.
Witthus, Fred
Wuekoff, Adolph
Zurninhem, Henry

COMPANY C.

Augustus Thorwald, Captain
Hermann Schuh, 1st Lieutenant
Frank Lohmann, 1st Lieutenant
Bernhard Weingaertner, 2d Lieutenant.
Gustavus Pons, 1st Sergeant
Frederick Wedel, Sergeant
John Helms, Sergeant
Louis Brinker, Sergeant
Henry Wiese, Corporal
Frederick Bergman, Corporal
Clemence Schwarzkopf, Corporal
Peter Eisenstrauth, Corporal
Phillip Koch, Musician
Gustav Fiedler, Musician
Edward Gotsch, Musician

Privates.

Acmis, Frederich
Barkhoefer, Fred
Baumann, Jacob
Bellmann, Henry
Block, Frederick
Bollogh, Hy.
Boy, Ludwig
Bruggemann, Adolph
Bucher, Francis
Deiken, Herman
Dreher, Charles
Dunken, Frederick
Fangmann, Dietrich
Fisher, Hoppert
Flasskemper, Louis
Frentel, Henry
Fromhold, August
Gartner, William
Gesloff, William
Gimicke, Christian
Grauber, Ernest
Hamepeter, Fred
Harsh, Frank
Hartmann, Michel
Hause, John
Henning, Heinrich
Hermann, Fred
Hermann, Mathias
Kallenhaus, Wm.
Kirsch, Frederick
Kobold, Frederick
Koenig, Jacob
Kolman, Peter
Kraushaar, Adam
Krieger, Frederick
Krooflenberg, Dietrich
Kuhne, Henry
Lambrecht, Anton
Laueberg, August
Laubrecht, Francis
Leopold, Mathias
Lippelmanns, John
Maisch, Joseph
May, Frederick
Mayer, Henry
Mebus, Charles
Meinhold, Frederick
Middendorf, Henry
Miller, Henry
Moepps, Johann
Morgraff, Francis
Mueller, Bernhard
Nagel, Henry
Neff, Frangall
Neupert, Adam
Nolse, Henry
Pleaker, Louis
Ruff, Andreas
Ruttratter, Wm.
Salmon, Gustav
Salmon, Hermann
Sandherr, Henry
Sass, Augustus
Schaeffer, Henry
Scherrick, Hy.
Scherry, Christian
Schlewing, Gottlieb
Schmid, Johann
Schmidt, August
Schrieck, Julius
Sigmund, Louis
Spilker, Peter
Stein, Johann
Stobur, Baptist
Stolle, Henry
Striseckel, William
Strubel, Anton
Thins, August
Vass, Henry
Vette, Wm.
Vogt, Joseph
Weidmann, Henry
Weingartner, Bernhard
Weischaum, Wm.
Welp, Henry
Werth, Anton
Wessel, Henry
Wesselkamp, Joseph
Windhorst, Henry
Windhorst, Wm.
Windmeyer, Frederick
Winkelmeyer,
Winkelmeyer, Henry
Winter, Gottlieb
Winter, Wm.
Wittbrodt, Peter

COMPANY D.

Robert C. White, Captain
Wm S. Herd, Captain
Joseph Tallman, 1st Lieutenant
Wm. S. Robinson, 2d Lieutenant
Richard Branch, 2d Lieutenant
James E. Love, 1st Sergeant
Edward M. Taylor, Sergeant
Augustus W. Grote, Sergeant
William H. Ruthoelp, Sergeant
John K. Cummings, Sergeant
Sam K. Hall, Sergeant
John Cook, Corporal
Michael Doyle, Corporal
John N. Rollins, Corporal
Augustus Keyte, Corporal
Howard S. Harbough, Musician
Charles Pittman, Musician

Privates.

Astor, William
Baillie, James
Baillie, John C.
Banta, Albert
Bocke, Augustus
Boerning, Gerhard
Boerning, Michael
Brazzelton, Isaac
Brown, Richard
Burnett, Elisha
Bussa, Ignatz
Carlan, Hugh
Carroll, John
Cohen, Robert P.
Conroy, John H.
Cousland, Geo.
Cross, Andrew
Dixon, Hy.
Dreese, Henry
Druse, Theodor
Dunnavant, James R.
Dutro, Ezekiel L.
Eastwood, Thomas
Emmich, Jacob
Fagg, Patrick
Fenlenson, Perry W.
Flint, Charles
Flynn, Daniel
Friedmayer, August
Friedmayer, Christian
Galliner, James
Gibson, Thomas
Gilbert, Abraham
Glantz, Valentine
Gloor, Godfrey
Gon, Manon
Gordon, Jackson
Gould, Samuel
Graham, Nic. H.
Green, John
Groessling, Charles
Groessling, William
Gulmore, Nicolas
Hagamon, Merrit H.
Hagamon, Wm.
Hamill, Charles
Harte, Charles
Helm, Peter
Hight, William
Howard, James M.
Huetson, Frederick
Jennings, William H.
Jones, Joseph
Kepferle, Christian
Kobolt, Charles
Lewis, John
Loudough, Louis
Lyon, Edward F.
Marschmeyer, Geo.
Martin, Geo.
Meane, John B.
Meyers, Benedict
Milton, John
Morgan, Charles
Morton, William
North, William
Obernier, Frederick
Oestermann, Joseph
Outes, Henry
Passegote, John
Patterson, James M.
Price, George
Reed, Louis Van
Reederer George
Reinhardt, Godfrey
Revoir, Mitchel
Reynolds, James W.
Ruhr, Frank
Schellhammer, Charles
Schewe, Ernst
Schmidt, Martin
Schreiner, Randolph
Sipple, Conrad
Smith, Jonathan
Smith, Samuel W.
Southmayd, Andrew J.
Spillman, Thomas H.
Sterritt, Robt. J.
Stohl, John
Sudholter, Henry
Sweeney, James
Taylor, John
Tukett, Charles
Voss, John
Wallace, W. G.
Wellmeyer, Francis
White, Charles
White, John
White, Wiliam
Wiegan, Casper
Williams, Frank
Wintling, Jacob
Wirt, Geo. L. C.
Zorofeter, Hermann

COMPANY E.

Frederick Wedekind, Captain
John Gutberlet, 1st Lieutenant
Frederick Barth, 2d Lieutenant
John Calomus, 1st Sergeant
Daniel Eilers, Sergeant
Herman Woerheide, Sergeant
Caspar Rolf, Sergeant
Joseph Bucher, Corporal
Louis Gumner, Corporal
Henry Stohlberg, Corporal
August Dodt, Corporal
Ernst Lueker, Musician
Gustave Wedekind, Musician

Privates.

Abelmann, Henry
Ahlert, Herman
Ahrens, Andreas
Asteroth, Herman
Bakerfen, Hy.
Barthelheimer, Aug.
Behmer, Christian
Behmer, Henry
Beinker, Wm.
Bieber, Henry
Blase, Frederick
Bode, Henry
Brommelsick, Fred
Buchka, John
Budde, Fred
Conrad, Xavier
Dettmar, Adolph
Diehle, Charles
Eggert, Frank
Elgelkerk, Christian
Ellerbrock, William
Engel, Martin
Fischer, Louis
Fishback, Fred
Frank, Conrad
Fredecker, Hy.
Gartner, Gottfried
Gartner, Herman
Gent, Christian
Goerlick, Alfred
Goldstein, Henry
Gormann, Frederick
Hagemeyer, Hy.
Hagemeyer, Wm.
Hagenach, Claus R.
Hansche, Ernst
Hassmann, Ernst
Heinzemann, Sebastian
Hesse, Zacharias
Hilge, William
Hoppe, Hy.
Horsthalte, Hermann
Horstmann, Hy.
Hubersmann, Benedict
Karsten, Ernst
Klein, Frederick
Kochbeck, Christopher
Kochler, John
Koehler, John
Kohring, Charles
Kohring, John
Kollensletter, Theodor
Kopp, Adolph
Krammer, Wm.
Krickeberg, George
Kropp, Conrad
Loss, Adam F.
Lucke, Henry
Lunte, William
Maneke, Henry
Meyer, Florenz W.
Meyer, Henry
Millfiel, Wm.
Muenkemann, Wm.
Mueller, Henry
Naw, Frederick
Oeters, Francis
Ostgen, Frederick
Paust, Caspar
Paust, Henry
Peters, Gustavus
Peters, Rudolph
Prussner, Frederick I.
Prussner, Frederick II.
Pulaw, George
Pulaw, Henry
Reh, John
Rief, John
Rolf, Frederick
Rolf, Wiliam
Ross, John
Sachleben, Gerhard F.
Saegers, Henry
Schneider, Henry
Schulenberg, Hermann
Schuster, Bernard
Sparwasser, Wm.
Spoeneman, William
Steffen, Christian
Steinmann, Henry
Strunk, Henry
Stuhrmann, Henry
Stuhrmann, Rudolph
Stutle, Christian
Uhm, Peter
Uthmann, Wm.
Verforth, Lambert
Wassermann, Charles
Wehmeyer, August
Wittler, Gottlieb
Wurst, Peter

COMPANY F.

John N. Herder, Captain
Frederick Kreuter, 1st Lieutenant
Frederick Lubering, 2d Lieutenant
Michael Meyer, Sergeant
Anton Fahrenholz, Sergeant
William Korlan, Sergeant
William Ellersick, Sergeant
Charles Lauber, Corporal
Crist Suckle, Corporal
Phillip Johler, Corporal
Edward Bitterburg, Corporal
Hy. Marske, Musician
Arnold Clemens, Musician

Privates.

Allers, Anton
Althoff, John
Bachman, Jacob
Baitscher, Wm.
Barkei, Henry
Barlword, Herman
Becker, Theobald
Beinert, Frederich
Bensick, Frederich
Bock, William
Bockstiegel, Wm.
Brehm, John
Brinkmeyer, Hy.
Brunning, Christ.
Busack, Henry
Dethoff, John
Diddrich, Adolph
Drewes, Henry
Ebbmeier, Herman
Edler, Anton
Edler, John
Ekerman, John
Ellenbrock, Louis
Fahrenkoph, Val.
Fisher, Frederick
Fricke, Henry
Gauder, Frederick
Giesse, Franz
Giesselman, Herman
Grieve, John
Grundel, Franz
Hacke, Herman
Hackel, Charles
Hagensicker, Fred
Hagensicker, Hy.
Hahn, Henry
Hahn, Jacob
Heim, George
Heimbrockel, John
Hellering, Hy.
Hellman, John
Herkenhoff, Wm.
Hillerich, Adam
Hoeppener, Henry
Holyhauer, Phil.
Homemeier, Henry
Hullinghorst, Henry
Hullinghorst, Wm.
Jansen, John
Jasper, Franz
Kellerman, Wm.
Kerles, William
Kleinman, Herman
Kneler, August
Koppelman, Henry
Kork, Henry
Kracht, Emil
Krallman, Hy.
Krallman, John
Kramme, Frederick
Krassing, Henry
Krassing, John
Kufner, John
Kunner, Dietrich
Lambrecht, Frederick
Lammers, Henry
Levin, Frederick
Lieberum, Henry
Lieberum, Wm.
Lithegen, Franz
Lohoefener, Herman
Luking, Henry
McCormick, Owen
Maier, Herman
Marske, Edward
Maura, Phillip
Mentz, William
Meyer, Charles
Montag, Jacob
Morr, Joseph
Neupert, George
Nieberg, Henry
Niefind, Peter
Niehaus, Charles
Niekamp, William
Niemeier, Henry
Ott, Frederick
Paust, Frederick
Paust, Herman
Pogenmueller, Chas.
Reuttinger, Felix
Richter, Henry
Rohlfing, John
Schreiner, Herman
Spilker, Valentine
Welsh, Frederick

COMPANY G.

Wm. Lorbe, Captain
Henry Bohle, 1st Lieutenant
Henry Mester, 1st Lieutenant
Frederich Pollman, 2d Lieutenant
Frank Knoll, Sergeant
William Bachmer, Sergeant,
Frank Langenberg, Sergeant
Frederick Stiffer, Sergeant
Frederick Kuffendick, Corporal
Herman Sahrhage, Corporal
Conrad Weckeiser, Corporal
Hy. Schollmeyer, Corporal
Hy. Hoyer, Musician
Pete Koch, Musician

Privates.

Althoff, Wm.
Assenbrink, Wm.
Bergsicker, Fred
Berrissheim, Leopold
Berthold, Aug.
Bier, Adolph
Biermann, Wm.
Boessling, Charles
Bohle, Henry
Borgmeyer, Frederick
Bosse, Charles
Burke, Henry
Dietz, Gottlieb
Ellerbeck, August
Erdterugger, Henry
Faste, William
Freese, Henry
Genge, Henry
Gerdelman, Fred
Giesecke, Hy.
Giesecke, Louis
Groebe, Henry
Guttering, Joseph
Halig, Henry
Haning, August
Haupt, Peter
Heckerman, Fred
Heeman, Albert
Heintzman, Christoph
Herdeur, John
Herman, Frank
Hoekel, Frederick
Hoener, Frank
Hoyer, William
Johantosettle, Henry
Kamp, Henry
Kappelman, Wm.
Keimann, Henry
Klasterhoff, Wm.
Kleemeier, Henry
Kleemeier, Wm.
Koehe, Frederick
Koester, Herman
Kropp, Charles
Kufner, John Thomas
Lanstrath, Hy.
Leeker, Henry
Lepping, Ferdinand
Loescheer, Adolph
Maas, Frederick
Maser, Henry
Meiberth, Frederick
Moeller, Charles
Moeller, Wm.
Niedringhaus, Christian
Priesmeier, Gottlieb
Puhse, Christian
Reber, Charles
Redecker, Frederick
Reder, George
Rellmann, Henry
Rieckmann, Christian
Riemann, Frederick
Schapperkoetter, Fred
Schapperkoetter, Wm.
Schlingman, Wm.
Schluter, Henry
Schmidt, Henry
Schrader, Wm.
Schroeder, Frederick
Schultz, Louis
Schultz, Wm.
Schurman, Fred
Schurman, Henry
Schurmeier, Fred
Schweppe, Caspar
Stein, John
Steinberg, John
Steirman, John
Stockmeier, Wm.
Stoner, Frank
Strube, Henry
Strube, John
Sturman, Frederick
Temme, Ernst
Temme, William
Tramps, Charles
Tubesing, John
Vass, Frank
Walkenford, Jacob
Weber, Joseph
Wenle, William
Werthman, Anton
Wilker, John
Witte, Henry

COMPANY H.

Charles F. Koch, Captain
Gustavus Knoch, 1st Lieutenant
John B. Strauch, 2d Lieutenant
John B. Mears, 2d Lieutenant
Wm. Grassmuck, 1st Sergeant
Burghard Krug, Sergeant
Wolfgang Mirr, Sergeant
Nicolas Liernson, Sergeant
Bernhard Kramer, Sergeant
Anton Joachim, Sergeant
Louis Will, Corporal
Rudolph Schoenle, Corporal
Hermann Eiks, Corporal
August Joch, Corporal
Andreas Wachter, Musician
Fred Linsell, Musician

Privates.

Aetchoff, Henry
Beckman, Henry
Beinker, L. John
Beinker, H. W.
Bobell, August
Borghoff, Edward
Broeckler, Bernhard
Bude, Henry
Caspohl, Fred
Demper, Fred
Dreeman, Ire H.
Ebler, George
Evans, John P.
Fink, Jos. Anton
Fischer, Fred
Fredeking, Wm.
Gauding, Henry
Gaussman, Bernard
Gloor, Henry
Hafer, William
Hagelweide, Chas.
Hannaman, Fred
Hoch, Henry
Hoerman, David
Holthes, Fred
Holste, Herman
Hucker, Ernst
Hucker, Henry
Jache, John
Joachim, Anton
Keil, Adam
Knoke, Fred
Knoll, Conrad
Koenemann, Fred
Koether, Herman
Kopetz, Adam
Kroener, Fred
Kuhs, Louis
Lamperseck, Chas.
Leabel, George
Lohede, Henry
Luedeman, Ferdinand
Mahr, John
Mayer, Mathias F.
Maysack, Martin
Menzeroeff, Fred
Meyer, Ferdinand
Meyer, Fred W.
Meyer, George
Meyer, John C.
Mueller, John
Mysing, Fred
Obermeyer, Wm.
Oseak, Fred
Otto, Fred
Platz, John
Plenge, Dietrich
Prasse, John H.
Pueskon, Anton
Quernheim, Hy. Wm.
Ras, John
Richman, Fred
Richter, August
Schaale, John H.
Schafering, H. W.
Schaper, Henry
Schelp, Fred Wm.
Scherman, August
Schilling, Ernst
Schlef, Henry
Schlink, Henry
Schutte, Hy. W.
Schwaneker, August
Schwartz, Peter
Sickman, Wm.
Smith, William
Soeltau, Fred
Stadick, Henry
Staudner, Caspar
Steinkamp, Wm.
Steitz, Phillip
Stieneman, Gerhard
Stoppelman, Henry
Stratman, Fred
Stuedlo, Thomas
Tellenhorst, Christian
Tellenhorst, John
Tiemoro, Herman
Tirre, Fred W.
Toelke, Peter
Tubbesing, Herman
Twellman, John H.
Uchman, Chas.
Waldecker, Christ
Wamekeer, Clemens
Winkleman, Gottlieb
Winkler, Hy. William
Winkler, Herman

COMPANY I.

Charles Schoenbeck, Captain
Charles Beck, 1st Lieutenant
Conrad Miller, 2d Lieutenant
Herman Strausmeyer, 1st Sergeant
John Heideman, Sergeant
Adolph Wilke, Sergeant
John Kramer, Sergeant
J. H. Heidman, Corporal
Henry Mohrman, Corporal
Peter Hermminghaus, Corporal
Herman Heideman, Corporal
August Bieland, Musician
Herman Dreiling, Musician

Privates.

Abers, Jorgh
Allerdissen, Gottlieb
Alsmeyer, Ferdinand
Bekes, Francis
Bekes, Philip
Benedict, Henry
Berdenkalter, Louis
Bergsicker, Henry
Bierman, Gotlieb
Brand, Fred
Brintits, Henry
Damman, William
Derling, William
Ditmeyer, Lawrence
Docktor, Ernst
Elgeser, Edward
Ernst, William
Etzel, Charles
Fefferley, Stephen
Fischback, Christ
Fisher, Jobst
Forfel, William
Freker, William
Gertner, Henry
Glitt, William
Harnischmacher, Fred.
Heideman, Ferd.
Heideman, Wm.
Heitbreder, John
Helmer, Charles
Hetlager, Herman
Hohnstretter, Francis
Hostman, August
Hullinghaus, Henry
Joesding, Henry
Joesger, Allen
Kamp, Reinhard
Kampherner, John
Kinderman, Charles
Kinderman, Wm.
Kleine, Fred.
Kottlander, Fred
Kronsbein, Herman
Krude, Fred
Kruger, Gottlieb
Krukberg, Charles
Kullerville, Fred
Lange, Herman
Ludinghaus, Henry
Luke, Henry F.
Mauman, John
Meinholt, Henry
Miller, Louis
Misberling, Chas.
Portner, Henry
Prangs, Francis
Regeley, Wendely
Reller, Henry
Richter, Henry
Richter, Julius
Rieke, Wm.
Rippe, Charles
Roemer, Julius
Rohn, Christopher
Roeppelsey, Joseph
Schaeper, Wm.
Schaub, Henry
Schlef, Fred.
Schlef, Herman
Schreiber, Wm.
Schrepel, Fred.
Schroeder, Henry
Schulte, Wm.
Schultz, Herman
Seiber, August
Sprick, Conrad
Stalle, Fred. Johan
Starch, Jorgh
Strattelgahan, Herman
Surver, August
Telles, Henry
Tugal, Herman
Ullein, Lorenz
Ulrich, Clemens
Ulrich, Henry
Vogel, Joseph
Vohlen, Fred. J.
Vohner, Henry
Wehmeyer, Wm.
Weishęir, Jobst
Werley, John
Winter, Wm.
Woeler, Wm.
Woerman, Herman
Wollbring, Henry

COMPANY K.

James B. Tannehill, Captain
Nic. F. Wolf, 1st Lieutenant
Phillip H. Reeger, 2d Lieutenant
August Hiambyky, 1st Sergeant
Edward F. Wolff, Sergeant
Robert Herman, Sergeant
Ernst Grasshoff, Sergeant
Isaac Russig, Corporal
Edward Curt, Corporal
Gustav Mollenschlader, Corporal
William Neuman, Corporal
Wm. Koenig, Musician
Henry Messegrades, Musician

Privates.

Ackerman, Geo.
Ahrens, Henry E.
Aller, Christian
Althoff, William
Bacherer, Adam
Backer, John
Barth, John F.
Becker, Frank
Bergman, Herman
Birkenkamp, Henry
Bleich, John
Bodefeld, Frank
Bodenstedt, Fred.
Bonnett, John
Bottiger, Charles
Brosamle, John
Bruer, John
Dahlof, Samuel
Deitz, Jacob
Delkskamp, Fred.
Delley, Christian
Detring, Dietrich
Deuback, Henry
Dustman, Peter
Ellerbeck, Fred
Fehr, Henry
Feick, Henry
Ficken, John
Funke, Stephen
Gang, Sylvester
Geisicke, Christian
Gerike, Henry
Goris, Nic.
Grote, Charles
Grumme, Wm.
Hasper, Charles L.
Heidechrist, Ernst
Heidenrick, John
Henig, Adam
Henig, John
Hemmeling, Fred
Herman, John
Hilker, August
Hoffman, George
Huffet, Louis
Hugelheim, Henry
Jauch, Andrew
Just, Andrew
Kaseberg, John
Keller, Jacob
Kline, Christian
Kobush, Hy. J.
Koch, Ferdinand
Koenig, Louis F.
Krickmeyer, Henry
Kruse, Conrad
Kuhn, Louis
Kurchhoff, Herman
Kusten, Henry
Lammermeier, Herm.
Lappe, Conrad
Lunt, Frank
Maas, Phillip
Maas, Wm.
Maasman, Fred.
Neiderhoff, G.
Neistrath, Henry
Neuman, Aug.
Ponte, Isadore
Reider, John
Rautenstrauch, Hy.
Rund, Michael
Ryan, Michael
Sandhaus, Charles
Schmidt, Charles
Schmidt, Fridolin
Schmoenkamp, Wm.
Schneider, Frank
Schorr, John
Schuller, George
Seiler, Otto
Selb, Theodore
Sievers, Henry
Smidt, Frank
Sommers, Andrew
Soreng, Herman
Spiring, John
Steinman, Ernst
Stemler, Christ
Stiniger, Wm. A.
Stobbelworth, Wm.
Stort, William
Stradtman, Wm.
Stricker, Aug.
Sunber, Wm.
Turin, Louis A.
Vogler, George
Vogler, John
Vogt, Fritz
Walter, Frank
Werneke, Henry
Will, Christopher
Withaupt, Frank L.
Wolff, John
Zumsteg, Jacob
Zumsteg, John
Zumsteg, Leonard

COMPANY B, PACIFIC BATTALION, UNITED STATES RESERVE CORPS.

Among the patriotic organizations of St. Louis County, during the Three-Months' Union Service of 1861, was

COMPANY B, PACIFIC BATTALION, UNITED STATES RESERVE CORPS,

formed at Allenton, being part of the Command of Major Wm. C. Inks of Franklin County. The chief service of the Company was to guard the railroad bridges from June 8th to 28th at Fox Creek, and after that date at Glencoe. The Company made two larger scouts into Jefferson County, infested at the time by the notorious bushwhacker Sam Hilderbrandt. The first of these scouts, under Lieutenant Colonel Holmes, the second, under Captain Robert C. Allen, were undertaken to secure safety to Union people, arrest marauding bands and seize contraband of war. The organization was mustered out of service by Colonel Chester Harding, on September 18th, 1861, receiving a nominal pay of $10, not having been regularly mustered into the United States Service. Officers of the Company were:

Robert C. Allen, Captain
D. M. Keler, 1st Lieutenant
F. Wengler, 2d Lieutenant
J. T. Ferguson, 1st Sergeant
Hiram Wood, Sergeant
P. Murphy, Sergeant
C. L. Brown, Sergeant
Thomas Thomas, Sergeant
Theo. Logger, Corporal
Numon Wood, Corporal
J. C. Cloak, Corporal
Wm. C. Wengler, Corporal

Privates.

Brown, Benjamin
Brown, John
Butterbread, John
Cloak, Wm. K.
Clifton, Thomas
Cochran, John
Cochran, Nat.
DeMire, John
Dickens, Geo.
Dickens, James
Dickens, Wood
Dickets, John
Fraze, Emanuel
Fleming, John
Hensley, Joshua
Hepp, George
Hinze, Herman
Hoffman, John
Lintz, Arntz
Mifler, Augustus
Schoemate, Wm.
Sickman, Kasper
Wasson, John
Wasson, Robert
Wasson, Thompson
Westmann, Michael
Will, David
Williams, Ben
Williams, John
Willis, Fred
Younger, John

NOTE.—The lists of the Artillery Battalion and the Pioneer Company of the Three Months' Service could not be secured with the available facilities and without indefinite delay.

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